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An Object Lesson: Why We Need Good Editions of the Documents of the Hispanic Southwest

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An Object Lesson:

Why We Need Good Editions of the Documents of the Hispanic Southwest

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The *Presidio and Militia* volume brought out by Naylor and Polzer in 1986 has from its appearance been regarded as a valuable research tool, a judgement that one can hardly dispute, particularly with regard to the detailed annotations of the translations that accompany the Spanish texts published in that volume. A brave decision was involved in the design of the work, that is, to publish transcriptions of the Spanish documents alongside translations into English, thus breaking an unofficial “English only” rule that has predominated in publications concerning the Hispanic Southwest since the pioneering days of Winship (1896).

However admirable the decision to include the Spanish texts may have been, I regret to say that some of the editorial criteria adopted by Naylor and Polzer were unfortunate. Their decision to modernize the Spanish of the documents all but destroyed any value their transcriptions might have had for linguists and philologists. Some might regard that as a minor quibble, after all, the linguistic nuggets that so enchant that sort of scholar, e.g., *vido*, *priasa*, *ynbiar*, *truxeron*, *juiendo*, etc., are perhaps of little moment to anthropologists and historians, just to cite members of two disciplines less inclined to reverence form before content.

Recently and quite by chance I decided to compare one of the transcriptions published in *Presidio and Militia* with the original document. What I found is genuinely disturbing: the transcription is so inaccurate that no scholar can risk citing it without verifying its readings in the original document. It may have been the work of a poorly trained student, and the editors may have been harassed by ineluctable deadlines that prevented adequate oversight, yet one can't help asking, what purpose can such a transcription serve? The translation reflects many, but not all, of the deficiencies of the transcription; it is difficult to avoid the impression that the two tasks were carried out with some independence.

The transcribed text is a report by captain Roque Madrid, dated Oct. 3, 1684, to the governor of New Mexico, Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate (1683-1686, 1689-1691), concerning a campaign against the Manso Indians (*Presidio and Militia*, pp. 506-511). The original belongs to the Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City [AGNMex], ramo Provincias Internas [PI], vol. 37, expediente 5, fols. 191r-192r; there is an eighteenth-century copy in the Archivo Franciscano of the Biblioteca Nacional de México [BNMEX AF], caja 21/446, fols. 55r-57v.

Here follows a partial list of incorrect readings and misinterpretations; with regard to the translation, I mention only the instances where the translator was clearly misled by errors in the transcription.

509.1, 2 vuestra excelencia ■ 191r1,2 v ss^a

Here we have “*vuestra sseñoria*” and not “*vuestra excelencia*”; the latter is the form of address for the viceroy, not for the governor of a province. The translator uses “your excellency” here (p. 506.1) and elsewhere (p. 508.67-68), even when the transcription has “*vuestra señoría*” (p. 511.71-73).

509.2 lo vuelvo ha hacer ■ 191r2 lo bueluo ha hazer

The <h> of “ha” is inappropriately retained in the modernized spelling.

509.6 paré por ofrecerse ■ 191r6 pare mi real por ofrecerse

The phrase “mi real” is badly smudged in the original, but just legible. The translator’s version “I... made camp” (p. 506.5) appears to include the phrase omitted in the transcription.

509.7 aguardando allí a que acababa ■ 191r7 ... acauara...
de amanecer

The construction requires the past subjunctive of the original.

509.8 salir huyendo tres Apaches ■ 191r8-9 salir juiendo | tres Apaches

When the transcriber modernizes “*juiendo*” as “*huyendo*” two significant and interrelated phonological phenomena are obscured. At the end of the Middle Ages, the voiceless labiodental fricative [f] was aspirated when it occurred before vowels, that is, converted into a pharyngeal fricative [h], so that medieval Spanish *fuyo* ‘I flee’ became *huyo* [húyo]. Later in the 16th century,

the [h] was lost, hence modern Spanish *huyo* [úyo], still spelled with an <h>. In regional varieties of Spanish, this [h] was preserved in many words, and universally merged with the voiceless velar fricative [x] (< [š]). The change [š] > [x] is difficult to observe in Spanish, because the orthography does not change at all; presumably it had been generalized by the latter part of the 17th century. A similar problem is involved in the loss of [h]; the spelling with <h> is maintained, so that the loss cannot be observed in texts that observe normative orthography. However, the merger of [h] (< [f])—preserved in regional dialects—with [x] (< [š]) led to an observable change in spelling, i.e., <j> (or less often <x>) instead of <h>, thus regional *juiendo* [xuyéndo] alongside normative *huyendo* [uyéndo]. Finding *juiendo* [xuyéndo] in a 1684 text tells us that (1) Roque Madrid preserved the archaic aspirated [h] (< [f]) in this word, merging it with [x]; and (2) Roque Madrid pronounced <j> as [x]; if <j> still represented [š] in his Spanish, the merger with [h] (< [f]) would be most unlikely. The upshot is that the spelling *juiendo* gives us a secure attestation of the change [š] > [x], which the modernized spelling *huyendo* erases.

509.9 con los señores y soldados ■ 191r10 con los s^{res} soldados

The conjunction is not in the original; no invidious class distinction was intended.

510.17-18 era muy conveniente procurásenos ■ 191r20-22 era mui conveniente |
la paz con el capitán de su nación procurasemos la paz con dhos Apaches y
que se despachara el que | estaua bueno â asentar la paz con el capⁿ de su naz^{on}

This is a classic omission by homeoteleuton, i.e., the text between the two occurrences of the phrase “la paz” was skipped by the transcriber. The syntax of the verb in the transcription is impossible; the phrase would have to be “era muy conveniente [que] nos procurase la paz,” but a simple misreading of the first person plural past subjunctive is involved. Curiously, the missing line is translated adequately (p. 507), a clear indication that translator and transcriber were working independently to a certain extent.

aguaje alguno sino era el de los ojos de San Francisco

510.23 aguaje alguno sino era él de los ojos de ■ 191r27 ... el de los ojos...
San Francisco

If one modernizes, one should do it correctly; the accent mark of “él” is a solecism.

*Estauan muy neutrales del gesto ya, comiendo el r^l por racion
el maiz echo posole* *los que lo sabian*

510.23-24 los que lo sabían estaban muy neutrales del gesto y a señores comiendo el real por ración, el maíz hecho pozole ■ 191r28-29 los que lo sauián | estauan muy neutrales del y esto ya s^r comiendo el r^l por racion | el mais echo posole

The phrase “neutrales del” should be modernized as “neutrales de él;” the antecedent of the pronoun is the “lo” of “lo sabían,” which in its turn refers to “el [aguaje] de los ojos de San Francisco.” This curious use of the adjective “neutrales” seems to mean something like ‘uncertain’, that is, inclining now one way, now another, about the location of the water holes (“ojos [de agua]”). The transcription is hopelessly garbled; “s^r” is a vocative singular addressed to the governor, recipient of the report. The comma after “ración” breaks the syntax improperly; “el maíz” is the direct object of “comiendo,” and not, let us thank goodness, the spurious “a señores.” The translation, admirably enough, reflects none of the misreadings of the transcription.

en fin y quiso dios

510.25-26 En fin y quiso Dios ■ 191r30 en fin s^r quiso dios

There is very little graphic resemblance between “y” and “s^r” in the document.

le sido inhumito al qual le di cerco *llegando a dichos ojos*

510.27-28 y llegando a dichos ojos se sido inhumito al cual le di cerco ■ 191r32-33 y llegando a dhos ojos | se vido vn jumito al cual le di cerco

The diminutive “jumito” is derived from *jumo* ‘smoke’, in standard modern Spanish *humo*. The initial consonant reflects the development described above with regard to “juiendo.” The ‘little bit of smoke’ comes from a campfire, perhaps in order to send a smoke signal, which the captain and his men spotted (“se vido”) at some distance; he and his men proceeded to surround it (“le di cerco”) and then pursued the Indian who had built the fire. The translator must have contemplated the incomprehensible phrase “se sido inhumito” with a sinking heart; it would have been better to ignore it altogether. In desperation, he/she seems to have sought out the verb *inhumar* ‘to bury a corpse’ in a Spanish-English dictionary and to have made a desperate conjecture (p. 507): “We... reached the wells... only to find that they had been filled in. I had my soldiers guard the wells and then pursued and caught the Indian who had filled them in.” This Indian, by name Jusephe, was guilty of no such bizarre vandalism. One can only hope that this supposed filling in of water holes by an Indian has not made its way into the treatises of ethnographers and historians.

*el qual fue el yndio Jusephe Marido de Pancha
La mansa tomo rason del*

510.30-31 el cual fue el indio Jusephe, ■ 191r35-v1 el qual fue el yndio jusephe
marido de Pancha. {new paragraph} marido de pancha [fol. 191v] la
La mansa tomó razón de él mansa tome rason del

“Pancha la mansa” is a single phrase, and it is not she, but the author of the document, who interrogates Jusephe. The translation is accurate here (p. 507), another instance of lack of coordination between translator and transcriber: “the husband of Pancha, the Manso woman. I had him tell me...” (p. 507.31-32).

no habian juntado los janos

510.34 no habían juntado con los janos ■ 191v4-5 no se auian juntad[o con] | los janos

The construction requires the reflexive pronoun.

*se determino por no darles lugar a que se juntasen con los janos
el y enviar* *se determino por no darles lugar a que se juntasen con los janos*

510.34-37 se determinó... por no darles lugar a que se juntasen con los janos. {new paragraph} El enviar algunos hombres ■ 191v5-7 se determino... el ynviar...

The infinitive clause “el enviar...” is the grammatical subject of the passive reflexive verb “se determinó,” so there should be no sentence break, even less a paragraph break, before “el enviar.” In this case, the translator goes along with the transcriber (p. 507.36-37).

Comparecer de todos

510.41 comparecer de todos ■ 191v12 compareser de todos

Properly modernized, this is “con parecer,” ‘with the opinion (or agreement) of all’.

los vastim^{tos}

510.49 los bastimentos ■ 191v19 sus vastim^{tos}

salimos a hora de la oración

510.51 salimos a la hora de la oración ■ 191v21 salimos a cosa de la oracion

In the 17th century, “a hora de” (usually without the definite article) would mean more or less exactly at the time when the church bells ring the Angelus to call the faithful to evening prayers, while “a cosa de” is more approximate: ‘about the hour of evening prayers’ rather than ‘at the hour...’.

dándole guerra, como a las siete y ocho del día

510.55-56 dándole guerra, como a las siete y ocho del día ■ 191v26 dandoles gu^a como a las siete v ocho

“Siete u ocho” in modernized Spanish.

con sobrado valor m[ostrado], mucha lealtad

511.61-62 con sobrado valor m[ostrado], mucha lealtad ■ 191v32-33 con sobrado valor m[ostran]- | do mucha lealtad

This should be “con sobrado valor, mostrando mucha lealtad...”

*tambien antenido
que con unos golpes anido por todos los heridos veinte y siete heridos,
y mas riesgo segun la herida fue acuña*

511.61-63 también han tenido estoqueos que... han sido por todos los heridos veinte y siete heridos, que es de más riesgo según la herida fue Acuña ■ 191v33-34 tambien han tenido [heridos] | que... an sido por todos los heridos veinte y siete heridos q[ue el] | de mas riesgo segun la herida fue acuña

This imaginative reading (*estoqueo* ‘acción de tirar estocadas’) seems to be a wild guess on the transcriber’s part for a portion of text he/she was unable to read. The binding of AGNMex PI 37 has caused the portions of text included in square brackets to be unreadable in the microfilm; the text has been restored from the eighteenth-century copy, BNMex AF 21/446, mentioned above. The translator has attempted to make sense of “estoqueos” by adding a phrase about “puncture wounds” that has no basis in the original: “There were wounded... making the total twenty-seven. The puncture wounds looked to be the worst; Acuña was the most seriously wounded” (p. 508.61-62).

a purgar los

511.66 a purgar los heridos ■ 191v36 a purgar las e[ridas]

por... dar descanso a la caballada. Me determiné ■ *cauallada me determine*

511.67-68 por... dar descanso a la caballada. Me determiné ■ 191v37-38 por... dar descanso [a la] | cauallada me determine

Incorrect sentence break after “caballada.”

Como más largamente cuenta

511.80 Como más largamente cuenta ■ 192r6 como mas largam^{te} conta

In the document, “conta” is a scribal slip for “consta.”



511.81 que por testimonios ■ 192r6-7 que por auer de darles |
testimonios



511.95 don Alfonso ■ 192r19 D Al°

“Alonso” is the correct modernization, and is the form given by the translator (p. 508.78).

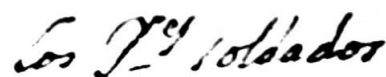


511.96 seis y ocho libras de chocolate ■ 192r20 seis v ocho libras de chocolate

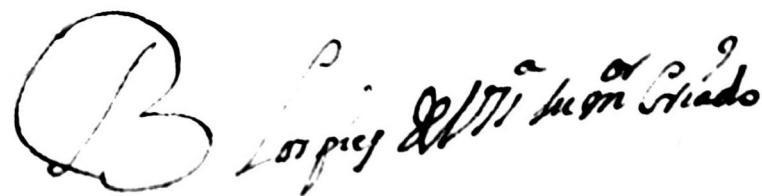


511.100 y reverencia vuestra señoría ■ 192r23 y r^{ua} vss^a

The reading of the document is “y recíua vuestra sseñoria.”



511.101 los señores y soldados ■ 192r24 los s^{res} soldados



511.105 Beso los pies de vuestra señoría ■ 192r28 B los pies de vss^a su m^{or} criado
su mayor criado

The reading of the document is, of course, “besa los pies... su menor criado,” a common formula, nicely rendered by the translator (“Your humble servant...”). The verb is third person singular, with “criado” as subject.

I omit other relatively minor misreadings, many of them caused, apparently, by the fact that the text near the right-hand margin of fol. 191v is obscured by excessively tight binding. The last letters of each line are invisible in microfilm, and perhaps even illegible in the original. In such a case, another philological operation can provide valuable assistance: collation with a copy, i.e., that contained in folder 21/446 of the Archivo Franciscano, Biblioteca Nacional, Mexico, as noted above. The copy is much easier to decipher than the original, and though one cannot always trust its readings implicitly, they solve virtually all the problems that arise from the binding of PI 37.

The transcription of the *Presidio and Militia* volume falls so far below any reasonable minimum standard for accuracy that it casts doubt on the integrity of every transcription in the volume. Furthermore, the translation of this document abounds in problems of interpretation not immediately provoked by the deficiencies of the transcription. The fundamental failing may have been that neither transcriber nor translator was willing to confess in print that they found some passages difficult to read or to understand.

This exercise was carried out on behalf of the “Cíbola Project,” initiated in 1996 to publish the documents of the Hispanic Southwest. The project seeks to remedy specifically the sort of situation presented by this transcription and translation, a situation that is more the rule than the exception in the scholarship devoted to the Hispanic Southwest, by bringing out rigorous editions with facsimile reproductions. Errors of transcription, and, indeed, of translation, will do much less damage if readers are in a position to verify in a reproduction of the original any reading or interpretation they may question.*

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*The main points of this “Object Lesson” were presented in a lecture entitled “On Transcriptions and Translations: Who cares whether an intrepid Manso Indian was filling in water holes or sending up smoke signals in the wild, wild Southwest of 1684? I care, that’s who,” read before the UCB Humanities Club, 19 November 2001, O’Neill Room, The Faculty Club.

The El Paso Presidio Pursues the Sumas

Other than a scattering of frontiersmen, no other defensive force existed at Casas Grandes to oppose the outbreak of the Suma revolt in May 1684. The nearest available garrison was the presidio at El Paso, formed from New Mexico refugees in 1683. Reluctantly sent to Casas Grandes by the new governor of the exiled colony of New Mexico, the El Paso contingent quickly found themselves plagued by the rebels' ability to elude the Spaniards almost at will. In addition to the New Mexican Roque Madrid, captains who would dominate the military effort in the far north now begin to make their mark. The Apaches have appeared in force and the Spanish commanders have come to the realization that the Suma, Janos, and Manso rebels are in league with them and together have formed an aggregate force against the incursions of the Iberians.

Governor and Captain-General, Sir:

From the area of San Diego¹ I reported to your excellency on my journey up to that point. Now I do so again, giving you an account of the whole trip up to the present time. I left the Río [Grande] del Norte following the trail of the Mansos,² the same trail I had given up on the first time. I left at around two in the afternoon and made camp just before dawn because the pass through which we had to go would be difficult to cross. We waited until daybreak so as to see our way down. We noticed a fire from which three Apaches were fleeing. One of them ran off alone while the other two set out cross-country. I and my soldiers pursued the two; seeing themselves imperiled, they finally barricaded themselves in a cave. There they made their stand, while we dismounted so as to capture the Apaches alive. Two of my companions were wounded: Francisco Márquez in the arm and Captain Pedro de Leyva near his temple. God favored us, and we captured

1. San Diego is approximately 15 kilometers southwest of Casas Grandes at the confluence of the Río Piedras Verdes and the Río San Miguel.

2. The Mansos were a semi-nomadic, sometime riverine group centered in the area of El Paso. They were probably Uto-Aztecan speakers and seem to have been related to the Suma and Jumano. Many of them peacefully settled at the Franciscan missions at El Paso and Samalayuca immediately to the south, but those that did not increasingly became affiliated with the rebelling Sumas in 1684 and then with marauding bands of Apaches. In the minds of the Spaniards, those who remained hostile were often grouped with the Apaches.

The El Paso Presidio Pursues the Sumas

the Apaches, although one suffered some lance wounds. I comforted and entertained the two and asked where I could find water. They led me to the Sierra Florida,³ where I had to water the animals one at a time.

At the watering place I was joined by Captain Juan Fernández de la Fuente⁴ and Captain Francisco Ramírez [de Salazar],⁵ as well as the men under my charge. They had come to ask if it would not be timely to make peace with the Apaches by sending the one captive who was not wounded to his leader. The captive promised to do so and to return with his chief, adding that the Apaches would help us fight the Mansos. I dispatched him and remained to treat and comfort the wounded Apache. I then continued my journey, always keeping to the same trail. No one knew where there was water, except at the wells of San Francisco, and no one was sure of their precise location.

Now things were such, sir, that the troops were eating pozole made from maize day in and day out and the horses were exhausted, their hooves bruised from so much traveling. Finally Our Lord God granted that we should find the wells of San Francisco. We had traveled for more than twenty-four hours and reached the wells at around eight in the morning, only to find they had been filled in. I had my soldiers guard the wells and then pursued and caught the Indian who had filled them in. The Indian was Jusephe, the husband of Pancha, the Manso woman. I had him tell me where the Mansos were or where he had left them, and under pressure he told me that he would tell the truth. He said that if we traveled fast and did not stop we could reach their ranchería in three days. Since the Mansos had not yet joined up with the Janos,⁶ and seeing that we were perishing as it was, I decided to push on.

So as to prevent the Janos and Mansos from joining forces, I ordered some men to take the captive to the valley of Casas Grandes along with a letter from Captain Francisco Ramírez. The three men soon returned, bringing only two sacks of unshelled corn, saying the citizens of Casas Grandes were in grave danger and asking for help. With full agreement of the officers and men, I sent troops with full speed to help these Christian people. With twenty-five of my men and others belonging

3. The Florida Mountains are in southern New Mexico, just southeast of modern Deming.

4. Fernández de la Fuente was an extremely active military commander. In the 1680s he fought out of Casas Grandes against the Sumas and their allies. The following decade he was the presidial commander at Janos and took part in far-ranging campaigns against rebellious Indians—Apaches in general, Pimas in northern Sonora in 1695, Tarahumaras in southwestern Chihuahua in 1697, and Pima Bajos in southeastern Sonora in 1701.

5. Ramírez de Salazar was born about 1618 in New Mexico. In 1663 he moved with his wife to El Paso and later moved again to the newly colonized area around Casas Grandes. There he became the second alcalde mayor, serving in that capacity from 1680 until his death. He was named the first commander of the *Compañía Volante* of the Sonoran frontier. Having received that distinguished office from the hand of the viceroy, he died while returning to the northern frontier in 1693. He owned the hacienda of Ramos northwest of Casas Grandes.

6. The Janos were nomadic hunter-gatherers who occupied extreme northwestern Chihuahua. They shared many traits with the Manso, Suma, and Jocome and allied themselves with them and the raiding bands of Apaches that increasingly came into the area.

Northern Rebellions and New Presidios

to captains Juan de la Fuente and Francisco Ramírez, I continued on to attack the Mansos, who had retreated to the Sierra de Carretas.⁷

Finally, sir, we turned back to help the people of Casas Grandes. We received word that the enemy had been victorious and had taken all the horses, sheep, and goats. After burning the jacales where supplies were stored, the enemy had entrenched themselves in the sierra five leagues from here. After the scouts I had sent out returned and confirmed that the enemy was in the sierra, we left at the hour of prayers and reached the sierra at dawn. We saw that the sierra was so rough, impassable, and without entrances or exits that it greatly favored our Indian enemies. I resolved to end the Indians' audacity, for they were in sight, and I decided to go in on foot if need be. We accordingly attacked at about seven or eight in the morning, and, sir, I have never seen such a battle in all my life. The battle lasted the entire blessed day, until the sun had finally set. The fighting was the most savage ever seen, and I did all the damage I could to them. We killed more than forty and wounded many. Our heroic effort was evident, for I and eleven men in my command were wounded, as well as four Piros and Tiguas who demonstrated their great bravery and loyalty. There were wounded in the other two groups as well, making the total twenty-seven. The puncture wounds looked to be the worst; Acuña was the most seriously wounded. This battle was waged on the 30th day [of September?], and today we are feeling some relief, because the wounds on our faces, legs, arms, and heads have begun to heal. To allow these wounds to heal and to let the horses rest, I decided to rest three or four days.

Yesterday Captain Francisco Ramírez and the Reverendo Padre Provedor Fray Juan Porras⁸ came before me to request four men to go with them and the *alférez de campo* to make a report to your excellency of all that has happened and to see how your excellency is faring. I have received word of the meeting your excellency had because of their treason on being caught asleep at their posts. I therefore did not postpone my trip, and I made haste to come to help these people and punish the enemy in the name of our lord the king. Without my troops, this entire jurisdiction would cease to exist, and the *alcalde mayor* would remove the population because no one came to his aid. In his *requerimientos*, the *alcalde mayor* made 2,000 demands of me, so that to best serve Our Lord God, the boldness of the enemies should not cause the depopulation of this jurisdiction. At this time I shall not send the *requerimientos* to your lordship because I have yet to take testimony on them. I shall accordingly deliver them in person for your lordship's decision so that I may execute your orders. *Alférez Alonso García*⁹ will explain everything,

7. The Sierra de Carretas is approximately 60 kilometers southwest of Janos near the present Sonora border.

8. Porras was the resident Franciscan at the mission of San Antonio de Padua de Casas Grandes.

9. This was Alonso García de Noriega II. He was born about 1640 and along with his father and other family members abandoned New Mexico after the 1680 Revolt. Some of his family remained at El Paso after 1692, but Alonso took part in the reconquest as a captain. In the interim he was involved in operations against the Mansos, Sumas, and Apaches in the El Paso and Casas Grandes areas. He married a second time at Santa Fe in 1694 and died in Sevilleta from Apache arrow wounds received in 1696.

The El Paso Presidio Pursues the Sumas

telling how your grace and the rest of the officers and soldiers have acted like the brave, noble, and loyal vassals of his majesty that they are. They have earned fame and honor amongst both friends and enemies. Words fail me in trying to tell your lordship of this without exaggeration. Captain Juan de la Fuente has demonstrated his valor and nobility. Captain Francisco Ramírez has asked me to beg your lordship to send 100 Piro and Tigua Indians¹⁰, if you do not desperately need them yourself. I trust in God, and with these reinforcements victory will be ours.

Your lordship need not fear the cold, for glory be to God, He has not willed it this year. I beg your lordship to send me, provided Captain Don Alonso [García] has arrived, four or five bundles of tobacco, six or eight pounds of chocolate and sugar, and one bundle of paper, because there is none to be found here. I am sending to your lordship the sealed orders which were in the care of Captain Francisco Ramírez. There is nothing else new here to tell your lordship. I only ask your lordship to tell me what is new there and all that concerns the father chaplains and all the soldiers—particularly the *alférez real* and Xavier, who kiss your lordship's feet. I hope God grants you many happy years. From this valley of San Antonio de Casas Grandes. October 3, 1684.

Your humble servant kisses your lordship's feet.
Roque Madrid¹¹

Original in the Archivo General de la Nación, México, Provincias Internas 37, 5

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Señor, Gobernador y Capitán General:

Del paraje de San Diego, di cuenta a vuestra excelencia, de lo sucedido en mi viaje hasta allí, y ahora lo vuelvo ha hacer, dando a vuestra excelencia cuenta de todo el viaje hasta la hora presente y así digo señor, que salí del Río del Norte siguiendo el rastro de los mansos que habían dejado la primera vez y habiendo salido como a las dos de la tarde y caminando aquella noche hasta el cuarto del alba, paré por ofrecerse un puerto que teníamos que pasar a la vista mala; y aguardando allí a que acababa de amanecer para registrar bajada, se vio una lumbre y de ella salir huyendo tres apaches. El uno se desabrigó de sus compañeros y los dos, cerro arriba y cerro abajo, los seguí con los señores y soldados de mi cargo y viéndose ya perdidos se metieron en una cueva atrincherándose a toda prisa y resistiéndose allí por lo favorable en que se hallaban tirándome a pie con los dichos, mis compañeros a cogerlos vivos me hirieron dos compañeros los

10. The Piro and Tiguas were Pueblo Indians from central New Mexico who had not rebelled against the Spaniards. Many joined them in the retreat to El Paso and remained in the lower area after New Mexico was reconquered.

11. Madrid was born in New Mexico about 1644 and with his wife and small children escaped from New Mexico in 1680. He was active militarily during the exile in the El Paso and Casas Grandes areas. He played a leading role in the 1692 and 1693 Vargas expeditions and returned with his family to New Mexico, where he served as alcalde mayor of Santa Cruz from 1699 to 1707.

Northern Rebellions and New Presidios

cuales fueron Francisco Márquez en un brazo y al capitán Pedro de Leyva, junto a la cien, quiso Dios que los cogiéramos aunque al uno con algunas lanzadas los agasajé y acaricié y tomé razón de ellos de donde había aguaje que me llevaron a la Sierra Florida donde me fue forzoso estar dando agua de en una las bestias. Allí se juntaron los capitanes Juan Fernández de la Fuente, y Francisco Ramírez [de Salazar] con la gente de mi cargo a pedirme era muy conveniente procurásenos la paz con el capitán de su nación el cual la prometió, y que volviera con su capitán y que haríamos amigos de una vez y que ellos procurarían a los mansos y les darían guerra, en fin lo despaché y quedé haciendo curar y acariciar al herido y proseguí con mi viaje siempre por el rastro sin que hubiera hombre que supiera aguaje alguno sino era él de los ojos de San Francisco que los que lo sabían estaban muy neutrales del gesto y a señores comiendo el real por ración, el maíz hecho pozole de veinte a veinte y cuatro horas con la caballada estropeada y despeada. En fin y quiso Dios Nuestro Señor, diéramos con los ojos de San Francisco al cabo de haber caminado más de veinte y cuatro horas como a las ocho del día y llegando a dichos ojos se sido inhumito al cual le di cerco con los señores soldados de mi cargo y huyendo el indio que lo había hecho se le cogió el rastro y se siguió y cogió el cual fue el indio Jusephe, marido de Pancha.

La mansa tomó razón de él de la parte donde se hallaban los mansos o donde los dejaba y haciéndole aprieto me dijo que él me decía la verdad como lo vería que caminando a toda prisa sin parar, daría con la rancharía dentro de tres días; con cuya razón y la de que no habían juntado con los janos, viendo que perecíamos, se determinó por no dejar de proseguir en el seguimiento del rastro por no darles lugar a que se juntasen con los janos.

El enviar algunos hombres a que lo llevaran de este valle de Casas Grandes con carta que trajeron del capitán Francisco Ramírez, los cuales volvieron a toda diligencia; los tres llevando sólo dos costales de mazorca y pidiendo favor y socorro con nueva que se hallaban apretados y en peligro los vecinos de este dicho valle que con el aprieto de la nueva comparecer de todos los señores oficiales y demás soldados de mi cargo envié el real a toda diligencia a dar favor a dicha cristianidad y yo o veinte y cinco hombres de mi cargo y otros de los campos con los capitanes Juan de la Fuente y Francisco Ramírez proseguimos a dar asalto a los mansos que estaban ya retirados en la Sierra de Carretas. En fin, señor volvimos a diligencia a dar favor y socorro como llevo dicho y hallamos la noticia de que la gente que había dado en este valle con la victoria que llevaban de haber llevándose todas las caballadas y ganados menores y el haberles quemado los jacales donde tenían encerrados los bastimentos, estaban de asiento cinco leguas de este valle en la sierra y habiendo enviado espías y traído la noticia de que estaba en la dicha sierra salimos a la hora de la oración y fuimos al amanecer a la dicha sierra donde por reconocer lo áspero de ella y lo incontrastable tan a favor de los indios enemigos y no tener entradas ni saber ninguno salida alguna resolviéndome a que no quedaran con mayor avilantez pues los teníamos a la vista determiné el entrar a pie o como pudiéramos como lo hice y dándole guerra, como a las siete y ocho del día fue señor, la mayor guerra y batalla la que tuvimos que no se ha visto otra que le haya semejado desde que tengo uso de razón. Duró la pelea todo el sagrado día hasta ponerse el sol y fue la guerra la más cruda que se ha visto. Híceles todo el daño y destrozo que se pudiera. Matádoles más de cuarenta e hiriéndoles muchísima gente y se puede recontar el mucho empeño que hicimos pues yo y once

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hombres de los de mi cargo hemos salido heridos y cuatro indios piros y tiguas que han peleado con sobrado valor mostrado, mucha lealtad de los demás de los otros dos campos también han tenido estoqueos que con unos y otros han sido por todos los heridos veinte y siete heridos, que es de más riesgo según la herida fue Acuña. Y esta pelea fue el día treinta de [ilegible] y hoy día de la fecha nos hallamos con alivio, pues han empezado a purgar los heridos que han sido en la cara, piernas, brazos y cabeza, por cuya causa y dar descanso a la caballada. Me determiné a esperar tres o cuatro días y ayer me presentó el capitán Francisco Ramírez, y el reverendo padre proveedor, fray Juan Porras cada uno su requerimiento a que les tengo respuesto, pidiéndoles cuatro hombres para poderle con ellos y el alférez de campo dar cuenta a vuestra señoría de todo lo sucedido y saber el estado en que se halla vuestra señoría por allá pues he tenido la noticia de la junta que tengo avisado a vuestra señoría con la traición de cogerlos durmiendo, por cuya causa no dilataba más mi viaje y lo aceleraba todo lo posible, y me requiere en nombre del rey nuestro señor, le dé favor y socorro hasta echar con castigo al enemigo de aquí. Pues de faltar de aquí mi campo se acabaría esta jurisdicción despoblándola el dicho alcalde mayor por faltarle a dar favor haciéndome en dichos requerimientos, dos mil cargos que mirando al mayor servicio de Dios Nuestro Señor y que no tengan mayor avilantez los enemigos con el despueblo de esta jurisdicción, teniendo modo de dar cuenta vuestra señoría de todo. Como más largamente cuenta de dichos requerimientos, que por testimonios de ellos y que me lo den de mi respuesta no se los remito a vuestra señoría y los llevaré en persona pues sólo espero la razón de vuestra señoría para con sus órdenes ponerlas en ejecución y de todo dará razón bastante el alférez Alonso García, que su merced y los demás señores, oficiales y soldados han acudido como nobles leales y valerosos vasallos de su majestad ganando todos créditos y reputación con amigos y enemigos procurando cada cual aventajar sus personas, que para podérselo decir a vuestra señoría sin encarecimiento, y con verdad, me falta discurso, haciendo lo mismo con su gente el capitán Juan de la Fuente que en todo ha mostradc su valor y nobleza, y el capitán Francisco Ramírez, quienes me han pedido haga súplica a vuestra señoría, de que me remita cien indios piros, y tiguas, si acaso no se viere vuestra señoría en algún aprieto; pues con eso fío en Dios de conseguir la victoria que vengan si acaso los enviare vuestra señoría sin temor de que hay fríos, que gloria a Dios no han dado este año, y lo que ahora suplico a vuestra señoría me haga favor de enviarme si es que ha venido el capitán don Alfonso me socorra con cuatro o cinco manojos de tabaco, seis y ocho libras de chocolate y azúcar y una mano de papel, que es género que por acá no se halla, remito a vuestra señoría el pliego que estaba en poder del capitán Francisco Ramírez. Otra cosa de nuevo, no hay que dar aviso a vuestra señoría y sólo le pido a vuestra señoría, me avise de toda novedad de por allá y reverencia vuestra señoría las de los reverendos padres capellanes y de todos los señores y soldados muy en particular del alférez real y de Xavier que besan los pies vuestra señoría y con tanto Nuestro Señor me guarde a vuestra señoría los muchos y felices años que deseo y he menester de este valle de San Antonio de Casas Grandes y octubre a 3 de 1684 años.

Beso los pies de vuestra señoría su mayor criado,
Roque Madrid

Oct. 3, 1684. Captain Roque Madrid to Domingo Jironza Pétriz de Cruzate, Governor of New Mexico (1683-1686, 1689-1691), concerning a campaign against the Manso Indians.

Transcribed and annotated by Jerry R. Craddock; translated by John H. R. Polt.

Manuscripts.

AGNMex PI 37, exp. 5 (olim exp. 4, "Año de 1685. Numero 4. Autos sobre los socorros que pide el | *gouernador* de la Nueva Mexico y otras notticias tocan[tes] | a la subleuazion de los yndios bar[ba]- | ros de aquella proujncia"), fols. 191r-192r. Other foliations:186r-187r, 43r-44r. Original.

BNMEX AF, caja 21/446 (eighteenth-century uncertified copy of "Autos sobre los socorros"), fols. 55r-57v. Cf. del Río 1975:172, §1332.

Transcript.

Bancroft Library, Herbert E. Bolton Papers. C-B 840, Part 1, Carton 29, Item 427. Typewritten transcript of AGNMex, PI 37, exp. 5-6 (olim 4).

Edition.

Naylor and Polzer 1986:509-511.

Translation.

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Literature.

Garner 1972:79-80, 182, n. 199; Hughes 1914:355-357; Walz 1951:169-170.

Señor, Gov. Cap. Gen. 191
43 +
186

Del paraje de P. D. de cuenta al 7.º de lo sucedido en mi viaje asta
alli, para lo qual he de dar cuenta de todo el viaje asta
la ora presente. Digo que sali del Rio del Norte siguiendo el rastro
de los mansos que auia. Fado lagimosa por el camino salido como
a las dos de la tarde para minando aquella noche asta el cuarto de
alua pare mi real por ofreserse un puerto que teniamos que pasar
ala vista malo aguardando alli a que acauara de amanecer
para rexitras pasada se uido una lumbre de ella sale juiendo
tres apaches el vno muy abigo de sus compañeros los dos serro
a una vna. aliso los segui con los soldados de mi cargo
y viendose ya perdidos se metieron en vna cueua atrincherandose
a toda priesa y resistiendose alli por lo fauorable en que se allauan.
Tirandome a pie con los dichos mis compañeros a cojerlos viuos me yrie-
ron dos compañeros, los quales fueron Francisco Marques en vn brazo
y a el capitán Pedro de Leiuua junto a la sien. Quiso dios que los coxieramos
avnque a el vno con algunas lansadas. Los agasaxe y acaricie y tome
raçon de ellos de donde auia aguaje, que me lleuaron a la Sierra
Florida donde me fue foroso estar dando agua de en vna en vna
las vestias. Alli se juntaron los capitanes Juan Fernandes de la Fuente y Francisco
Ramires con la jente de mi cargo a pedirme era mui conveniente
procurasemos la paz con dichos apaches y que se despachara el que
estaua bueno a asentar la paz con el capitán de su nazon, el qual la
prometio y que bolueria con su capitán y quedariamos amigos de vna ves
y que ellos procurarian a los mansos y les darian guerra. En fin lo despa-
che y quede asiendo curar y acariciar a el erido y proseguí con
mi viaje, siempre por el rastro sin que viera hombre que supiera
aguaje alguno sino era el de los ojos de san Francisco, que los que lo sauian
estauan mui neutrales del dicho P. D. coniendo el P. D. por racion
el mais echo posole de veinte a veinte y quatro oras con la caualla
da estropeada y despeada. En fin señor quiso dios nuestro señor dieramos
con los ojos de san Francisco al cauo de auer caminado mas de veinte
y quatro oras como a las ocho del dia y llegando a dichos ojos
se vido vn jumito al qual le di serco con los señores soldados de mi
cargo y juiendo el yndio que lo auia echo se le coxio el rastro
y se siguió y coxio el qual fue el yndio Jusephe marido de Pancha

Co. de los
señores de
la Poluora

Señor gouernador y capitan general:

Del paraje de san Diego di cuenta a vuestra sseñoria de lo susedido en mi viaje asta
alli, y aora lo bueluo ha hazer, dando a vuestra sseñoria cuenta de todo el viaje asta
la ora presente y asi digo señor que sali del Rio del Norte siguiendo el rastro
de los mansos que auia dejado la primera ves y auiendo salido como
a las dos de la tarde y caminando aquella noche asta el cuarto del
alua pare mi real por ofreserse vn puerto que teniamos que pasar
a la vista malo y aguardando alli a que acauara de amanecer
{margin} suplico a vuestra sseñoria me aga fauor
[ta]nbien de remitirme
[s]eis libras de poluora
para rexistrar vajada, se uido vna lumbre y de ella salir juiendo
tres apaches. El vno se desabrigo de sus compañeros y los dos, serro
arriua y serro avajo, los segui con los señores soldados de mi cargo
y viendose ya perdidos se metieron en vna cueua atrincherandose
a toda priesa y resistiendose alli por lo fauorable en que se allauan.
Tirandome a pie con los dichos mis compañeros a cojerlos viuos me yrie-
ron dos compañeros, los quales fueron Francisco Marques en vn brazo
y a el capitán Pedro de Leiuua junto a la sien. Quiso dios que los coxieramos
avnque a el vno con algunas lansadas. Los agasaxe y acaricie y tome
raçon de ellos de donde auia aguaje, que me lleuaron a la Sierra
Florida donde me fue foroso estar dando agua de en vna en vna
las vestias. Alli se juntaron los capitanes Juan Fernandes de la Fuente y Francisco
Ramires con la jente de mi cargo a pedirme era mui conveniente
procurasemos la paz con dichos apaches y que se despachara el que
estaua bueno a asentar la paz con el capitán de su nazon, el qual la
prometio y que bolueria con su capitán y quedariamos amigos de vna ves
y que ellos procurarian a los mansos y les darian guerra. En fin lo despa-
che y quede asiendo curar y acariciar a el erido y proseguí con
mi viaje, siempre por el rastro sin que viera hombre que supiera
aguaje alguno sino era el de los ojos de san Francisco, que los que lo sauian
estauan mui neutrales del, y esto ya señor comiendo el real por racion
el mais echo posole de veinte a veinte y quatro oras con la caualla-
da estropeada y despeada. En fin señor quiso dios nuestro señor dieramos
con los ojos de san Francisco al cauo de auer caminado mas de veinte
y quatro oras como a las ocho del dia y llegando a dichos ojos
se vido vn jumito al qual le di serco con los señores soldados de mi
cargo y juiendo el yndio que lo auia echo se le coxio el rastro
y se siguió y coxio el qual fue el yndio Jusephe marido de Pancha

la mancha tome rason del delago, donde hallauan los mansos o de
 los dexaua y asiendole aprieto, me dixo que el me desia la uerdad [como]
 lo veria que caminando a toda priesa sin parar, daria con la ran-
 aia dentro de tres dias con cuiu rason y la de que no se auian juntad[o con]
 los janos viendo que pereciamos, se determino, por no dexar de prosegu[ir]
 en el seguimiento del rastro por no darles lugar a que se juntasen con los [janos],
 el ynviar algunos hombres a que lo llevaran de este valle de Casas Gr[andes]
 con carta que truxeron del capitan Francisco Ramires, los quales boluieron a toda [diligen]-
 cia, los tres lleuando solo dos costales de masorca y pidiendo fauor y socor[ro],
 con nueua que se allauan apretados y em peligro los vezinos de este dich[o valle],
 que con el aprieto de la nueua com pareser de todos los señores oficiales y dem[as sol]-
 dados de mi cargo ynuie el real a toda dilijencia a dar fauor a dicha [xpistian]-
 dad y yo [con] veinte y sinco hombres de mi cargo y otros de los camp[os de]
 los capitanes Juan de la Fuente y Francisco Ramires proseguimos a dar asalto a [los]
 mansos que estauan ya retirados en la Sierra de Carretas. En fin señor bol[uimos]
 a dilijencia a dar fauor y socorro como lleuo dicho y allamos la noticia de [que]
 la jente que auia dado en este valle con la vitoria que lleuauan de auer [lleuado]-
 se todas las caualladas y ganados menores y el auerles quemado los jacale[s don]-
 de tenian enserrados sus vastimentos, estauan de asiento sinco leguas de este [valle]
 en la sierra y auiendo ynviado espías y traído la noticia de que esta[uan]
 en la dicha sierra, salimos a cosa de la oracion y fuimos a amanecer [a la]
 dicha sierra, donde por desconoser lo aspero de ella y lo yncontrastab[le]
 tan a fauor de los yndios henemigos y no tener entradas ni sauer ni[nguno]
 salida alguna, resoluiendome a que no quedaran con mayor auilantes,
 pues los teniamos a la vista, determine el entrar a pie o como pudier[a]
 como lo yse y dandoles guerra como a las siete v ocho del dia, fue señor la mayor [guerra]
 y vatalla la que tubimos que no se a uisto otra que le aia semejado desde q[ue]
 tengo vso de la rason. Duro la pelea todo el sagrado dia asta ponerse el so[l]
 y fue la guerra la mas cruda que se a uisto. Y seles todo el daño y destroso que se p[udio],
 matandoles mas de quarenta y hiriendoles muchisima jente y se puede reco[noser]
 el mucho empeño que ysimos pues yo y onse hombres de los de mi cargo hemos [salido]
 heridos y quatro yndios puros y tiguas que am peleado con sobrado valor, m[ostran]-
 do mucha lealtad; de los demas de los otros dos campos tambien an tenido [heridos]
 que con vnos y otros an sido por todos los heridos veinte y siete heridos, q[ue el]
 de mas riesgo segun la herida fue Acuña y esta pelea fue el dia treinta [de septiembre]
 y oi dia de la fecha nos allamos con aliuió, pues an empesado a purgar las e[ridas]
 que an sido en la cara, piernas, brazos y cauesa, por cuiu causa y dar descanso [a la]
 cauallada, me determine a esperar tres o quatro dias y ayer me presento e[l capitan]
 Francisco Ramires y el reuerendo padre predicador fray Juan Porras cada vno su requerimiento
 a que les te[ngo]
 respuesto, pidiendoles quatro hombres para poderle con ellos y el alferes de cam[paña]
 dar quenta a vuestra sseñoria de todo lo susedido y sauer el estado en que se alla vuestra sseñoria
 por alla pu[es he]
 tenido la noticia de la junta que tengo auisado a vuestra sseñoria con la traicion de coxe[rlos]
 durmiendo, por cuiu causa no dilataua mas mi viaje y lo aseleraua todo [lo posi]-

la mansa. Tome rason del de la parte donde se allauan los mansos o d[onde]
 los dexaua y asiendole aprieto, me dixo que el me desia la uerdad [como]
 lo veria que caminando a toda priesa sin parar, daria con la ran[che]-
 ria dentro de tres dias, con cuiu rason y la de que no se auian juntad[o con]
 los janos, viendo que pereciamos, se determino, por no dexar de prosegu[ir]
 en el seguimiento del rastro por no darles lugar a que se juntasen con los [janos],
 el ynviar algunos hombres a que lo llevaran de este valle de Casas Gr[andes]
 con carta que truxeron del capitan Francisco Ramires, los quales boluieron a toda [diligen]-
 cia, los tres lleuando solo dos costales de masorca y pidiendo fauor y socor[ro],
 con nueua que se allauan apretados y em peligro los vezinos de este dich[o valle],
 que con el aprieto de la nueua com pareser de todos los señores oficiales y dem[as sol]-
 dados de mi cargo ynuie el real a toda dilijencia a dar fauor a dicha [xpistian]-
 dad y yo [con] veinte y sinco hombres de mi cargo y otros de los camp[os de]
 los capitanes Juan de la Fuente y Francisco Ramires proseguimos a dar asalto a [los]
 mansos que estauan ya retirados en la Sierra de Carretas. En fin señor bol[uimos]
 a dilijencia a dar fauor y socorro como lleuo dicho y allamos la noticia de [que]
 la jente que auia dado en este valle con la vitoria que lleuauan de auer [lleuado]-
 se todas las caualladas y ganados menores y el auerles quemado los jacale[s don]-
 de tenian enserrados sus vastimentos, estauan de asiento sinco leguas de este [valle]
 en la sierra y auiendo ynviado espías y traído la noticia de que esta[uan]
 en la dicha sierra, salimos a cosa de la oracion y fuimos a amanecer [a la]
 dicha sierra, donde por desconoser lo aspero de ella y lo yncontrastab[le]
 tan a fauor de los yndios henemigos y no tener entradas ni sauer ni[nguno]
 salida alguna, resoluiendome a que no quedaran con mayor auilantes,
 pues los teniamos a la vista, determine el entrar a pie o como pudier[a]
 como lo yse y dandoles guerra como a las siete v ocho del dia, fue señor la mayor [guerra]
 y vatalla la que tubimos que no se a uisto otra que le aia semejado desde q[ue]
 tengo vso de la rason. Duro la pelea todo el sagrado dia asta ponerse el so[l]
 y fue la guerra la mas cruda que se a uisto. Y seles todo el daño y destroso que se p[udio],
 matandoles mas de quarenta y hiriendoles muchisima jente y se puede reco[noser]
 el mucho empeño que ysimos pues yo y onse hombres de los de mi cargo hemos [salido]
 heridos y quatro yndios puros y tiguas que am peleado con sobrado valor, m[ostran]-
 do mucha lealtad; de los demas de los otros dos campos tambien an tenido [heridos]
 que con vnos y otros an sido por todos los heridos veinte y siete heridos, q[ue el]
 de mas riesgo segun la herida fue Acuña y esta pelea fue el dia treinta [de septiembre]
 y oi dia de la fecha nos allamos con aliuió, pues an empesado a purgar las e[ridas]
 que an sido en la cara, piernas, brazos y cauesa, por cuiu causa y dar descanso [a la]
 cauallada, me determine a esperar tres o quatro dias y ayer me presento e[l capitan]
 Francisco Ramires y el reuerendo padre predicador fray Juan Porras cada vno su requerimiento
 a que les te[ngo]
 respuesto, pidiendoles quatro hombres para poderle con ellos y el alferes de cam[paña]
 dar quenta a vuestra sseñoria de todo lo susedido y sauer el estado en que se alla vuestra sseñoria
 por alla pu[es he]
 tenido la noticia de la junta que tengo auisado a vuestra sseñoria con la traicion de coxe[rlos]
 durmiendo, por cuiu causa no dilataua mas mi viaje y lo aseleraua todo [lo posi]-

He, Don Requiere en nombre del Rey nro S. de fauor y socorro asta echar con
 castigo al enemigo de aqui que de faltar de aqui mi campo se acuaria esta jurisdiccion
 despoblandola el dicho Alcalde mayor por faltarle a dar fauor asiendome en dichos requeri-
 mientos dos mil cargos, que mirando a mi servicio de Dios nro S. que no tengan
 los enemigos con el dicho pueblo desta jurisdiccion teniendo modo de dar quenta
 a vuestro señoria de todo como mas largamente con[s]ta de dichos requerimientos, que por
 auer de darles testimonios de ellos y que me lo den de mi respuesta no se los remito a vuestra señoria
 y los lleuare en persona pues, solo espero la rason de vuestra señoria para con sus ordenes
 ponerlas en execucion y de todo dara rason vastante el alferes Alonso Garsia que su
 merced y los demas señores oficiales y soldados an acudido como nobles leales y
 valerosos vasallos de su magestad, ganando todos credits y reputacion con amigo[s]
 y henemigos, procurando cada qual aventajar sus personas que para poderse lo de-
 sir a vuestra señoria sin encaresimiento y con verdad me falta discurso, asiendo lo mesmo
 con su jente el capitan Juan de la Fuente, que en todo a mostrado su balor y noble-
 sa y el capitan Francisco Ramires, quienes me am pedido aga suplica a vuestra señoria de
 que me remita sien yndios puros y tiguas si acaso no se uiere vuestra señoria en algun aprieto, pues con eso
 fio en dios de conseguir la vitoria; que vengan si acaso los ynviare vuestra señoria sin te-
 mor de que ai frios que gloria a dios no an dado este año y lo que aora suplico
 a vuestra señoria me aga fauor de ynuiarme si es que a uenido el capitan don Alonso me
 socorra con cuatro o cinco manojos de tauaco, seis v ocho libras de chocolate y asucar y vna
 mano de papel, que es jenero que por aca no se alla. Remito a vuestra señoria el pliego que
 estaua en poder del capitan Francisco Ramires; otra cosa de nueuo no ai que dar auiso a vuestra
 señoria y solo le pido a vuestra señoria me auise de toda nouedad de por alla y reciuia vuestra
 señoria las de los reuerendos padres capellanes y de todos los señores soldados, mui em particular del alferes
 real y de Xauier, que vesan los pies [a] vuestra señoria y con tanto, nuestro señor me
 guarde a vuestra señoria los muchos y felises años que deseo y he menester. Deste valle de san Anttonio de Casas Grandes
 y octubre a 3 de 1684 años

Besa los pies de vuestra señoria su menor criado
 Roque Madrid {rubric}

ble y me requiere en nombre del rey nuestro señor le de fauor y socorro asta echar con
 castigo al enemigo de aqui, pues de faltar de aqui mi campo se acuaria esta jurisdiccion,
 despoblandola el dicho alcalde mayor por faltarle a dar fauor, asiendome en dichos requeri-
 mientos dos mil cargos, que mirando al mayor seruicio de dios nuestro señor y que no tengan
 mayor auilan-
 5 tes los enemigos con el despueblo de esta jurisdiccion, teniendo modo de dar quenta
 a vuestra señoria de todo como mas largamente con[s]ta de dichos requerimientos, que por
 auer de darles
 10 testimonios de ellos y que me lo den de mi respuesta no se los remito a vuestra señoria
 y los lleuare em persona pues, solo espero la rason de vuestra señoria para con sus ordenes
 poner-
 15 las en execucion y de todo dara rason vastante el alferes Alonso Garsia que su
 merced y los demas señores oficiales y soldados an acudido como nobles leales y
 20 valerosos vasallos de su magestad, ganando todos credits y reputacion con amigo[s]
 y henemigos, procurando cada qual aventajar sus personas que para poderse lo de-
 sir a vuestra señoria sin encaresimiento y con verdad me falta discurso, asiendo lo mesmo
 25 con su jente el capitan Juan de la Fuente, que en todo a mostrado su balor y noble-
 sa y el capitan Francisco Ramires, quienes me am pedido aga suplica a vuestra señoria de
 que me remita
 sien yndios puros y tiguas si acaso no se uiere vuestra señoria en algun aprieto, pues con eso
 fio en dios de conseguir la vitoria; que vengan si acaso los ynviare vuestra señoria sin te-
 mor de que ai frios que gloria a dios no an dado este año y lo que aora suplico
 a vuestra señoria me aga fauor de ynuiarme si es que a uenido el capitan don Alonso me
 socorra con
 20 cuatro o cinco manojos de tauaco, seis v ocho libras de chocolate y asucar y vna
 mano de papel, que es jenero que por aca no se alla. Remito a vuestra señoria el pliego que
 estaua
 en poder del capitan Francisco Ramires; otra cosa de nueuo no ai que dar auiso a vuestra
 señoria
 y solo le pido a vuestra señoria me auise de toda nouedad de por alla y reciuia vuestra
 señoria las de los
 reuerendos padres capellanes y de todos los señores soldados, mui em particular del alferes
 25 real y de Xauier, que vesan los pies [a] vuestra señoria y con tanto, nuestro señor me
 guarde a vuestra señoria los mu-
 chos y felises años que deseo y he menester. Deste valle de san Anttonio de Casas Grandes
 y octubre a 3 de 1684 años.

Summary in left margin.

Cartta escrita | por el capittan | Roque Madrid | a su *capitan general* | y *gobernador don* | Domingo Gironsa | dandole indivi- | dual notticia | de su viaje y | campaña en | que de *orden* de | su señoria ha- | viendose salido | en solicitud | del enemigo [fol. 55v] *para* perseguir y | castigarlo en- | contró a quatro | yndios *enemigos* | que despues que | resistieron fuer- | temente los | havian apressado | y despachado | el vno á las de- | mas naciones | con embajada | de que se les | brindava por | los muertos | con la buena | amistad y paz | y haviendose | encontrado *dicho* capitan | Roque Madrid | con los otros dos | *capittanes* Ramirez | y Fuentte en | vistta de las | notticias que | adquirieron | en [^el parage de] los ojos de | san Francisco | en la partte | por donde se | hallavan los | yndios *enemigos* | de nacion man- | so antes de | que estos de | junttasen con | sus confereados | los tanos y | haver pedido | socorro en el [fol. 56r] valle de | Casas *Grandes* | resolbieron | seguir el | rastro de | *dichos* mansos | y darles asal- | to en la | Sierra de las | Carreteras | donde estaban | attrincher- | dos y avilan- | tados de las | muchas os- | tilidades *que* | havian hecho | en *dicho* valle | robando los | ganados y | cavallada | y quemando | y destruyendo | jacales con | notable daño | y perjuicio | y que havien- | dose acercado | en puntto de | la oracion al | pie de *dicha* | sierra todo | el campo donde | *dicho* enemigo | se hallava refugiado | distante de | *dicho* valle | cinco leguas | y vistto lo | aspero e inex- | pugnabile de | ella con que | tan asegurados | se miraban [fol. 56v] los *enemigos* | sin saber de | sus entradas | y salidas se | resolvio por | los *nuestros* acome- | terles a pie y | dandoles guerra | que fue extre- | madamente | fuernte y hor- | rorosa en que | duró la batalla | todo el dia *siguiente* | que se comensó | à las 7 de la | mañana se | les hizo todo | el perjuicio | y daño ma- | tandoles *hasta* | 40 y muchi- | simos heridos | de ambas partes | aunque de los | *nuestros* ninguno | peligró havien- | do conseguido | la victoria | con generoso valor asi de | los *nuestros* como | de los yndios | amigos que se | esmeraron con | mucho brio | y espirittu | de *que* luego por | los heridos ha- | viendose reti- | rado para [fol. 57r] curarlos, se | tubo junta de *guerra* | en que se acordo | que era mui | combeniente | no desamparar | aquella *jurisdicción* | de *dicho* valle | y se le pidieran | socorro à | *governador* para | *que* reforsados | con gente | y viveres se | procediera | a el castigo | contra los | *enemigos* | *para* de esta suerte | conseguir el | que quedase | todo sosegado | y pacificado | y que a cierto | fin *dicho* capitan | Madrid le | havia escrito | a su *governador* con | correo que hizo | de 4 hombres | que pidio | y los despacho | con vn oficial | dando cuenta | de todo al | *governador* y sobre | lo que se opinava | en el asunto | por los oficiales | de *dicho* campo | *para* en vistta | de todo resol- | viese su señoria [fol. 57v] lo mas acertado | Valle de | *san Anttonio* y *octubre* | 3 de 1684

Variants.

PI 37 191r1 susedido	AF 21/446 55r20 subcedido
PI 37 191r8 juiendo	AF 21/446 55r27 huyendo
PI 37 191r11 cueua	AF 21/446 55v2 <i>om.</i>
PI 37 191r15 la sien	AF 21/446 55v6 las cienes
PI 37 191r19 las vestias	AF 21/446 55v10 a las bestias
PI 37 191r28 del	AF 21/446 55v20 de el
P! 37 191r33 jumito	AF 21/446 55v25 humito
PI 37 191r34 juiendo	AF 21/446 55v25-26 huien- do

PI 37 191r35 jusephe	AF 21/446 56r1 <i>Joseph</i>
PI 37 191v1 do[nde]	AF 21/446 56r2 donde
PI 37 191v2 [como]	AF 21/446 56r3 como
PI 37 191v3-4 ran[che]- ria	AF 21/446 56r4 rancheria
PI 37 191v4 junta[[o con]	AF 21/446 56r5 junttado con
PI 37 191v5 prosequ[ir]	AF 21/446 56r6 proseguir
PI 37 191v6 [janos]	AF 21/446 56r8 Janos
PI 37 191v7 ynviar	AF 21/46 56r8 enviar
PI 37 191v7 gr[andes]	AF 21/446 56r9 grandes
PI 37 191v8-9 toda [diligen]- cia	AF 21/446 56r10 toda diligencia
PI 37 191v9 socor[ro]	AF 21/446 56r11 socorro
PI 37 191v10 dich[o valle]	AF 21/446 56r12 <i>dicho</i> Valle
PI 37 191v11-12 dem[as sol]- dados	AF 21/446 56r14 demas soldados
PI 37 191v12 ynuie	AF 21/446 56r14 emvie
PI 37 191v12 [xpistian]- dad	AF 21/446 56r15 Christiandad
PI 37 191v13 o	AF 21/446 56r15 con
PI 37 191v13 camp[os de]	AF 21/446 56r16 campos de
PI 37 191v14 a [los]	AF 21/446 56r17 a los
PI 37 191v15 bol[uimos]	AF 21/446 56r18 bolvimos
PI 37 191v16 de [que]	AF 21/446 56r19 de que
PI 37 191v17-18 auer [lleuado]- se	AF 21/446 56r20 haver llevadose
PI 37 191v18 jacale[s don]- de	AF 21/446 56r22 Jacales donde
PI 37 191v19 de este [valle]	AF 21/446 56r23 de este valle
PI 37 191v20-21 y auiendo ynviado espias y traído la noticia de que esta[uan] en la <i>dicha</i>	AF 21/446 56r23 <i>om.</i>
PI 37 191v21 amanecer [a la]	AF 21/446 56r24 amanecer a la
PI 37 191v22 yncontrastab[le]	AF 21/446 56r25 incontrasttable
PI 37 191v23 sauer ni[nguno]	AF 21/446 56r26 saber ninguna
PI 37 191v25 pudier[a]	AF 21/446 56r28 pudiera
PI 37 191v26 mayor [guerra]	AF 21/446 56v1 maior guerra
PI 37 191v27 desde q[ue]	AF 21/446 56v2 desde que
PI 37 191v28 el so[l]	AF 21/446 56v3 el sol
PI 37 191v29 que se p[udo]	AF 21/446 56v4-5 que se pudo
PI 37 191v30 puede reco[noser]	AF 21/446 56v6 puede reconocer
PI 37 191v31 hemos [salido]	AF 21/446 56v7 hemos salido
PI 37 191v32 am peleado	AF 21/446 56v8 han peleado
PI 37 191v32-33 m[ostran]- do	AF 21/446 56v8-9 mostran- do
PI 37 191v33 tenido [heridos]	AF 21/446 56v10 tenido heridos
PI 37 191v34 veinte y siete heridos q[ue el]	AF 21/446 56v11 27 que el
PI 37 191v35 treinta [de septiembre]	AF 21/446 56v12 30 de septiembre
PI 37 191v36 las e[ridas]	AF 21/446 56v13 las heridas
PI 37 191v37 descanso [a la]	AF 21/446 56v15 descanso a la
PI 37 191v38 presento e[l capitan]	AF 21/446 56v16 presentó el Capittan
PI 37 191v39 les te[ngo]	AF 21/446 56v18 les tengo
PI 37 191v40 respuesto	AF 21/446 56v18 respondido

PI 37 191v40 de cam[paña]	AF 21/446 56v19 de campaña
PI 37 191v41 susedido	AF 21/446 56v20 subcedido
PI 37 191v41 alla pu[es he]	AF 21/446 56v21 alla, pues he
PI 37 191v42 coxe[rlos]	AF 21/446 56v22 cogerlos
PI 37 191v43-192r1 todo [lo posi]- ble	AF 21/446 56v23 todo lo posible
PI 37 192r2 jurisdiccion	AF 21/446 56v26 jurisdiccion
PI 37 192r3-4 dichos requeri- mientos	AF 21/446 57r1 dichos requerimiento
PI 37 192r6 conta	AF 21/446 57r4 constta
PI 37 192r8 em persona	AF 21/446 57r7 en Persona
PI 37 192r13 mesmo	AF 21/446 57r14 mismo
PI 37 192r15 am pedido	AF 21/446 57r16 han pedido
PI 37 192r19 ynuiarne	AF 21/446 57r21 emviarme
PI 37 192r20-21 vna mano	AF 21/446 57r23 vn poco
PI 37 192r24 em particular	AF 21/446 57v1 en particular
PI 37 192r25 pies vuestra	AF 21/446 57v2 pies a vuestra
PI 37 192r27 octubre a 3	AF 21/446 57v5 octubre 3

Report of Captain Roque Madrid
to the Governor of New Mexico¹

My Lord Governor and Captain General:

I reported to Your Lordship from our encampment at San Diego² concerning what had occurred on my journey up to that point, and I now do so again, giving Your Lordship an account of the entire journey up to the present time; and so I inform you, Milord, that I left the Río del Norte³ following the trail of the Mansos,⁴ from which I had turned aside at the time of my first report,⁵ and having set out at approximately 2 p.m. and marched through that night until the dawn watch,⁶ I halted my troops because we had come upon what seemed to be a difficult pass through which we had to advance; and waiting there for the daylight* so that we could scout for a way to get down, we spotted a fire and three Apaches fleeing from it. One of them broke away from his companions; and I followed the other two with the soldiers under my command, uphill and downhill, and when they saw that the game was up they entered a cave, quickly barricading themselves and using their favorable position to resist. Leaping from my mount along with my aforesaid companions to take them alive, they wounded two of my companions, to wit, Francisco Márquez in the arm and Captain Pedro de Leiva near the temple. God disposed that we should catch them, though one of them sustained several lance wounds. I treated them with every kindness and inquired of them where there might be water, [and] they led me to the Sierra Florida,⁷ where I had to water our horses one at a time. There Captain Juan Fernández de la Fuente and Captain Francisco Ramírez⁸ joined with the men under my command to plead that it would be much in our interest to seek peace with the said Apaches and that we should send the Indian who was not wounded to negotiate peace with the captain of his nation; and he promised he would do so and would come back with his captain and that we should be friends once and for all, and that they would look for the Mansos and make war on them.

I finally sent him off and kept on seeing to the gentle care of the wounded man and the treatment of his wounds; and I continued my journey, always following the trail [of the Mansos], and no one knew of any watering place other than the springs of San Francisco,⁹ concerning whose location, those who had heard of them were very uncertain;¹⁰ and by now, milord, the troops' rations had for some twenty to twenty-four hours been only Indian corn made into pozole, and our horses were exhausted and footsore. At last, milord, God our Lord disposed that we should hit upon the springs of San Francisco at about 8 in the morning, after having marched more than twenty-four hours; and as we arrived at the said springs we saw a slender column of smoke, which I surrounded with the soldiers under my command, and when the Indian who had built the fire ran off we found his tracks and followed them and caught him, and he was the Indian Jusephe,¹¹ the husband of Pancha, [191v] a Manso Indian.¹² I questioned him about the whereabouts of the Mansos or where he had left them, and when I pressed him,¹³ he told me that he was telling me the truth, as I should see, because marching at full speed and without stopping I should come upon their encampment within three days; in view of which and of their not having joined up with the Janos,¹⁴ we decided, as we were perishing and in order not to cease following the trail [of the Mansos] so as not to let them join up with the Janos, to send some men with a letter from Captain Francisco Ramírez to bring supplies from this valley of Casas Grandes,¹⁵ and they

* [In the left margin:] I beg Your Lordship kindly also to send me six pounds of gunpowder.

came back as fast as they could, the three of them bringing only two sacks of unshelled corn and asking for help, reporting that the inhabitants of the said valley were in dire straits and danger; [and] in view of the urgency of this news and with the agreement of all the officers and other soldiers under my command I had my troops proceed as fast as they could to succor the said Christians, and I, with twenty-five of the men under my command and some others from the forces of Captain Juan de la Fuente and Captain Francisco Ramírez went on to attack the Mansos,¹⁶ who had already withdrawn into the Sierra de Carretas.¹⁷

In short, milord, we hastened back to be of assistance,¹⁸ as I have already said; and we learned that the Indians who had attacked this valley and, once victorious, had carried off all the horses and smaller livestock and burned the sheds where they stored their supplies, were camped in the mountains, five leagues from this valley;¹⁹ and when I had sent out scouts and these had brought the news that they were in the said mountains, we set out toward sunset and by dawn were in the said mountains, where, since we had no information about that rugged and impregnable area that greatly favored our Indian enemies, and since there was no way to enter that area, nor did any one of us know a way out of there, I determined that they should not be encouraged in their audacity, and since they were within sight, I decided to proceed on foot or as best we could, and we did so, and when we attacked them at seven or eight in the morning, milord, we found ourselves engaged in the greatest battle, the like of which has not been seen since I have had the use of reason.

The fight went on all the live-long day until sunset, and it was the fiercest fight ever seen. I inflicted on them all the hurt and damage I could, killing more than forty of them and wounding a great many of their men; and the great effort we put into this can be seen in the fact that I and eleven of the men under my command were wounded, as well as four Piro and Tiwa Indians²⁰ who fought with outstanding valor, showing their great loyalty. The other two units have also had wounded, with twenty-seven men wounded in all, the most seriously wounded being Acuña; and this fight occurred on September 30, and by now our situation is improved, because our wounds in face, legs, arms, and head have begun to drain, for which purpose, and also in order to rest our horses, I decided to wait here three or four days.

And yesterday Captain Francisco Ramírez and the Father Sermoner Juan Porras each presented to me his formal demand (requerimiento), to which I have replied asking them for four men so that with them and the ensign I might inform Your Lordship of all that has happened and find out about Your Lordship's situation.²¹

Since there I received the news from the town council²² that I have reported to Your Lordship, concerning the treacherous attack on them while asleep, which is why I did not prolong my journey but made all possible haste, [192r] and that council demands²³ in the name of the King our Lord that I give it assistance until the enemy has been punished and driven out of here, because without the presence of my troops, this judicial district would be wiped out, the said mayor moving the people out of here if I fail to give him assistance, and in the said written demands he constantly enjoins me that, mindful of the better service of Our Lord and lest the enemy be further emboldened by the abandonment of this district, since I have the means to inform Your Lordship about all that is set out in greater detail in the said demands, which I do not send Your Lordship because I must attest to their receipt and receive confirmation of my reply, and I shall take them to Your Lordship in person because I await only news of Your Lordship with your orders, which I shall execute, and you will receive a sufficient account from Ensign Alonso García.

He and the other officers and men have done their duty as noble, loyal, and brave vassals of His

Majesty, all of them gaining credit and fame among friends and foes, each one trying to outdo the others to such a degree that I lack words with which to give Your Lordship a plain and true account; and Captain Juan de la Fuente has done the same thing with his men, displaying his valor and nobility in everything, and likewise Captain Francisco Ramírez with his men; and they have asked me to beg Your Lordship to send me a hundred Piro and Tiwa Indians if by chance Your Lordship should have no pressing need of them, because with this reinforcement I trust in God that I shall be victorious. If Your Lordship should send them, they may come without fear of the cold, for praise be to God there has been no cold spell this year; and what I now beg Your Lordship to be so kind as to send me if Captain Don Alonso has reached you, is to supply me with four or five bundles of tobacco, six or eight pounds of chocolate and sugar, and a quire of paper, which is something not available here.

I send Your Lordship the document²⁴ that was in the possession of Captain Francisco Ramírez. There is nothing else new to report to Your Lordship, and I only ask Your Lordship to inform me of any news from there, and I hereby send you the [respects]²⁵ of our reverend chaplains and all the soldiers, most particularly of the ensign and of Xavier, who kiss Your Lordship's feet; and with this, may Our Lord keep Your Lordship the many happy years that I wish and need.

In the valley of San Antonio de Casas Grandes, October 3, 1684.

The least of Your Lordship's servants kisses your feet,
Roque Madrid²⁶ {rubric}

Notes

These notes are keyed to the translation; to facilitate comparison with the original, at the beginning of each note but the first, the folio and line number of the Spanish text appear, along with the passage, or the first few words of the passage, that is the subject of the note.

1. Captain Roque Madrid's report is included in a dossier ("expediente") that the governor of New Mexico, Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate (1683-1686, 1689-1691), dispatched to Tomás Antonio de la Cerda y Aragón, Conde de Paredes y Marqués de la Laguna, viceroy of New Spain (1680-1686). Jironza's initial cover letter is dated 30 Nov. 1684; the dossier contains a large number of supporting documents which narrate the incidents of the rebellion and the counter measures adopted by the governor, many of them dated after 30 Nov., and having presumably been added to a file that was considered open. The main purpose of all these materials is to substantiate Jironza's appeal for men and money in support of his campaign against the rebellious Manso Indians and their allies. The original is extant in the Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City, in the division ("ramo") Provincias Internas, vol. 37, expedientes 5-6 (olim 4), fols. 142r-310r. An eighteenth-century copy was made and preserved in the Archivo Franciscano of the Biblioteca Nacional de México, box ("caja") 21, item 446, fols. 1r-179v.

The history of the onset of the rebellion is contained in the testimony that Jironza obtained from informers and captives, including Jusepe, the Tano Indian who figures prominently in Roque Madrid's campaign report of 3 Oct. 1684, which has been edited and translated for this "Object Lesson." The transcript of the testimony occupies fols. 145r-160r of the dossier, and is entitled "Testimonio sacado a la letra de los autos criminales que se fulminaron contra los mansos

apostatas y sus alia- | dos = contiene quinze foxas escritas | y una blanca” (Testimony literally transcribed from the proceedings of outlawry decreed against the apostate Mansos and their allies = containing 15 leaves and one blank leaf). The first deposition was taken down on 15 March 1684, the last, that of the aforementioned Jusepe, on 3 November. The transcript of the proceedings was certified on 12 November by Pedro Ladrón de Guevara, Jironza’s secretary for civil and military affairs.

For the expedition against the Manso Indians and their allies, Roque Madrid received his instructions from the governor on 16 August 1684 (Spanish Archives of New Mexico, henceforth SANM, reel 21, frames 193-196), and mustered his troops on 6 September (SANM, reel 21, frames 213-216). In a deposition taken on 13 April 1685 (AGNMex, PI 37, exp. 5, fols. 240r-242v), Roque Madrid provided some details of his preparations and the reasons for the expedition: “este | declarante salio por mandado del *señor gobernador y cappitan general* con otros | *sinquenta* soldados veteranos y del presidio y siento y sesenta | yndios xpistianos de harco y flecha a castigar a los hene- | migos de nazon apache y boluer a dar guerra a los dichos a- | postatas y sus aliados porque se tenia noticia querian arjar- | se en vna noche a quemar el convento y este pueblo” (fol. 241r3-9) (By order of the lord governor and captain general the present declarant set out with 50 veteran soldiers from the garrison and 160 Christian Indians armed with bows and arrows to inflict punishment on the enemies belonging to the Apache nation and again combat the said apostates and their allies, because it has been reported that they wished to launch a nocturnal attack to burn the convent and this town). A search of the Mansos’ campgrounds revealed that they had all left the region. At this point, two contingents arrived in El Paso, one from Sonora under the command of Juan Fernández de la Fuente, and another from Casas Grandes, led by Francisco Ramírez de Salazar, requesting aid from Jironza. Roque Madrid’s troop having already been formed, the three were combined under Madrid’s command and set out westward in search of the enemy. Before they located the hideout of the Mansos, the expeditionaries received news that Casas Grandes had suffered a devastating attack, so they hastened to the assistance of that town. Learning that the attackers had fortified themselves in the mountains to the west of Casas Grandes, the army sought them out and launched a counter-offensive. This is the battle that took place on 30 September 1684 and that Madrid described so hyperbolically in the document edited and translated here. At some time after 3 October, the date of the report, and after a respite for the healing of wounds and to allow time for reinforcements and provisions to arrive from El Paso, the army renewed the offensive, and in a second battle achieved a decisive victory. As governor Jironza reported to the viceroy on 10 November, without mentioning the date or the location of the second battle: “los d[ichos ene-] | migos se mejoraron en otro pues[to mas e-] | minente de mas aspereza y m[as bien for-] | talezidos, adonde por segunda [vez bol-] | bieron los nuestros a abanzar[es con tan-] | to balor que aunque se bieron e[n cono-] | zido peligro por la mejoría del [puesto] | que ellos tenían, al fin canta[mos la] | vitoria con grande derrota q[ue se hizo] | en ellos; no les balio su muche[dumbre] | ni las muchas piedras, palo[s, flechas] | y otros ystrumentos que desde [lo alto] | con ynpetu ynfernal lanza[ban con-] | tra los nuestros. Coximosles [todos los] | despojos que ellos auian saca[do del] | abanze que abian dado en Ca[sas Grandes] | y de la mision que auian dest[ruido] | cuando mataron al relixio[so y al] | capitan Albiso y en conclusion [sseñor excelentísimo] | los que escaparon deste abanz[e sali-] | eron todos derrotados” (AGNMex, PI 37, exp. 5, fol. 175v19-39) (The said enemies improved their position, moving to a higher and more rugged location, better fortified, where for a second time our men again advanced against them

with such valor that, although they saw themselves in evident danger because of the improved position that [the enemy] held, we finally triumphed, inflicting heavy casualties on them. Their numbers availed them nothing, nor did the many stones, stick, arrows, and other instruments that with hellish energy they poured down on our men. We took from them all the spoils they had carried off from their assault on Casas Grandes and from the mission that they had destroyed when they killed the friar and Captain Alviso; and, in conclusion, Your Excellency, all those who escaped from this attack did so thoroughly crushed). Jusepe, as mentioned above, testified in El Paso on 3 November, so one can presume that Roque Madrid had returned to El Paso before that date; ergo, the second battle took place sometime between 3 October and 3 November.

2. **191r1 Del paraje de San Diego:** Roque Madrid’s report from Casas Grandes on 3 October 1684, the text here edited and translated, was the second report of the expedition, according to this exordium. The earlier report and its date are unknown to us. There is a Valle de San Diego just south of Casas Grandes (Gerhard 1993:230; Naylor and Polzer 1986:506, n. 1), but the next mention of an identifiable place name is the Sierra Florida (see below), much closer to El Paso than Casas Grandes or the Valle de San Diego.

3. **191r3 sali del Rio del Norte:** the author reverts to the beginning of the campaign, that is, including what was ostensibly reported earlier from the “paraje de San Diego.”

4. **191r4 mansos:** the Manso Indians who dwelt in the El Paso region appear to have been a branch of the Apache ethnic and linguistic stock; the name Manso derives from their initial friendliness toward the Spaniards (Opler 1983:388; Naylor and Polzer 1986:506, n. 2, identify the Mansos as Uto-Aztecan).

5. **191r4 la primera ves:** when, where, and why Roque Madrid had left off following the trail of the rebellious Mansos on an earlier occasion is not clear to us.

6. **191r5-6 el cuarto del | alua:** the night watch was divided into four parts, or “cuartos,” “el cuarto de prima, el cuarto de la modorra, el cuarto de la modorrilla, y el cuarto del alba.” The first, or “prima,” meaning “hora primera,” ran from 8 to 11pm. Allowing three hours for each watch, “el cuarto del alba” would be from 5 to 8am.

7. **191r17-18 Sierra | Florida:** apparently the Florida Mountains, to the southeast of Deming, New Mexico (Julyan 1998:132; Naylor and Polzer 1986:507, n. 3).

8. **191r19-20:** Both Juan Fernández de la Fuente and Francisco Ramírez de Salazar, mayor (“alcalde mayor”) of Casas Grandes, submitted reports to Jironza from Casas Grandes, dated Oct. 3 (AGNMex, PI 37, exp. 5, fol. 197r-198v and 193r-v, respectively). For bibliographical sketches of the two captains, see Naylor and Polzer 1986:507, nn. 4-5.

9. **191r27 los ojos de San Francisco:** here “ojo” means “ojo de agua,” i.e., ‘spring’ or ‘water hole’.

10. **191r27-28 los que lo sauian | estauan mui neutrales del:** “lo” refers to “el [aguaje] de los ojos

de San Francisco,” that is, its location and how to get to it; “neutrales” appears to mean ‘uncertain’ in this context, while “del” = “de él,” with the pronoun “él” having the same antecedent as “lo”, i.e., “el [aguaje].” Below, lines 30-32, the author implies that it was only by the grace of God that the expedition happened upon the “ojos de San Francisco.”

11. **191r35 Jusephe:** for his deposition after having been taken back to El Paso, see AGNMex, PI 37, exp. 5, fols. 159r-160r. He is described as a Christian Tano Indian from New Mexico (fol. 159r15-16); the Tanos inhabited the Galisteo basin south of Pecos Pueblo (Schroeder 1979:247-248). Jusepe spoke Spanish, i.e., was “ladino”, so the services of an interpreter were not required (fol. 159r25). His interrogators estimated his age at about 48 years (fol. 160r7-8).

12. **191r35-v1 Pancha | la mansa:** though Pancha is not referred to by name in Jusepe’s deposition, his marital state is recorded, along with his wife’s age, about 14 years old (fol. 159r16-17).

13. **191v2 asiendole aprieto:** some form of third degree interrogation, perhaps with torture. Jusepe’s version of his “capture” is worth recording: “Preguntado que como, si se uenia | de su boluntad, asi que vido a los españoles se vyo [*huyó*], dejando el ato que traia, que diga | la uerdad; dixo que por entender que eran los mansos que lo venian siguiendo y | que por esa causa, luego que los sintio, aranco a vyr y se escondio tras vn mesquite | y que los españoles que lo venian siguiendo se pasaron de largo de adonde el estaua | y oyendoles ablar la lengua castellana y reconociendo que eran españoles y cape- | andolos con el sombrero les dio tres gritos y que a ellos boluieron y los primeros que lle- | garon aonde estaua este declarante fueron Anttonio de Herrera y Diego Varela, que luego | le pidio el arco y las flechas y este declarante se las dio sin resistencia ninguna como | lo diran los susodichos y esto responde” (AGNMex, PI 37, exp. 5, fol. 159v46-55) (Upon being asked why, if he was coming of his own free will, he fled as soon as he saw the Spaniards, leaving the bundle he was carrying, that he tell the truth: he said that [it was] because he thought it was the Mansos who were following him, and that that is why he ran away as soon as he heard them and hid behind a mesquite bush, and that the Spaniards who were following him passed by the place where he was, and when he heard them speak Spanish and realized that they were Spanish and waved his hat at them, he shouted at them three times, and when they heard this they turned back, and the first ones to reach the place where this declarant was were Antonio de Herrera and Diego Varela, who thereupon asked him for his bow and arrows, and this declarant gave them to him with no resistance whatsoever, as the aforementioned [Spaniards] will confirm; and this is his reply).

14. **191v5 los janos:** little is known of the linguistic affiliation of this group; see Griffin 1983; Naylor and Polzer 1986:507, n. 6.

15. **191v4-7 con cuia rason... se determino... el ynviar algunos hombres a que lo lleuaran:** the antecedent of “lo” seems to be unspecified in context. One would imagine it stands for “bastimento” ‘provisions’, as stated in Juan Fernández de la Fuente’s report mentioned above: “auiendo | seguido quatro dias con grandissima falta | de bastimentos, nos oblige [a] adelantar 14 | hombres que fueron a Casas Grandes por todo jene- | ro de bastimentos” (AGNMex, PI 37, exp. 5, fol. 197r2-6) (having gone on for four days with extreme lack of provisions, [which] obliged us to send 14 men ahead to go to Casas Grandes for all sorts of provisions). Madrid’s troop was in desperate straits

(“perecemos”) but he was determined not to lose the trail of the Mansos. Several men were dispatched to Casas Grandes with a letter from Francisco Ramírez de Salazar, “alcalde mayor” of that settlement, no doubt containing an appeal to the municipal authorities, but they returned almost immediately, with only two sacks of Indian corn still on the cob, bearing the bad news that the town was under attack and was in urgent need of immediate assistance.

16. **191v13-15 ynuie el real... proseguimos a dar asalto:** the main part of Madrid’s troop was immediately sent to Casas Grandes, but Madrid and a select company remained behind to mount an attack on the Mansos who had taken refuge in the Sierra de Carretas.

17. **191v16 Sierra de Carretas:** Gerhard (1993:230) places Santa María de las Carretas on the western border of Nueva Vizcaya, to the northwest of Casas Grandes; cf. also Naylor and Polzer 1986:508, n 7.

18. **191v16 boluimos:** does Madrid mean to say here that he desisted from attacking the Mansos at this time with his small party? Or is the first person plural meant to refer to “el real” dispatched to Casas Grandes, as part of Madrid’s overall command?

19. **191v20-21 sinco leguas de este valle | en la sierra:** it is not clear whether the attack on Casas Grandes was made by the Mansos mentioned above as bivouacked at a distance of three days from the place where Madrid first received news of the attack, or by another tribe allied with them. Nor is it clear that the battle so hyperbolically described by Madrid took place precisely at the Sierra de Carretas; here the “sierra” seems to refer to the “Sierra Madre” that lies to the west of Casas Grandes, but of course the Sierra de Carretas is also a part of that mountain chain.

20. **191v33 cuatro yndios piros y tiguas:** the Piro and Tiwa pueblos occupied the southern reaches of the Pueblo Indian domain. At the time of the Pueblo revolt of 1680, many Piros and Tiwas joined the Spaniards in their retreat from New Mexico. When the Spaniards retook New Mexico in 1692, a group of Tiwas remained in the El Paso area and have maintained their ethnic and cultural identity to this day. On the Piros, see Schroeder 1979:236-237, and on the Southern Tiwas, 242-244.

21. **191v39 ayer me presento:** the “requerimientos” and Madrid’s “respuesta” are not extant so far as we know. From this point until fol. 192r9 the syntax, and perhaps even the thinking, of Madrid suffers from considerable incoherence, since he was so evidently discombobulated by the unexpected demands that were made of him by the municipal authorities of Casas Grandes. The translation necessarily reflects this incoherence. On Father Porras see Naylor and Polzer 1986:508, n. 8; “padre predicador” was an office in the Franciscan order, not to be confused with the Ordo Praedicatorum, i.e., the Dominicans. The ensign is Alonso García, mentioned below, fol. 192r9; see Naylor and Polzer 1986: 508, n. 9.

22. **191v43 la junta:** by this reading, “junta” refers to a meeting of the town council of Casas Grandes, who dispatched news of the recent attack to Madrid. He therefore hastened his march as much as possible to come to their assistance. Then this same council demanded that he remain until the danger was dealt with. Another possible reading is that a conspiratorial meeting or gathering of

Indians (“junta”) plotted treasonably to attack the Spanish and loyal native population of El Paso at night (“coixerlos durmiendo”), and that Madrid learned of it and informed governor Jironza. Therefore Madrid, assuming that the attack still loomed over El Paso, wished to return there as soon as possible to assist in its defense, but was prevented from doing so by the imperious demands of the settlers of Casas Grandes. However, Jironza opened the proceedings of the trial concerning the Manso rebellion already on 15 March, and the initial testimony, in which Madrid seems to have had no involvement, revealed the existence of a meeting where various methods of destroying the settlement were discussed, including a nocturnal attack (AGNMex, PI 37, exp. 5, fol. 146r-v). In his report of 3 October, Madrid seems to refer to something much more recent. In his report of the same date, Juan Fernández de la Fuente mentions only that Madrid wished to return to El Paso to give his report in person, while Francisco Ramírez de Salazar does not mention the incident. It is true that Jironza ordered a general muster of the citizens of El Paso, which took place 11-14 September 1684 (AGNMex, PI 37, exp. 5, fols. 200r-206r); such musters were a standard procedure to maintain military readiness and may indicate Jironza’s belief that an attack on El Paso was impending. In the event, Madrid did remain in Casas Grandes; a second, and apparently more decisive victory was gained over the rebellious tribes sometime during the month of October.

23. **192r1 me requiere:** this reading takes “la junta” as subject of this verb. It may also be possible to understand the subject as anticipated from what follows, i.e., the “alcalde mayor” of Casas Grandes, Francisco Ramírez de Salazar.

24. **192r21 pliego:** this document is not extant.

25. **192r23-25 reciuia v. s. las de:** the noun is left unspecified; perhaps “reverencias” is to be understood, with the meaning ‘inclinación del cuerpo en señal de respeto o veneración’ (DRAE CD-ROM), with “reuerendos” supplying, by anticipatory word association, an oblique or indirect antecedent. “Xauier” is Captain Francisco Javier, listed in Madrid’s muster roll (SANM, reel 21, frame 213). He was the son of the notorious Francisco Javier, who was accused of playing a sinister role in provoking the Pueblo revolt of 1680 (Kessell and Hendricks 1992:219, n. 77).

26. **192r29 Roque Madrid:** for his long and distinguished career in New Mexico, see Hendricks and Wilson 1996; biographical note in Naylor and Polzer 1986:509, n. 11.

Abbreviations

AGNMex	=	Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City
DRAE	=	Real Academia Española 1992
SANM	=	Spanish Archives of New Mexico

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Colophon

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