Title
An Object Lesson

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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*, *priesa*, *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.
the [h] was lost, hence modern Spanish huyo (¡oyo), 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] (< [∫]). The change [∫] > [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] (< [∫]) 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 [∫] 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 [∫] > [x], which the modernized spelling huyendo erases.

509.9  con los señores y soldados  191r10  con los sres soldados

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

510.17-18  era muy conveniente procurásemos  191r20-22  era muy conveniente | procurásemos la paz con dhos Apaches y que se despachara el que | estaua bueno á asentar la paz con dh capn de su nazon

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.
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 Josephe, 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.

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

The construction requires the reflexive pronoun.

510.37 se determinó... por no darles lugar  191v5-7 se determino... el enviar...

a que se juntasen con los janos. [new paragraph] El enviar algunos hombres
510.41 comparecer de todos

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

510.49 los bastimentos

510.51 salimos a la hora de la oración

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...’.

510.55-56 dádole guerra, como a las siete y ocho del día

“In the document, “siete u ocho” in modernized Spanish.

511.61-62 con sobrado valor mostrado, mucha lealtad

This should be “con sobrado valor, mostrando mucha lealtad...”
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 scaterring of frontiersmen, no other offensive 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 appealed 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 Diego 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, 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 Sema and Jamas. Many of them peacefully settled at the Franciscan missions at El Paso and Samalayura 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 Flor-ida,' where I had to water the animals one at a time.

At the watering place I was joined by Captain Juan Fernández de la Fuente3 and Captain Francisco Ramirez de Salazar,4 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 pozo made from maize 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 Josephe, the husband of Puncho, 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 rancheras in three days. Since the Mansos had not yet joined up with the Janos, 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 Ramirez. 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. Juan Fernández de la Fuente was an extremely active military commander. In the 1660s 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 1661, Tarahumaras in southwestern Chihuahua in 1667, and Pima Bajos in southeastern Sonora in 1703.
5. Ramírez de Salazar was born about 1618 in New Mexico. In 1661 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 alcaldе mayor, serving in that capacity from 1660 until his death. He was named the first commander of the Compañía Voluntarios of the Sonoran frontier. Having received that distinguished office from the hand of the viceroy, he died while returning to the northern frontier in 1663. He owned the hacienda of Ramos northwest of Casas Grandes.
6. The Janos were nomadic hunter-gatherers who occupied extreme southwestern 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 Revellion 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.5

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 In- dian enemies. I resolved to end the Indians' audacity, for they were in sight, and I decided to go on 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 Pitos and Tiguas who demon-strated 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 Proveedor Fray Juan Porras6 came before me to request four men to go with them and the alcalde 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 jurisdic-tion would cease to exist, and the alcaldе mayor would remove the population because no one came to his aid. In his requerimientos, the alcaldе mayor made 3,000 demands of me, so that to best serve Our Lord God, the boldness of the ene-mies 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. Altérez Alonso Garcia7 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 Garcia 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 1642, 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 1644 and died in Sevillita from Apache arrow wounds received in 1646.
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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 Tiguas Indians 10, 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 (Garcia) 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 altéez 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 Madrid 11

Original in the Archivo General de la Nación, México, Provincias Internas 57. 5

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL
Señor, Gobernador y Capitán General:

el paraje de San Diego, dio cuenta a vuestra excelencia, de lo sucedido en mi viaje hasta allí, y ahora lo vuelvo a hacer, dando cuenta de todo el viaje hasta la hora presente y así oigo señor, que salió del Río del Norte siguiendo el rastro de los manzos 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 salió huyendo tres apaches. El uno se desbatió de sus compañeros y los dos, corriente arriba y corriente abajo, los seguí con los señores y soldados de mi cargo y viéndose ya perdidos se metieron en una cueva atrinchérándose 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 hicieron 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 1660. He was active militarily during the exile in the El Paso and Casas Grandes areas. He played a leading role in the 1662 and 1663 Vargas expeditions and returned with his family to New Mexico, where he served as alcaldes mayor of Santa Cruz from 1694 to 1707.

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cuales fueron Francisco Márquez en un brazo y al capitán Pedro de Leyva, junto a la cien, quisiera que nos dieran cuenta de los que a razón de ellos de donde había aguas que me llevaron a la isla Florida donde me fue forzoso estar dando agua de una de las islas. 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 procurásemos la paz con el capitán de su nación el cual la prometió, y que volviera con su capitán y que haremos amigos de una vez y que ellos procurarían a los manzos y las demás guarras, en fin lo despache y quede haciendo curar y acariciar al herido y proseguir con mi viaje siempre por el rastro sin que hubiera hombre que supiera aguas alguno sino era el de los ojos de San Francisco que los que lo sabían estaban muy neutrales del gasto y a señores comiendo el real por razón, el mayor hecho poco de veinte y cuatro horas con la caballada entera y despesa. 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 hizo inhumado al cual le di 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 Josephe, marido de Pancha.

La mansa tomó razón de él porque se hallaban los manzos donde los dejaba y hacie donde aprieto me dijo que él me decía la verdad como lo vería que caminando a toda prisa sin parar, daria con la ranchería dentro de tres días, con cuya razón y la de que no habían juntado con los indios, viendo que perdimos, se determinó por no dejar de proseguir en el seguimiento del rastro por no darles lugar a que se junten con los indios.

El enviar algunos hombres a que lo llevaran de este valle de Casas Grandes con carta que traerían del capitán Francisco Ramírez, los cuales volvieron a toda diligencia, los tres llevando sólo dos corates 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 compañero de todos los señores oficiales y demás soldados de mi cargo envíen el real a toda diligencia a dar favor a dicha cristinidad y veinte y cinco hombres de mi cargo y otros de los campos con los capitanes Juan de la Fuente y Francisco Ramírez proseguímos a dar asalto a los manzos que estaban ya retirados en la Sierra de Carretas. En fin, señor volvimos a diligencia a dar favor y socorro como lo dije 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 encerrado 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 aparte de ella y lo incontrastable tan a favor de los indios enemigos y no tener entradas ni saber ninguna salida alguna resolviéndome a que no quedaran con mayor avilanzo pues los teníamos a la vista determinó el entrar a pie o como pudiéramos como lo hizo 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 la que le haya semeado desde que tengo uso de razón. Duro la pelea todo el sagrado día hasta ponerse el sol y fue la guerra la más cruda que se ha visto. Hicimos todo el daño y destrozó que se pudiera. Matándoles más de cuarenta e hiriéndoles muchísim gente y se puede recitar el remero 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 campoes también han tenido estoquos 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 deter-
miné 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 que a les tengo respetuoso, pidiéndoles cuatro hombres para poderle con ellos y el altérez 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 dí-
cho 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 avilanz de los enemigos con el despué de esta jurisdicción, te-
niendo 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 ex-
pero la razón de vuestra señoría para con sus órdenes ponerlas en ejecución y de todo dará razón bastantes el altérez 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 pro-
curando cada cual aventajar sus personas, que para poderle decir a vuestra seño-
ría sin encarecimiento, y con verdad, me falta discurso, haciendo lo mismo con su gente el capitán Juan de la Fuente que en todo ha mostrado 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, sí acaso no se viere vuestra señoría en algún aprieto, pues con eso fio 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 altérez 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
Señor gobernador y capitán general:

Del paraje de san Diego di cuenta a vuestra señorí a de lo susedido en mi viaje asta allí, y aora lo bueno he hazer, dando a vuestra señorí a cuenta de todo el viaje asta la ora presente y así digo señor que salí del Rio del Norte siguiendo el rastro de los mansos que adia dejado la primera ves y aúando salido como a las dos de la tarde y caminando aquella noche asta el cuarto del ala pare mi real por ofreserse un puerto que teniamos que pasar a la vista malo y aguardando allí a que acuara de amanecer {margen} suplico a vuestra señorí a me aga faúor [la]bien de remitirme [a]las libras de poluora para reexistrar vajada, se uído 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 unna cueua atrincherándose a toda priesa y resistiendo allí por lo fauorable en que se allauan. Tirandome a pie con los dichos mis compañeros a cojerlos vijos me yrieron dos compañeros, los quales fueron Francisco Marques en vn braso y a el capitán Pedro de Leiua junto a la sien. Quiso dios que los coxieramos aunque a el vno con algunas lansadas. Los agasaxe y acaricie y tome razón 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. Allí se juntaron los capitanes Juan Fernandes de la Fuente y Francisco Ramires con la jente de mi cargo a pedirme era mui conveniente procurase la paz con dichos apaches y que se despachara el que estaua bueno á asentar la paz con el capitán de su nazión, el qual la prometió y que boluería con su capitán y quedariamos amigos de vna ves y que ellos procurarían a los mansos y les darian guerra. En fin lo despa- che y quede asiendo curar y acariciar al erido y prosegui con mi viaje, siempre por el rastro sin que vbiera hombre que supier a vna en vna las vestias. Allí se juntaron los capitanes Juan Fernandes de la Fuente y Francisco Ramires con la jente de mi cargo a pedirme era mui conveniente procurase la paz con dichos apaches y que se despachara el que estaua bueno á asentar la paz con el capitán de su nazión, el qual la prometió y que boluería con su capitán y quedariamos amigos de vna ves y que ellos procurarían a los mansos y les darian guerra. En fin lo despa- che y quede asiendo curar y acariciar al erido y prosegui con mi viaje, siempre por el rastro sin que vbiera hombre que supier a vna en vna las vestias. Allí se juntaron los capitanes Juan Fernandes de la Fuente y Francisco Ramires con la jente de mi cargo a pedirme era mui conveniente procurase la paz con dichos apaches y que se despachara el que estaua bueno á asentar la paz con el capitán de su nazión, el qual la prometió y que boluería con su capitán y quedariamos amigos de vna ves y que ellos procurarían a los mansos y les darian guerra. En fin lo despa-
la mansa. Tome rason del de la parte donde se alluan 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 cuia rason y la de que no se auian juntado[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 enviar algunos hombres a que lo lleuaran de este valle de Casas Gr[andes] con carta que truxeron del capitán Francisco Ramires, los cuales bolbieron a toda [diligen]-cia, los tres lleuando solo dos costales de masorca y pidiendo fauor y socorro, con nueva que se alluan apretados y em peligro los vez[ios] de este d[icho] valle, que con el aprieto de la nueva com pareser de todos los señores oficiales y dem[as sol]-dados de mi cargo yuiste el real a toda dilijencia a dar fauor a d[icho] [xipitán]-dad y yo [con] veinte y simo hombres de mi cargo y otros de los camp[os de] los capitúmes Juan de la Fuente y Francisco Ramires, que lo allamaron de este valle de las Carretas. En fin señor bol[uinos] a dili[a]jencia 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 se[llado]-se todas las caualladas y ganados menores y el auerles quemado los jacale[s don]-de tenian enserrados sus vastimientos, estauan de asiento cinco leguas de este [valle] en la sierra y auiendo ynviado espia y traído la noticia de que esta[uan] en la dicha sierra, salimos a cosa de la oracion y fuimos a amanes[ar] a la dicha sierra, donde por desconoser lo aspero de ella y lo yocontrastab[le] tan a fauor de los yndios henemigos y no tener entradas ni sauer ni[nguno] salida alguna, resolviendome a que no quedaran con muyer 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 valalla 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 sol y fue la gu[err]a la mas cruda que se a uisto. Yseles todo el daño y destroso que se p[udo], matandoles mas de quarenta y hiriendoles muchisima jente y se puede reconocer el mucho empeño que ysimos pues yo y onse hombres de los de mi cargo hemos [salido] heridos y cuatro yndios piros y tiguas que am peleado con sobrado valor, mostrando 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, que el de mas riesgo segun la herida fue Acuña y esta pelea fue el dia treinta [de septiembre] y oï dia de la fecha nos allamos con aliuio, pues an empesado a purgar las eridas] que an sido en la cara, piernas, brasos y cauesa, por cuia causa y dar descanso [a la] caullada, me determine a esperar tres o cuatro dias y ayer me presento el capitán Francisco Ramires y el reverendo padre predicador fray Juan Porras cada vno su requerimiento a que les te[n] resulto, pidiendoles cuatro hombres para poderle con ellos y el alferes de cam[pañ][a] dar que[n]ta a vuestra se[ñoria] de todo lo susedito y sauer el estado en que se alla vuestra se[ñoria] por alla pues he tenido la noticia de la junta que tengo auisado a vuestra se[ñoria] con la traicion de coxe[los] durmiendo, por cuia causa no dilataua mas mi viaje y lo asleraua todo [lo posi]-
ble y me requiere en nombre del rey nuestro señor le de favores y socorro asta echar con castigo al enemigo de aquí, pues de faltar de aquí mi campo se acabaría esta jurisdicción, despoblando el dicho alcalde mayor por faltarle a dar favores, asiendo en dichos requerimientos dos mil cargos, que mirando al mayor servicio de Dios nuestro señor y que no tengan mayor auxilios los enemigos con el despueblo de esta jurisdicción, teniendo modo de dar quenta a vuestra señorial 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 lleure em persona pues, solo espero la razón de vuestra señorial para con sus ordenes ponerlas en execucion y de todo dara razón vastante el alferes Alonso García que su majestad y los demás señores oficiales y soldados an acudido como nobles leales y valerosos vasallos de su majestad, ganando todos creditos y reputacion con amigos y enemigos, procurando cada qual aventajar sus personas que para poderlo desir a vuestra señorial sin encaresimiento y con verdad me falta discurso, asiando lo mismo con su jente el capitán Juan de la Fuente, que en todo a mostrado su valor y nobleza y el capitán Francisco Ramírez, quienes me aman pedido agá suplicia a vuestra señorial de que me remita sienydios piros y tiguas si acaso no se uiere vuestra señorial en algun aprieto, pues con eso fio en dios de conseguir la victoria; que vengan si acaso los vineyare vuestra señorial sin temor de que aí fiores que gloria a dios no an dado este año y lo que ahora suplico a vuestra señorial me agá favor de uyniarme si es que a uenido el capitán don Alonso me socorra con cuatro o sinco manojes 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 señorial el pliego que esta en poder del capitán Francisco Ramírez; otra cosa de nueuo no aí que dar auizo a vuestra señorial y solo le pido a vuestra señorial me auise de toda novedad de por alla y reciba vuestra señorial las de los teuerendos padres capellanes y de todos los señores soldados, mui en particular del alferes real y de Xaviuer, que vesan los pies [a] vuestra señorial y con tanto, nuestro señor me guarde a vuestra señorial los muchos y felices años que desea y le menester. Deste valle de San Antionio de Casas Grandes y octubre a 3 de 1684 años.

Besa los pies de vuestra señorial su menor criado

Roque Madrid {rubric}
Carta escripta por el capitán Roque Madrid a su capitán general y gobernador don Domingo Girona. Dandole indivíduo: dual noticia de su viaje y campaña en que de orden de su señora ha—viendo salido en solicitud y encargo del enemigo [fol. 55r] para perseguir y castigarlo en—contró a cuatro—y nidos enemigos que después que resistieron—teniendo los—havían apresado y despechado—el vno a las de—mas naciones con embajada de que se les brindaba por—los muertos con la buena amistad y paz—y haciéndose encontrado dicho capitán Roque Madrid—con los otros dos captivados Ramírez y Fuente en vista de las noticias que adquirieron en [*el parage de los] ojos de—san Francisco en la parte por donde se—hallavan los—y nidos enemigos de nación man—so antedes de que estos de—juntaesan con—sus confederados los—tanos y haver pedido—socorro en el [fol. 56r] valle de—Casas Grandes—resolbiéronse seguir el—rastro de dichos—mamones y—darles asalto—lo en la—Sierra de las—Carretas donde—estaban—atrinchera—dos y avían—tados de las—muchas os—tilidades que havían hecho en dicho valle—robando los—gananudos 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My Lord Governor and Captain General:

I reported to Your Lordship from our encampment at San Diego 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 Norte following the trail of the Mansos, from which I had turned aside at the time of my first report, and having set out at approximately 2 p.m. and marched through that night until the dawn watch, 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, where I had to water our horses one at a time. There Captain Juan Fernández de la Fuente and Captain Francisco Ramírez 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, concerning whose location, those who had heard of them were very uncertain, 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 for 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, the husband of Pancha, a Manso Indian. I questioned him about the whereabouts of the Mansos or where he had left them, and when I pressed him, 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, 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, and they

*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, who had already withdrawn into the Sierra de Carretas.

In short, milord, we hastened back to be of assistance, 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; 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 and some others from the forces of Captain Juan de la Fuente and Captain Francisco Ramírez 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

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.

Since there I received the news from the town council 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, and that council demands 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 document 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 [respectful]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}
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 capitán general con otros sinquenta soldados veteranos y del presidio y siento y sesenta yndios spartianos de harco y flecha a castigar a los hene- migos de nizacion apache y boluer a dar guerra a los dichos a- postatas y sus aliados porque se tenia noticia querian arrojar- 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 dichos ene- migos se mejoraron en otro puesto [lo mas e-] minente de mas asperiza y mas bien for- talezidos, adonde por segunda vez bolieron [vej bol]- bieron los nuestros a abanazer[es con tan con-] to baluer que aunque se bieron [en cono-] zido peligro por la mejoria del [puestos] que ellos tenian, al fin can[amos la] vitoria con grande derrota que se hizo] en ellos; no les balo su muche[dumbre] ni las muchas piedras, palo[s, flechas] y otros ystrumentos que desde [lo alto] con ynpetu ynfernal lanzaban contra- tra los nuestros. Coximos los [todos los] despojos que ellos auian sacado[dos]- aban que abian dado en Casas Grandes y de la mision que auian destruio- do = contiene quinze foxas escritas y una blanca” (Testimony literally containing 15 leaves and one blank leaf). The first deposition was taken down on 15 March 1684, 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 report itself 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 (Order 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 modorilla, 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.


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 saulian | estauan mui neutrales del: “lo” refers to “el [aguaje] de los ojos 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.
11. 191r35 Jusepe: 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 (Schoeder 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 asiendo 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 manso y cape- | andolos con el sombrero les dio tres gritos y que a ellos boluieron y los sintio, aranco a vyr y se escondio tras vn mesquite | y que los españoles que lo venian siguiendo | 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 reconosiendo que | eran españoles y cape- | andolos con el sombrero les dio tres gritos y que a ellos boluieron y los primeros que lle- |aron aonde estaua este declarante fueron Anthonio 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 susodosich 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 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 yviar algunos hombres a que lo lleuran: 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: “aiuendo | seguido quatro dias con grandissima falta | de bastimentos, nos obligo [a] adelantar 14 | hombres que fueno 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 (“pereciamos”) 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.


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 Schoeder 1979:236-237, and on the Southern Tiwas, 242-244.

21. 191v39 ayer me presente: the “requerimientos” and Madrid’s “respuesta” are not exact 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 Garcia, 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 ("cozeros 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. 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. pliego: this document is not extant.

25. reciua 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).


Abbreviations

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

References

Colophon

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