
Royal Ensign, Imperial Knight, Manorial Lord, Disassembling Dad: The Many Faces of Ramón Carrillo

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In approaching the extraordinary life story of Colonel Ramón Carrillo, it is perhaps a portend of things to come that even his birth itself is shrouded in mystery. His 1822 marriage licence said that he was 42 and a native of Jiquilpán, but no baptism for him is found in that parish's records for 1779 and 1780. In all probability, Ramón Carrillo was the child born in that Parish on 29 August 1785 and baptised as Ignacio Ramón Rosalio Carrillo. But then who was the Captain Ignacio Carrillo named as godparent at the Christening of one of Ramón's children? A recurring characteristic of the quest for Ramón Carrillo's story is that even where documents exist, they don't always tell the full story.

Ramón's birthplace though was perhaps auspicious; the ancient colonial village of Jiquilpán was also the birthplace of Ramón's contemporary and eventual political ally Anastasio Bustamante, a titan of 19th-century Mexican history who in time became the new country's President; a century later, the town would nurture an even more significant figure in Mexican history, President Lázaro Cárdenas.

Ramón's birth there seems not to have derived from any family link to the area, but simply to his father's career; Ramón in his youth would have belonged to the Colonial elite, but it was not a stationary childhood. Ramón's father, Juan José Carrillo y Vértiz, was a colonial administrator who served in a variety of posts in Mexico's legal and tax systems. Though a *Criollo* by birth, Juan José Carrillo's immediate family were all Spanish and there is

*Royal Ensign, Imperial Knight, Manorial Lord, Dissembling Dad:
The Many Faces of Ramón Carrillo*

little to suggest his world view would have been limited by the Gulf of Mexico. Juan José spent time in Europe as a young man, and he accompanied his uncle Juan José Vértiz Salcedo on a voyage from Spain to Río de la Plata (present day Argentina) in 1768, at the time of the elder man's appointment as Spain's Viceroy.¹ In 1771, Juan José was enrolled to study Literature at Spain's University of Alcalá de Henares²; presumably he changed his major to Law sometime thereafter, in light of his later career. In 1777 and 1778 Juan José pursued litigation in Spain over the ownership of land in his father's home town of Cifuentes, in the Spanish province of Guadalajara.³ Sometime thereafter he returned to New Spain (Mexico) and by 1781 was apparently *Alcalde Mayor* and tax collector of the settlement of Cuitzeo, an area with a predominantly indigenous population.⁴ The date and place of his marriage is not known, nor the precise number of his children and their names.⁵

In 1791 Juan José Carrillo y Vértiz served as the *Alcalde Mayor* of the Province of Ávalos, today part of Mexico's affluent Jalisco state, and close

1 Archivo General de Indias, Spain, Contratacion,5511b,N.1,R.12

2 Archivo Histórico Nacional, Spain, Universidades,L.559,Fol.167

3 Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Valladolid, Spain, Registro De Ejecutorias,Caja 3418,49; 3437,20

4 It is possible that Ramón Carrillo was born around 1780, as he claimed in 1822, but baptised at Cuitzeo not Jiquilpan. It is evident from the records today surviving for Cuitzeo that all of those pertaining to whites (or Spaniards or 'Gente de Razón' as they are called in one of the surviving registers) have been lost or destroyed; contemporary mention is made of their existence in one of the registers for native baptisms.

5 At this writing, three children are known, as a result of their baptism records in three different parishes having turned up as a result of indexing projects: Ignacio Ramón in 1785, Maria Josefa in 1791 and María Nicolasa in 1796. Yet in a letter written in the late 1790s complaining about his finances, Juan José referred to his 'sizable family'. One possible relation is a priest, José Carrillo, who was Chaplain of the Mexico Dragoons Regiment in 1805, just about the time Ramón joined it; the Chaplain was caught in the company of a young lady trying to sneak away from the regiment, which he owed 195 Pesos in pay advances. See María del Carmen Velázquez, *El estado de guerra en Nueva España, 1760-1808*, P. 183

Matthew Hovious

to one of the seats of colonial power. Juan José's promising career hit the rocks a few years later. In 1796 he was appointed Government Subdelegate for Aguascalientes and very quickly ran afoul of the local oligarchy when he began investigating unlicensed agricultural ventures in the area, through which its poorest farmers were being deprived of water for their crops, the majority of which was being siphoned off by the wealthiest landowners. Far more grapevines were being cultivated in the area than officially authorised, and Carrillo felt the town's tax collector was devoting all of his time to his farming concern, neglecting revenue matters, with the consequent damage to the royal treasury. In a course of events sadly foreshadowing things to come in Mexican history, Juan José diligently collected evidence that local oligarchs were overworking the land, growing far more grapes and other crops than intended and diverting waterways onto their own property; but the colonial administration in Mexico City did not act on his recommendations, and other local officials accused him of being a troublemaker. By 1799 Juan José had had enough and sought to be relieved from duty, complaining that he was owed back pay, that he could not decently maintain his family in the status expected of a *Subdelegado*, and that no one in Aguascalientes would lend him money, the local gentry having turned their backs on him as a result of his unwelcome investigation of their plantations.⁶ We can only speculate what effect this object lesson in the uses and limitations of official power had on young Ramón Carrillo, who would have grown to adulthood acutely aware of his father's increasing disappointment and frustration. Perhaps this was at the root of young Ramón's embarking on a military career, rather than following in the footsteps of his father and grandfather, both of whom had made their names in the law and the civil service. His maternal family, about whom little is known, may also have influenced this decision; Ramón's maternal grandfather was a Captain Manuel Pinto y Estrada. It may be that at this time the family considered leaving Mexico altogether and settling in Spain; it is

6 Jesus Gómez Serrano, *Las huertas y la vid. El vino y el chinguirito en la villa de Aguascalientes a fines de la época virreinal*, Estudios De Historia Novohispana 48 Enero-Junio 2013, 123-187

*Royal Ensign, Imperial Knight, Manorial Lord, Dissembling Dad:
The Many Faces of Ramón Carrillo*

probably not coincidental that in August of 1799, just as Juan José's career in the civil service had hit bottom, the paperwork was being done an ocean away, in Spain, to claim Ramón Carrillo's legal right to the income and prerogatives of the *Señorío de Pamis*, an entailed estate made up of significant land holdings worked by tenant farmers near the town of Ondara in the Spanish region of Valencia. Ramón was duly recognised as the Lord of Pamis in deeds recorded by the notary of El Verger on August 6th 1799.⁷

Ramón entered the military at a young age, as a cadet, and the official newspaper of the Spanish government, the *Gazeta de Madrid*, announced on 25 March 1808⁸ his promotion from Cadet to *Portaguiones*, or Standard-Bearer, of the *Regimiento de Dragones de Mexico*. The news likely attracted little attention since that same page recorded the fall from grace, and confiscation of the assets, of Spain's strongman at the time, Manuel Godoy; the issue itself was largely devoted to the chronicling Carlos IV's forced abdication and the rise to the throne of the new king, Ferdinand VII. That Ramón's name should in this way be tangentially forever linked to historical events of lasting significance might have amused him.

When the war for Mexican independence began in 1810, Ramón – perhaps not surprisingly, in view of his family's background – fought to uphold Spanish rule in Mexico. He must have been wounded in one of the early battles against the insurgency, for on 19 June 1811 the Cadiz regency (functioning as the resistance government to that imposed by Napoleon Bonaparte on the rest of Spain) granted retirement to Ensign Ramón Carrillo of the Mexico Dragoons Regiment, for injuries sustained in the line of duty.⁹ He had petitioned for retirement or indefinite leave, and a posting to the

7 Mentioned by Toni Estarca Català, *La dissolució del règim senyorial a la Marina Alta: el cas de la baronia de Pamis*, “Aguaits”, 1989, N° 3, Pp. 23-33; citing original documents now in possession of Don Vicent Ortuño, of Ondara.

8 *Gazeta de Madrid*, 25 Mar 1808, P. 300

9 Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico, Reales Cédulas originales, Tomo 204, Exp. 211

Matthew Hovious

colonial revenue department. The Cadiz authorities granted him indefinite leave, the right to continue wearing army uniform (though the kind used by retirees) and to remain subject to military justice rather than civilian courts.

Of course, at the time no one envisioned the ten long years of war that remained ahead for Mexico; the nature of Ramón's injuries is unknown but the Spanish administration needed every man and less than a year later, on 25 February 1812, Viceroy Venegas called Ramón back to duty as a 'Veteran Adjutant' of the of the 4th Division of the South Coast Militia, a post which sounds as if it may have involved training volunteers called up to fight for Spain; the position automatically entailed Ramón's promotion to Captain.

Ramón served with this force, the *Milicias de la Costa del Sur*, through the rest of 1812 and into 1813; in the latter year his mother María de los Ángeles Pinto petitioned on his behalf for back pay, but in March 1813 colonial treasury officials rejected her claim, indicating that Ramón had borrowed money from the paymaster of his former unit, the Dragoons, against his future wages, and that once the amount in question had been repaid to the Dragoons by the paymaster for Ramón's militia unit, nothing remained of the wages he would have drawn since his attachment to the Militia.¹⁰ The money problems which had dogged Ramón's father would become a recurring theme in this family.

At some point during Mexico's decade of on-again, off-again warfare Ramón secured a posting to Mexico City, and there married on 5 October 1816 at its parish of Los Dolores (aka Campo Florido) Mariana Pavia y Osorio. Nothing is known about her – the record does not give her age or origin – and already in this first marriage we something of the departure from the ordinary that was to characterise many of Ramón's later actions: the wedding was performed at dawn by a Friar, the reading of the three banns on three separate days was dispensed, and the marriage was recorded not in that

10 Archivo General de la Nación, México, Almacenes Reales, Tomo 2, Hojas 57-60.

*Royal Ensign, Imperial Knight, Manorial Lord, Dissembling Dad:
The Many Faces of Ramón Carrillo*

church's register but in the registers of the Cathedral's Sagrario parish. Was Mariana pregnant? No baptism record has been found for any child. In any event, less than 6 months later she was dead, her burial being recorded at the Cathedral on 21 March 1817. Ramón had at least gone to the trouble to seek from the Army permission to marry, as was required of Spanish officers – a procedure without which widows had no right to a pension; his superiors in the colony having granted him permission in the interim, it must have seemed bitterly ironic when formal approval finally arrived from the Supreme War Council, dated in Madrid on 18 July 1817, nearly 4 months after Mariana's death.¹¹

Between 1816 and 1819, New Spain enjoyed relative peace, the original insurgents having either been executed, captured, or dispersed into the mountains as guerrillas. Ramón seems to have remained in the colonial capital as the sun set on Spanish rule. He was conspicuous for his loyalty to the crown. On 11 December 1819 Captain Ramón Carrillo was one of the officers participating in the ceremony at which the Viceroy and other colonial officials publicly announced the marriage of King Ferdinand VII of Spain to Princess María Josefa Amalia of Saxony. And on 10 June 1820 Ramón was one of those designated to witness the colony's officials taking the oath of loyalty to Spain's Constitution.

Even then Ramón may have realized that this entirely unexpected turn of events carried with it the seed of his eventually turning his back on Spain and embracing an independent Mexico. To understand the choice facing Ramón personally, and many thousands of people of his generation, it's important to realize that when all was said and done, they had fought as much to uphold the status quo with which they were comfortable, as to defend the Spanish crown. Having just spent the last decade in defeating liberal ideas in their homeland, Ramón and many like him now faced the imposition of those same ideas from abroad, as a result of the military coup in Spain that had

11 Archivo General de la Nación, México, Reales Cédulas originales, Tomo 217, hoja 38

Matthew Hovious

toppled Ferdinand VII from absolute rule. A constitution that extended democracy and limited the power of the Church and the armed forces was unacceptable to them; the colonial regime they'd upheld would now be instructed to carry out reforms they found odious. Even as Ramón toed the line in June 1820 and witnessed colonial officials swearing to uphold the new constitution, there were already riots against it in Mexico City. As Summer gave way to Autumn, Mexican-born Spanish officers began plotting to leave Spanish control; the surviving insurgents, sensing that the time was ripe, began making overtures towards the disaffected colonial commanders. After skirmishes and battles in late 1820 and 1821, the rebel commander Guerrero was joined by the colonial military commander Iturbide, who famously turned coat, and after initial contacts in January 1821 they agreed on a new declaration of independence. Rebel and Colonial forces joined behind its three guarantees of Independence from Spain, the Supremacy of the Catholic Church and the Equality of white and Indian Mexicans. Iturbide's colonials and Guerrero's rebels joined as the Army of the Three Guarantees, or *Ejército Triguarante*, to fight under the terms of the new declaration known as the *Plan de Iguala*, which was announced in the town of that name on 24 February 1821.

Perhaps remarkably, at the very time when the announcement of Spain's new constitution in Mexico was unleashing such turmoil, Ramón seems to have found time for romance. Just 4 days after the *Plan de Iguala* was announced, a priest at Mexico City's cathedral baptised a son said to have been born to Victoria Paz and her lawfully wedded husband Ramón Carrillo. Ramón's place of birth and parents' names are given, so there can be no doubt as to his identity; the godparent was stated to be a Captain Ignacio Carrillo. But who exactly was Victoria Paz? She is described as a native of Mexico City but, even harnessing all of the power of modern search tools, no marriage record can be found for her and Ramón Carrillo; no baptism record for her, even under alternative name formulas such as *María de la Victoria*; no siblings sharing her two surnames, Páz Rábago; no marriage record for

*Royal Ensign, Imperial Knight, Manorial Lord, Dissembling Dad:
The Many Faces of Ramón Carrillo*

the couple named as her parents, Fernando Paz and Micaela Rábago; it's almost as if Victoria Paz didn't exist at all.

Victoria's evanescent nature is underscored even further by the record of the marriage, in Mexico City on 20 September 1822, of María de la Luz Landero y Bausa to Ramón Carrillo, now a Knight of the Imperial Order of Guadalupe and Lieutenant Colonel of the *Trigarante* Army, which had victoriously entered Mexico City a year earlier. That Army's commander now ruled Mexico as its Emperor Agustín I, and Ramón was clearly well-positioned in the new Imperial court; the best man at this wedding was Don José Medina, a high-ranking Imperial official and holder of both Spanish and Mexican knighthoods. Certainly this marriage, which was performed at Ramón's home, was public knowledge; and yet in both the marriage licence and the record itself Ramón is described only as the widower of Mariana Pavia. Victoria Paz is not mentioned.

Ramón's new wife belonged to a distinguished family from Veracruz. Her brother Pedro Telmo Landero y Bausa, born in 1792, had fought under General Antonio López de Santa Anna in the *Ejército Trigarante* and eventually attained the rank of Colonel; another brother, Juan José de Landero y Bausa, was the Mexican General whose unhappy fate it was to defend Veracruz from American attack in 1847. María de la Luz was a widow, having married in 1809 a Spanish officer, Ensign Manuel González de la Vega; born in 1790¹², she was still only 32 years old, yet she and Ramón were destined to remain childless.

12 As her first husband was a Spanish officer, María de la Luz had submitted papers pertaining to her ancestry, and her baptism record, to Spanish Army Command so that her husband could obtain permission to marry; her papers survive in a Spanish archive, and were indexed by Enrique de Ocerin in his 1959 book 'Índice de los Expedientes Matrimoniales de Militares y Marinos (1761-1865)', Vol. I, P. 293

Matthew Hovious

Emperor Agustín fell from power in March 1823, and it seems reasonable to assume that Ramón would have been extremely annoyed at no longer being able to use his Imperial knighthood; otherwise, this decade seems to have seems to have found Ramón hitting 40 in good health and full of plans for the future. In June 1825 he granted one José Antonio Puyade¹³, a merchant in Cadiz, a Power of Attorney to oversee estate management and collect revenue from his faraway Pamis estate, and in 1827 replaced this with another Power of Attorney for the same purpose granted to Santiago Coll¹⁴, of Madrid. Independence had not made Ramón lose sight of his land holdings in Spain; and in fact, there is reason to believe that in the 1820s Ramón had more reason than ever not to neglect any possible source of income.

Ironically, it is through three marriage records that we learn of Ramón's extramarital activities.

In January 1869 at Mexico City's San Miguel Arcángel parish a man calling himself Ángel María Carrillo de Albornos applied for a marriage licence. He stated that he was 40 years old, a bachelor, had never resided in any other parish and that he was a son of Ramón Carrillo and Teresa Medina. The baptism records of San Miguel parish, however, tell a different story: the only child named Ángel appearing in the relevant years was an Ángel María stated to be the son of "Vicente Estrada" and Teresa Medina, baptized in Mexico City in October 1829.

Teresa Medina and Vicente Estrada are named as the parents of two other children, another son in 1824¹⁵ and a daughter, Loreto, baptised at the Cathedral's Sagrario chapel in 1832. On 25 May 1857 at the church in the

13 Colegio Notarial de México, Acta 102682, Folio 530036, Notary Eugenio Pozo, 11 Jun 1825

14 Colegio Notarial de México, Acta 95402, Folio 530019, Notary Eugenio Pozo, 7 July 1827

15 Agustín Estrada, baptised at San Miguél Arcángel in Mexico City in 1824. Nothing further has been discovered regarding him.

*Royal Ensign, Imperial Knight, Manorial Lord, Dissembling Dad:
The Many Faces of Ramón Carrillo*

tiny village of Tampico Alto, Loreto Carrillo, stated to be the legitimate daughter of Ramón Carrillo and Teresa Medina, married José Miranda Conique; the bride's place of birth was not given but she and her new husband were described as residents of the nearby city of Tampico. which would be where their children were baptised – José María in March 1858 and María de los Ángeles, in May 1860 - both children's maternal grandparents being named as Ramón Carrillo de Albornos and Teresa Medina.

Loreto Carrillo's new husband, José Miranda Conique, was one of the inveterate coup plotters active among Tampico military officers and civil authorities who were a recurring thorn in the government's side during the 1850s, as for example at the time of a *Pronunciamiento* against acting President Martín Carrera, signed at Tampico on 6 September 1855¹⁶. The *Pronunciamiento* was headed up by Manuel Solorzano, the Jefe Político of the district, who just a few years earlier had been one of the witnesses at the wedding in Tampico of *Comandante* José María Carrillo de Albornos, born around 1821 in Mexico City and stated in his marriage record to have been the son of Ramón Carrillo --- and Rosa Vázquez.

Except for the José María Carrillo baptised in Mexico City on 24 February 1821 as a son of Ramón Carrillo and Victoria Paz, modern search technology has yielded no candidate to be the man who married in Tampico in 1850, nor did a page-by-page search of deaths in Sagrario parish suggest that said child died in infancy. But there's also no marriage record for Ramón Carrillo to either Victoria Paz or Rosa Vázquez – in any event, it must be remembered that Ramón's 1822 marriage record stubbornly describes him as the widower of Mariana Pavia who died in 1816 – and little enough evidence that either Victoria or Rosa actually existed at all.

16 *Acta de adhesión al Plan de Ayutla y al art. 4º del de San Luis, por el vecindario de Tampico de Tamaulipas* <http://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/pronunciamientos/dates.php?f=y&pid=1569&m=9&y=1855>

Matthew Hovious

One child baptised with a fictitious mother, another two at least baptised naming an absent, fictitious or possibly deceased father – what was Ramón Carrillo up to?

An answer is suggested, surprisingly, by the Queen of Spain.

In 1833 King Ferdinand VII died in Madrid and barely a few weeks later, his widow – his 4th wife, still young and healthy – remarried in a secret ceremony of dubious legal validity, officiated by a recently ordained priest. She chose as her new husband a young palace guard without fortune or connections. The late King's daughter was then 3 years old, the expected regency until her adulthood would be a long one, and the widowed Queen Consort intended to keep the reins of power in her hand – which she would not be able to do if she were known to have remarried.

That she contrived to keep her marriage in secret is not too surprising, since the Church itself at the time allowed *Matrimonios Secretos*, which were even recorded in a separate register from the normal weddings. What is astonishing is that Queen Consort María Cristina was not only able to conceal her successive pregnancies from all but those closest to her at court, giving birth to eight children by her new husband; she was also able to have all eight infants baptised as the children of different sets of fictitious parents, and then claim them as her offspring when it suited her. All this was done with the connivance of willing clergy in more than one church and at every level of the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

The Queen Consort and her new husband had a daughter baptised at Madrid's parish of San Miguel in 1834, nearly a month after her birth, giving as her invented parents one Jacobo Villanoba from Barcelona and Rafaela Castañedo from Madrid; another daughter at Madrid's parish of San Millán in 1835, allegedly to one Francisco Prego from León and Dolores Núñez from Galicia; a son in 1837, at Madrid's parish of San José, its alleged parents being Agustín de Rivas and Baltasara Sánchez, and so on, up to a total of

*Royal Ensign, Imperial Knight, Manorial Lord, Dissembling Dad:
The Many Faces of Ramón Carrillo*

eight children baptised at different churches by different priests, up to a month after their birth, to different sets of parents. Did the Church take a dim view of this abuse of its clergy's trust? Not at all. In 1844 the Queen and her new husband revealed all 8 children's identities before the Bishop of Córdoba, in sworn affidavits, who promptly declared all 8 children legitimate offspring of the Queen and her husband and further gave orders that while their true identities and dates of birth were henceforth to be considered those detailed in the affidavit, "no amendment to the originals must be made, in order to avoid the extremely serious inconveniences this case offers owing to its reserved nature and other circumstances abundantly obvious." The fraudulent records were to be left untouched and eight new baptism records prepared for the Queen, which would be appended to the affidavit, to be produced only at such times and places as suited her. She and her beau then married (or re-married) publicly and in the eyes of the law all 8 concealed children were now their legitimate offspring and legal heirs.¹⁷

What the above case proves beyond a doubt is that it was indeed possible, at the same time that Ramón Carrillo was doing it in Mexico, to have children entered in the baptism registers while giving fictitious names for one or both parents, and later to reclaim them as one's offspring whenever convenient.

Where Queen Consort María Cristina and her second husband had one key advantage over Ramón Carrillo was in the possibility of legitimising their offspring as heirs. In Ramón's case, although Teresa Medina apparently outlived him it may be that she had once genuinely been married to a Vicente Estrada who was still living, or was not free to marry for some other reason; while it's not even clear if the mother of Ramón's first child was Victoria Paz, Rosa Vásquez, or someone else whose identity is today entirely unknown.

17 This sleight-of-hand with baptism records and canon law was described in great detail by José María Zavala in *Bastardos y Borbones*, citing the document that the Bishop prepared at the behest of Queen María Cristina and her husband, the original of which is now in Spain's National Archive in Madrid.

Matthew Hovious

Ramón may even have had other children whose link to him has not yet surfaced; in any event, marrying any of the mothers of his living children seems not to have been in the cards. This may explain why, at the age of 50 and though clearly not particular about marriage as a requirement for a relationship, Ramón decided to marry yet again.

Colonel Ramón Carrillo's third and final wife was Ana Maria Pérez de Acal, whom he wed on 23 July 1830 in Mexico City. She, at last, gave him the large family he apparently craved publicly having; a son, Ramón (1835)¹⁸ and 3 daughters, Dolores (1831), María Jesús (1834) and Remedios (1838). We can only speculate as to what Ana María knew about Ramón's prolific earlier life, but he at least appears not to have fathered any more children by anyone else while married to her, and clearly the children were later in contact with one another. It cannot be an accident that Ramón's daughter Loreto by Teresa Medina lived in Veracruz at the same time as Ramón's son by Victoria/Rosa, José María Carrillo; and at the 1854 baptism of José María Carrillo's third child, the godparents were his younger half-sister, Dolores Carrillo de Albornos, and her husband Benigno Payró. Furthermore, while Ramón was never named as Carrillo de Albornos in any record and did not sign his own name that way either, his children by all three women seem to have adopted that format at the same time, and one could hypothesise that this arose as a result of José María's travels in Spain in the early 1840s; as a young man out on the town in Madrid (which the debts he accumulated certainly suggest he was) José María would certainly have been in a position to learn that the Carrillo de Albornos form was perceived in select circles as more aristocratic, and so to communicate that knowledge to his half-siblings upon his return.

In January 1833 Ramón Carrillo was appointed, as the representative of the Infantry, to a committee to compile and validate any promotions issued by Generals Anastasio Bustamante and Antonio López de Santa Anna in the

18 This child died before 1840.

*Royal Ensign, Imperial Knight, Manorial Lord, Dissembling Dad:
The Many Faces of Ramón Carrillo*

course of Mexico's internecine warfare¹⁹; a year later, in January 1834 he himself addressed a petition to the Mexican Congress asking to be promoted, albeit in retirement, from Lieutenant Colonel to Colonel²⁰, and his petition was granted. Ramón Carrillo and his last wife lived in Mexico City's Sagrario parish of the Cathedral from 1830 through 1835 but by the time his last legitimate daughter was born in 1838, they were living in San Miguel parish; these movements would have allowed Ramón to neatly hopscotch around his family with Teresa Medina, who lived at first in San Miguel parish but whose last known child was baptised at the Sagrario.

On 26 March 1840²¹ Ramón made a will which, at least, mentioned his current wife and his two deceased previous wives, Mariana Pavia and María de la Luz; he named as his heirs his three surviving legitimate daughters, Dolores, María Jesús and Remedios, and as administrator of his estate a sister, María Antonia Carrillo y Pinto. It seems that his will made no mention of his extramarital offspring, and while this may have been to spare his wife's feelings its also possible that any mention of them was legally redundant, as beyond what he may have freely given them in his lifetime, they had no claim at all on his estate once dead.

In his final years, though, Ramón was clearly concerned for the well-being and future prospects of his only surviving son, José María. Like Ramón a generation earlier, José María was already gambling in the inseparable high-stakes games that were politics and the military in contemporary Mexico; just as Ramón was never one to pass up a promotion or an honor

19 *Recopilacion de leyes, decretos, bandos, reglamentos, circulares y providencias de los supremos poderes y otras autoridades de la Republica Mexicana*, Jan 1832/Mar 1833, P. 278

20 *El Fenix de la Libertad*, Vol. 4, P. 2, 3 March 1834

21 *Colegio Notarial de México*, Acta 13060, Folio 24649, Notary Francisco Madariaga, 26 March 1840. It has not been possible to obtain a full copy of the will; all that is known of its contents is a brief summary found on the Mexico City College of Notaries' database.

Matthew Hovious

which he felt he could claim, he worked diligently to obtain preferment, promotions and back pay for his son, albeit with varying degrees of success. His final known letters are datelined Toluca in February 1843; it appears that Ramón died in Mexico City the following year.

Though he likely did not realise it, Ramón Carrillo, who probably never set eyes on the Spanish land whose ownership he clearly sought to uphold, was the last Lord of the manor of Pamis. Many years after his death his daughter Dolores, believing herself now to be sole owner of the estate as Ramón's eldest surviving legitimate child, sold it, but the sale was found to be invalid as she sold 100% of something she only owned 33% of, Spain having abolished entailed estates in the 1830s and her sisters, therefore, having each inherited an equal share. For the resulting litigation before the court at Dénia in Alicante in 1858 to untangle the land's ownership, family trees were prepared, a copy of Ramón's will was clearly obtained from Mexico, and possibly his death record as well; yet as with so many documents linked to Ramón, the court papers and the deed naming him as lord of Pamis in 1799 have vanished, and only the records diligently kept by one of the parties to the case in Ondara itself have survived there these many years to document this footnote to Ramón's career.

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PROFILE

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*Royal Ensign, Imperial Knight, Manorial Lord, Dissembling Dad:
The Many Faces of Ramón Carrillo*

research, but commissions involving probate research also frequently undertaken on behalf of public trustees in several jurisdictions. Lecturer and author specialising in medieval and early modern English and Hungarian topics.

PUBLICATIONS

Include *A Reappraisal of the Medieval Ancestry of the Cranmers of Aslacton*, winner of the Foundation for Medieval Genealogy's Charles F H Evans Award for 2007, and published in Foundations, their journal; *A Fleet of Fastolfs: The Descendancy of Alexander Fastolf, Burgess of Great Yarmouth*, in the same journal; *The Hedge, Ward, and Taylor Ancestry of Captain William Hedge of Yarmouth, Massachusetts*, in the New England Historic and Genealogical Register; *Norwich Revisited: The Origin of John Jenney, Plymouth Colonist*, in The Genealogist; the journal of the American Society of Genealogists; introductory articles on Spanish and Hungarian genealogical research for the BBC's Who Do You Think You Are? magazine; an essay displayed on the website of the Real Academia Matritense de Heráldica y Genealogía, *Espejismos digitales: la "Descendencia" Mayfren del Infante Don Gabriel*, disproving the Spanish royal descent attributed in certain books to an armigerous English family; an essay on a Hungarian family in 19th Century Spain, *A Somogy család – magyar gyökerek nyomában a 19. századi Spanyolországban*, on the website tortenelemportal.hu; and one literary fiction novel inspired by Spanish art history.

LECTURES

Scheduled to speak at the 33rd International Congress of Genealogical & Heraldic Sciences in Arras, October 2018. Previous speaking engagements have included lectures at the 32nd ICGHS in Glasgow, 2016; the 31st ICGHS in Oslo, 2014; the 8th International Colloquium of Genealogy at Bologna, 2011, and the annual meeting of the Foundation for Medieval Genealogy, London, 2008. Topics have ranged from the use of DNA evidence in genealogy when written records are inadequate, to Hungarian heraldry of the early 20th century.

ASSOCIATIONS AND INTERESTS

Life Member of the Friends of St George's & Descendants of the Knights of the Garter, UK

Member, The Heraldry Society, UK

Freeman of the City of London

Liveryman, Worshipful Company of Scriveners, London

Member, Naval Order of the United States

Member, Sons of the American Revolution

Matthew Hovious

Member, Real Liga Naval Española