The Captivity of Macario Leal: A Tejano among the Comanches, 1847–1854

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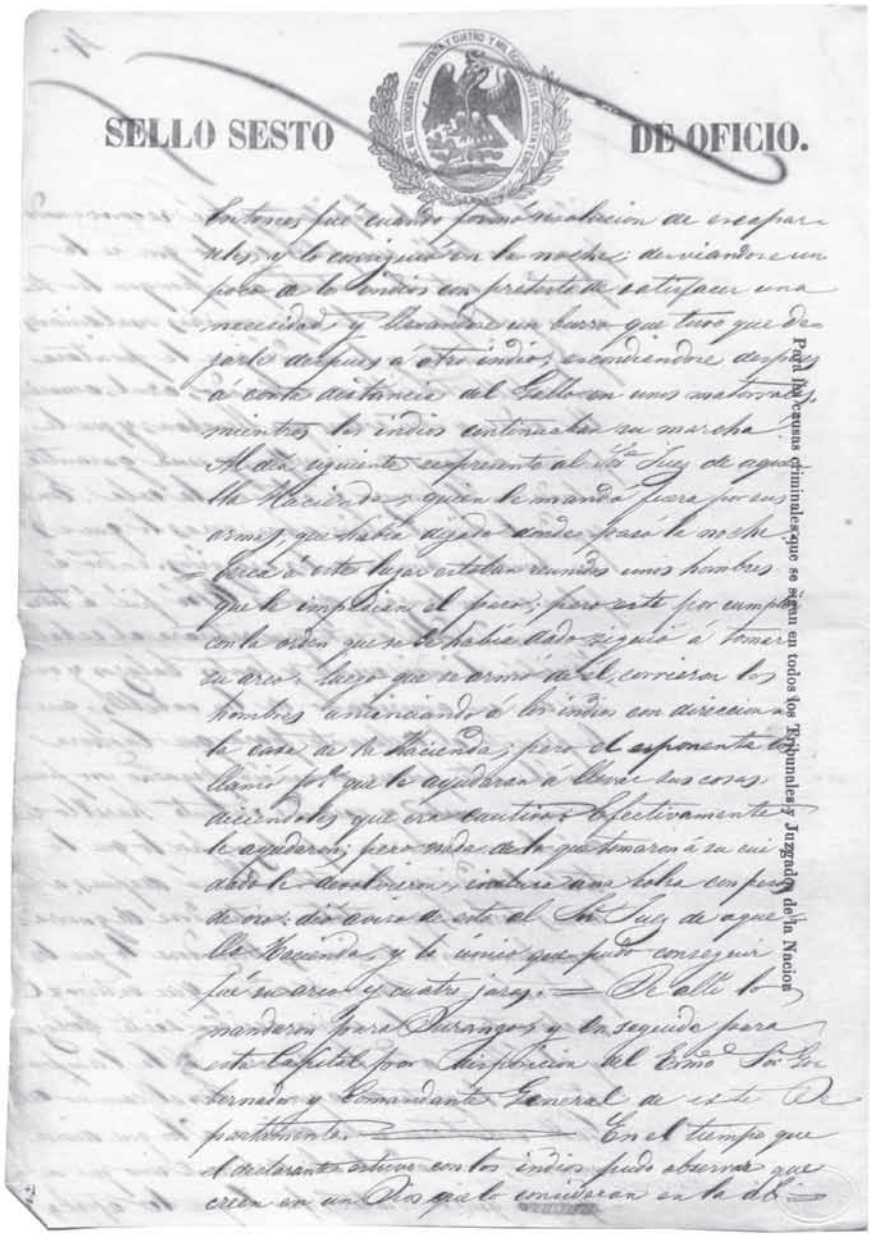
SELLO SESTO DE OFICIO.

Para las causas criminales que se sigan en todos los Tribunales y Juzgados de la Nacion

The deposition of Macario Leal, which relates his time in captivity among the Comanches. *Courtesy of the Archivo Histórico Municipal de Monterrey.*

The Captivity of Macario Leal: A Tejano among the Comanches, 1847–1854

Edited and Translated with an Introduction
By Joaquín Rivaya-Martínez*

In 1847, a raiding party of Comanches captured a boy named Macario Leal on the outskirts of Laredo, Texas. Macario lived with the Comanches until the spring of 1854, when he ran away from them in the course of another raid, turning himself in at the Hacienda del Gallo, in the Mexican state of Durango. Macario was quickly sent via Durango City to Monterrey, Nuevo León, where military authorities interrogated him about his life among the Indians. His deposition, available here in English for the first time, sheds light on pre-reservation Comanche culture, and opens a unique window into Comanche captivity.[1]

In the last few years, a number of scholars have highlighted the importance of captivity as a fundamental practice in interethnic relations throughout the southwestern borderlands.[2] In the particular case of the

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[1] The editor has adapted the spelling and accentuation of Hispanic personal names to contemporary standard Spanish. For spellings of Comanche words, he followed Comanche Language and Cultural Preservation Committee (hereafter referred to as CLCPC), *Taa Nʉmʉ Tekwapʉ?ha Tuboopu* (Lawton, Okla.: Comanche Language and Cultural Preservation Committee, 2003; hereafter cited by its English title, *Our Comanche Dictionary*). For Comanche personal names, if available, he followed the spellings proposed in Thomas W. Kavanagh, *Comanche Political History: An Ethnohistorical Perspective, 1706–1875* (1996; reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999); and Thomas W. Kavanagh (ed.), *Comanche Ethnography: Field Notes of E. Adamson Hoebel, Waldo R. Wedel, Gustav G. Carlson, and Robert H. Lowie* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008).

[2] Gary C. Anderson, *The Indian Southwest, 1580–1830: Ethogenesis and Reinvention* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999); Juliana Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman: Indians and Spaniards in the Texas Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007); James F. Brooks, *Captives and Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); Victoria Smith, *Captive Arizona, 1851–1901* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009).

Comanches, several authors have emphasized the important roles that captives played in their political economy, in their relations with other groups, and in Comanche ethnogenesis (the process through which Comanches came into being as a distinct people).[3] Relatively little is known, however, about what life in captivity was like.[4] Macario Leal's testimony complements the stories of other Comanche captives published in English, largely because it differs from them in two essential aspects: the identity of the captive, a Tejano, and the nature of the document, a formal deposition taken in Mexico.[5]

Comanches and other independent Indians captured scores of people of diverse ethnic and geographic origin on both sides of the Rio Grande for much of the nineteenth century.[6] Even though scholars agree that Hispanics constituted the bulk of Comanche captives, most discussions of Comanche captivity depend heavily, and sometimes uncritically, on captivity narratives written by, about, and for Anglo Americans.[7] The stories of Hispanic captives, on the other hand, remain under-researched despite the abundant documentary evidence available on them.[8] Whether this

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[3] Anderson, *Indian Southwest*, 220–222, 239–240; Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman*, 247–286; Brooks, *Captives and Cousins*, 59–79, 160–207 (especially 180–193); Brian E. DeLay, *War of a Thousand Deserts: Indian Raids and the U.S.-Mexican War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 90–95; Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 250–259.

[4] On Comanche captivity see also: Joaquín Rivaya-Martínez, "Becoming Comanches: Patterns of Captive Incorporation into Comanche Kinship Networks, 1820–1875," in *On the Borders of Love and Power: Families and Kinship in the Intercultural American Southwest*, ed. David Adams and Crista DeLuzio (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 47–70; Daniel J. Gelo and Scott Zesch, "'Every Day Seemed to be a Holiday': The Captivity of Bianca Babb," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 107, no. 1 (2003): 35-49; Carl C. Rister, *Border Captives: The Traffic in Prisoners by Southern Plains Indians, 1835–1875* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1940); Michael L. Tate, "Comanche Captives: People between Two Worlds," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 72, no. 3 (1994), 228–263; Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel, *The Comanches: Lords of the South Plains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952), 241–242, 259–264, 71. The stories of some captives are told in Hugh D. Corwin, *Comanche and Kiowa Captives in Oklahoma and Texas* (Guthrie, Okla.: Cooperative Publishing, 1959); Jo Ella Powell Exley, *Frontier Blood: The Saga of the Parker Family* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2001); and Scott Zesch, *The Captured: A True Story of Abduction by Indians on the Texas Frontier* (New York: St. Martin´s Press, 2004).

[5] A deposition is a recorded testimony given under oath, often as part of legal proceedings or to be used in court.

[6] By "independent Indians" I refer to unconquered indigenous groups that inhabited lands claimed by the United States and Mexico such as the equestrian nomads of the Great Plains and the U.S. Southwest.

[7] "Anglo American" refers here to a non-Hispanic Euro American, whereas "Hispanic" refers to a Spanish-speaking individual. Comanches make a similar distinction between Hispanics and other Euro Americans through the terms *yutaibo,* "ordinary (non-Indian) person," i.e., "Hispanic," and *pabotaibo,* "light-skinned (non-Indian) person," i.e., "Anglo"; Carney Saupitty Sr. to Joaquín Rivaya-Martínez, July 14, 2005, interview (notes in possession of Joaquín Rivaya-Martínez).

[8] Macario's is not the only testimony left by a Hispanic captured by Plains Indians in the nineteenth century. In the 1870s, depositions were also taken from a number of Mexicans who had been captured by U.S.-based Indians. In 1872, the Mexican Comisión Pesquisidora de la Frontera del Norte, a government-appointed special commission dedicated to ascertain the damages caused by U.S.-based interlopers in northeastern Mexico after the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, interviewed a number of individuals who had spent some time in captivity among Comanches and other Indians. The original testimonies compiled by the Comisión Pesquisidora can be found in legajo L-E-1589 at the Archivo Histórico Genaro Estrada de la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores in Mexico City. Some of the depositions have been

"His-oo-sán-chees, Little Spaniard, a Warrior," by George Catlin, 1834, oil on canvas. This is the earliest known painting of a Comanche captive, presumably a Hispanic by the name Jesús Sánchez. *Courtesy of the Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, D.C.*

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published in Spanish: Cuauthémoc Velasco Ávila, *En manos de los bárbaros. Testimonios de la guerra india en el noreste* (México, D.F.: Breve Fondo Editorial, 1996). The story of a Hispanic New Mexican captured by Apaches and eventually sold to and incorporated by Kiowas has been published in English, although the account has been somewhat embellished by its author: J J. Methvin, *Andele, the Mexican-Kiowa Captive: A Story of Real Life among the Indians* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996). Macario Leal's is the lengthiest and most detailed account of Comanche captivity by a Hispanic published so far.

neglect is due to the inability of some scholars to read Spanish-language sources or to a sheer lack of interest in non-Anglos, it betrays an ethnocentric bias. The annotated translation offered here is a step towards addressing that imbalance.

Macario Leal, a Hispanic boy, was thirteen years old when Comanches kidnapped him in 1847. Conversely, the Anglo protagonists of Comanche captivity narratives were typically young adult women or little children at the time of their capture, which occurred in most cases before 1840 or after 1860.[9] Macario might therefore have experienced a peculiar captivity by virtue of his ethnicity, sex, age, and the time period of his capture. Overall, however, little in his captive experience seems unique, there being abundant similarities with the stories of some Anglo captives, particularly other boys captured after infancy.

Presumably, Macario's account is a more accurate rendition of the facts than captivity narratives typically are. These narratives were normally literary works written to generate revenue for their authors and publishers. By the 1820s, when the earliest biographical accounts of Comanche captivity were published, such stories had long been a popular genre among Anglo American readers.[10] To guarantee their sales, these narratives typically reproduced plot lines and stylistic conventions peculiar to the genre, which often resulted in some distortion of the facts. Thus, some narratives of Comanche captivity are entirely apocryphal, while others are interspersed with so many spurious passages that it is hard to distinguish what is true from what is not.[11]

The document containing Macario's testimony, on the other hand, is not a literary composition conceived to be sold for economic gain, but rather a formal deposition: a legal-political text produced in an institutional, bureaucratic context. Shortly after Macario fled the Comanches, General Pedro de Ampudia, commander in chief of the military forces

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[9] Macario Leal was born in Laredo, Texas, in 1833 or 1834 (when he was interrogated, on May 12, 1854, he declared that he was twenty years old.) He was a resident of Laredo when Comanches captured him in 1847. He identified his mother as Doña Reyes Delgado.

[10] On captivity narratives see, for instance Christopher Castiglia, *Bond and Determined: Captivity, Culture-Crossing, and White Womanhood from Mary Rowlandson to Patty Hearst* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); Kathryn Z. Derounian-Stodola and James A. Lavernier, *The Indian Captivity Narrative, 1550–1900* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1993); Gary L. Ebersole, *Captured by Texts: Puritan to Postmodern Images of Indian Captivity* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995); Richard Vanderbeets, "The Indian Captivity Narrative as Ritual," *American Literature* 43, no. 4 (1972), 548–562.

[11] The most reliable published narratives of captivity among Comanches are T. A. Babb, *In the Bosom of the Comanches: A Thrilling Tale of Savage Indian Life, Massacre and Captivity Truthfully Told by a Surviving Captive* (Amarillo, Tex: self-published, 1912); Gelo and Zesch, "'Every Day Seemed to be a Holiday': The Captivity of Bianca Babb"; E. House (ed.), *A Narrative of the Captivity of Mrs. Horn and Her Two Children with That of Mrs. Harris by the Comanche Indians* (St. Louis: C. Keemle Printer, 1839); Rachel Plummer, *Rachel Plummer's Narrative of Twenty-One Months Servitude as a Prisoner Among the Comanche Indians* (Houston: Telegraph Power Press, 1838); Benjamin Dolbeare, *A Narrative of the Captivity and Sufferings of Dolly Webster Among the Comanche Indians in Texas with An Account of the Massacre of John Webster and His Party As Related by Mrs. Webster* (Clarksburg, Va.: M'Granaghan & M'Carty Printer, 1843).

of the department of Nuevo León, ordered Felipe N. de Alcalde, lieutenant of the Active Lancer Squadron of Lampazos, to interrogate Macario.[12] Alcalde conducted his formal inquiry in Monterrey, the state's capital, on May 12, 1854, in the presence of Juan N. Marichalar, second sergeant of the Third Company of the Lancer Regiment of Monterrey, who wrote down and notarized the deposition.[13] Alcalde's questions reveal his intention to acquire thorough and accurate knowledge of the Comanches, which would permit Mexican authorities to improve the security of their country against Comanche incursions. He also tried to establish Macario's identity in order to send him back with his original family, as was customary with redeemed captives.

There is no apparent reason why Macario might have lied to his interrogators other than perhaps to deny his involvement in Comanche warfare, which he nevertheless acknowledged explicitly. In principle, there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the transcription either. Both Macario and his Mexican interrogators spoke Spanish. Captured at age thirteen, the Tejano did not forget his ancestral tongue, as happened among the youngest captives. Moreover, Macario's account was recorded shortly after he made his successful escape, when his memories of captivity were still fresh, contrary to the many captivity narratives written years after the events that they relate.

The credibility of Macario's story is further supported by the fact that much of it can be verified through other sources. His deposition contains a wealth of ethnographic and historical data, including numerous references to Comanche customs, warfare, and social organization, names of individuals and places, and even some Comanche words, which Marichalar transcribed using Spanish phonemes (*Tabe-pete*, *Tekugniét*, *chánica*, *nekunica*, *tórpetit*, *napa*). For all these reasons, Macario Leal's testimony should appeal to anyone interested in interethnic captivity in the southwestern borderlands or in pre-reservation Comanche culture.

Macario's interrogators were extremely interested in his first-hand

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[12] The identification of General Ampudia as commander in chief appears without specific citation in Isidro Vizcaya Canales, *Tierra de guerra viva: Incursiones de indios y otros conflictos en el noreste de México durante el siglo XIX, 1821–1885* (Monterrey: Academia de Investigación Humanística, A. C., 2001), 289. The border town of Lampazos (de Naranjo) is located in northern Nuevo León, some seventy miles southwest of Laredo, Texas. With a population of 3,043 residents in 1850, Lampazos bore the brunt of the Indian incursions in the region during the nineteenth century; see Santiago Vidaurri, *Memoria que sobre el estado que guarda en Nuevo León la administración pública en sus diversos ramos presenta al H. Congreso por disposición del egecutivo el secretario del despacho de gobierno hoy 25 de abril de 1850* (Imprenta del gobierno a cargo de F. Molina, 1850), appendix 1.

[13] This is probably the Juan Nepomuceno Marichalar born in Cadereyta, Nuevo León, on May 15, 1830, see *Cadereyta Church Baptisms Incl. Grandparents, 1825–1835* (Corpus Christi, Tex.: Spanish American Genealogical Association, 1992), 196. The editor has been unable to find any further information about Alcalde.

knowledge of the Comanches and their incursions. Throughout the nineteenth century, especially during its middle decades, Comanches, Apaches, Kiowas, and other independent Indians based north of the Rio Grande wreaked havoc across the northern third of present-day Mexico, which they raided unremittingly, taking livestock, captives, and other plunder.[14] The raiders benefited from Mexico's endemic political, social, and economic instability, which often hindered the ability of northern Mexicans to defend themselves and the central government's capacity to provide military support. The intruders also took advantage of the rivalry between Mexico and the United States, which prevented Mexican forces from chasing them north of the border.

Comanches, accompanied sometimes by Kiowas or other allies, often penetrated hundreds of miles into present-day Mexico, ranging over the vast territory that lies between the Sierra Madre Occidental and the Gulf of Mexico, encompassing much of the present-day states of Chihuahua, Coahuila, Nuevo León, Tamaulipas, Durango, Zacatecas, and San Luis Potosí. Their looting expeditions grew in scale in the 1840s and 1850s, when parties of up to several hundred warriors spent months at a time south of the Rio Grande.[15]

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[14] On U.S.-based independent Indians' incursions into Mexico, see Charles R. McClure, "Neither Effective nor Financed: The Difficulties of Indian Defense in New Mexico, 1837–1846," *Military History of Texas and the Southwest* 10, no. 2 (1972), 73–92; J. Fred Rippy, "The Indians of the Southwest in the Diplomacy of the United States and Mexico, 1848–1853," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 2, no. 3 (1919), 363–396; Martha Rodríguez García, *Historias de resistencia y exterminio. Los indios de Coahuila durante el siglo XIX* (México, D.F.: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores de Antropología Social, Instituto Nacional Indigenista, 1995); Miguel Vallebueno G., "Apaches y comanches en Durango durante los siglos XVIII y XIX," in *Nómadas y sedentarios en el norte de México. Homenaje a Beatriz Braniff*, ed. Marie-Areti Hers (México, D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2000), 669–681; Cuauthémoc Velasco Ávila, "La amenaza comanche en la frontera mexicana, 1800–1841" (Ph.D. diss., Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1998); Isidro Vizcaya Canales, *La invasión de los indios bárbaros al noreste de México en los años de 1840 y 1841* (Monterrey: Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores, 1968); Isidro Vizcaya Canales, *Incursiones de indios bárbaros al noreste en el México independiente (1821–1855)* (Monterrey: Archivo General del Estado, Gobierno de Nuevo León, 1995); Vizcaya Canales, *Tierra de guerra viva*; David B. Adams, "Embattled Borderland: Northern Nuevo León and the Indios Bárbaros, 1686–1870," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 95, no. 2 (1991); Luis Aboites Aguilar, "Poder político y bárbaros en Chihuahua hacia 1845," *Secuencia* 19 (1991), 17–32; William B Griffen, *Utmost Good Faith: Patterns of Apache-Mexican Hostilities in Northern Chihuahua Border Warfare, 1821–1848* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988); Víctor Orozco Orozco, *Las guerras indias en la historia de Chihuahua; antología* (Ciudad Juárez: Universidad Autónoma de Ciudad Juárez, 1992); William B. Griffen, *Apaches at War and Peace: The Janos Presidio, 1750–1858* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998); Ralph A. Smith, *Borderlander: The Life of James Kirker, 1793–1852* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), Filiberto Terrazas Sánchez, *La guerra apache en México (viento de octubre)* (México, D.F.: Costa Amic Editor, 1973); Víctor Orozco Orozco, *Las guerras indias en la historia de Chihuahua. Primeras fases* (México, D.F.: Consejo General de la Cultura y las Artes, 1992).

[15] Saupitty to Rivaya-Martínez, July 14, 2005. On Comanche incursions into Mexico, see Matthew M. Babcock, "Trans-national Trade Routes and Diplomacy: Comanche Expansion, 1760–1846" (M.A. thesis, University of New Mexico, 2001); Comisión Pesquisidora de la Frontera del Norte, *Informe de la Comisión Pesquisidora de la frontera del Norte al Ejecutivo de la Unión en cumplimiento del artículo 3º de la Ley de 30 de Septiembre de 1872, Monterrey, Mayo de 1873* (México, D.F.: Imprenta de Díaz de León y White, 1877); Brian DeLay, "Independent Indians and the U.S.-Mexican War," *American Historical Review* 112, no. 1 (2007), 35–68; DeLay, "The Wider World of the Handsome Man: Southern Plains Indians Invade Mexico, 1830–

Macario's references to characteristically Comanche practices, his allusions to Comanche figures Tabepete and Bajo el Sol, and his familiarity with Comanche vocabulary leave no doubts regarding the Comanche identity of his captors. However, nowhere in the deposition is the specific ethnicity of Macario's captors explicitly acknowledged. Instead, only the words *indios* (Indians) and *bárbaros* (independent, unacculturated Indians) are used.[16] The fact that the ethnonym "Comanche" is not mentioned even once in the document hints that by 1854 the presence of Comanches south of the border had become so common that the generic terms *indio* and *bárbaro* could be used as synonyms for "Comanche."[17]

Macario's captors took him from the outskirts of Laredo, where they seized him, to a base camp that they reached "early in the afternoon" on his third day in captivity. From there they traveled towards San Antonio, and thence to their main encampment, which according to the captive was located "on the banks of the Gila River." This geographic reference constitutes the biggest conundrum in Macario's testimony. It cannot be the Gila River of Arizona and New Mexico, which flows too far west of the Comanches' known range at the time. Perhaps "Gila" is Macario's (or rather the notary's) attempt to reproduce phonetically in Spanish some otherwise unknown Comanche name for a stream.[18] The raiders carrying Macario reached their main encampment "in about a month and a half," presumably referring to the time elapsed after passing by San Antonio, which suggests some remote location on the high plains.

Macario only refers to two Comanche individuals by their name: Tabepete and Bajo el Sol.[19] Both were among the most active Comaches

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1846," *Journal of the Early Republic* 27, no. 1 (2007), 83–113; DeLay, *War of a Thousand Deserts*; Ralph A. Smith, "The Comanche Invasion of Mexico in the Fall of 1845," *West Texas Historical Association Year Book* 35 (1959), 3–28; Ralph A. Smith, "The Comanche Bridge between Oklahoma and Mexico, 1843–1844," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 39, no. 1 (1961), 54–69; Ralph A. Smith, "Indians in American-Mexican Relations before the War of 1846," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 43, no. 1 (1963), 36–64; Ralph A. Smith, "The Comanche Sun over Mexico," *West Texas Historical Association Year Book* 46 (1970), 25–62; Velasco Ávila, "La amenaza comanche en la frontera mexicana, 1800–1841"; Vizcaya Canales, *La invasión de los indios bárbaros al noreste de México*; and Vizcaya Canales, *Tierra de guerra viva*. According to Smith, Comanches may have reached as far south as the state of Querétaro; see, "The Comanche Bridge between Oklahoma and Mexico, 1843–1844," 54, and "Indians in American-Mexican Relations before the War of 1846," 36.

[16] The Spanish term *bárbaro* can be used as a noun meaning "barbarian" or as an adjective meaning "barbarous," often carrying the connotation of "wild" or "cruel" or conveying the idea of "uncivilized, uncultivated" in the ethnocentric sense of "lacking Western culture"; see David J. Weber, *Bárbaros: Spaniards and Their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), especially 14–17. Unless otherwise indicated, references to Spanish lexicon and grammar have been drawn from the *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* of the Real Academia Española, < http://www.rae.es/rae.html> [Accessed Nov. 23–Dec. 14, 2012].

[17] At the same time, however, the term Comanche, which is absent from the deposition, was sometimes used in nineteenth-century Mexico as a generic designation for all the Plains Indians who raided south of the Rio Grande, including Kiowas, Plains Apaches (also known as Kiowa Apaches), and others, irrespective of their ethnicity.

[18] Less likely, Macario may have been trying to convey that they reached a river far away in the west.

[19] On Bajo el Sol and Tabepete, see Smith, "The Comanche Sun over Mexico."

in northern Mexico in the 1840s and early 1850s. Following the testimony of German-born journalist Julius Fröbel, who visited Chihuahua in 1850, historian Ralph A. Smith has suggested that they were "Southern Comanches," that is Penatekas (Honey Eaters), but their divisional affiliation remains uncertain.[20]

Macario identifies "Tabe-pete" (hereafter Tabepete, from *tabe* meaning "sun" and perhaps *petu,* "daughter") as the Indian woman who made him suffer the most when his captors took him to their Mexican hideout. Her Spanish name was Arriba del Sol (On/Above the Sun). Natividad Luján, a native of San Carlos (present-day Manuel Benavides, Chihuahua), who according to his own testimony saw Tabepete there many times when he was a boy, identified her as Bajo el Sol's mother, and referred to her as a "capitana" (female form of Spanish *capitán* "captain") who often gave commands to the Comanche warriors "from the belfry of the church in front of the *plazita* [small plaza] in San Carlos."[21] According to Fröbel, "When Colonel Langberg visited the Southern Comanches who inhabit the Steppes, known by the name of the Bolson de Mápimi [*sic*] the tribe was commanded by an old woman, called by the Mexicans 'the Generaless of all the Comanches.'"[22] Indeed, Mexican sources refer to Tabepete as "profetisa" (prophetess) and "generala" (an informal feminine form of the Spanish noun "general"), thereby ranking her above Comanche war party leaders, who are typically identified as "capitancillos" (little captains) or "capitanes" (captains).[23] All of this suggests that Tabepete played an influential role in the raids, likely as a *puhakatu* (possessor of supernatural power) with the ability to foretell the future. Mexican sources describe Tabepete as an old woman, and we know that the status of *puhakatu* was open to Comanche females only after menopause.[24] Tabepete was reportedly killed by Mexicans at the Espíritu Santo Canyon in southern Chihuahua on February 13, 1854.[25] Tabepete's memory, however, was still alive

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[20] Ibid., 28, 62. Many of the locations that Macario mentions fall within the usual range of the southernmost Comanche division, the Penatekas (Honey Eeaters), but those places were also visited by other Comanches.

[21] S. D. Myres (ed.), *O. W. Williams' Stories from the Big Bend* (El Paso: Texas Western College Press, 1965), 24–25.

[22] Julius Fröbel, *Seven Years Travel in Central America, Northern Mexico, and the Far West of the United States* (London: Richard Bentley, 1859), 352.

[23] Francisco Narvona to the comandante general del departamento de Durango, Feb. 19, 1854, in *El Registro Oficial* (Durango City), Mar. 10, 1854, 1; Anonymous, "La victoria de Jaco,", ibid., 4; José Andrés Luján to the secretario del gobierno del departamento de Chihuahua, Feb.15, 1854, ibid. 4.

[24] Myres (ed.), *O. W. Williams' Stories from the Big Bend*, 32; Ralph Linton, "A Neglected Aspect of Social Organization," *American Journal of Sociology* 45, no. 6 (1940): 882. According to Luján, Tabepete was "so old that when she rode she had to wear a thong that extended over her head and under her chin to keep her jaws from clattering together," in Myres (ed.), *O. W. Williams' Stories from the Big Bend*, 24–25. For an excellent work on a twentieth-century Comanche medicine woman, see David E. Jones, *Sanapia: Comanche Medicine Woman* (Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press, 1984).

[25] In the course of this decisive battle, Comanches suffered seventy-three dead, including five leaders,

in Comanche oral tradition as late as the 1970s, despite the skepticism of folklorists Alice Marriott and Carol Rachlin, who wrote:

> a story persists that there was a "Comanche West Point" somewhere in the Sierra Madres, in the state of Chihuahua, Mexico, and that young warriors were sent there for training. It has even been hinted that the commandant of this military installation was a woman, *but that hardly seems likely* [emphasis added].[26]

Luján gave the Comanche name of Bajo el Sol (Under/Below the Sun) as "Tave Tuk," whereas Mexican documents often reproduce the forms "Bajo del Sol" or "Tavetue" (from Comanche *tabe,* "sun," and perhaps from *tua,* "son").[27] He was apparently the most powerful Plains Indian leader operating in Mexico during the mid-nineteenth century, although the size of his following oscillated from a few dozen to several hundred warriors. In December 1852, the official newspaper of the Chihuahua government reported that some Comanches had turned up in San Carlos declaring that Bajo el Sol had died in a fight with Apache Indians and asking for the support of the locals to avenge their leader's death.[28] Luján also identified a "brother" of Bajo el Sol as "Mauwe," another influential figure normally referred to in Mexican sources as "Magüe" (possibly from Comanche *makwe* "back of the hand") or "Mano" (Hand). This Magüe might be the same person as "Mowway," an important leader of the Kotsoteka (Bison Eater) Comanches in later times.[29] Magüe was reportedly

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an estimated twenty-three injured, and lost two hundred and eighty mules and horses as well as forty-four heads of cattle. The Mexicans, who reportedly suffered just six injured, also redeemed from captivity twenty-six compatriots along with a Mescalero Apache girl; see Francisco Narvona to the comandante general del departamento de Durango, Feb. 19, 1854, in *El Registro Oficial,* Mar. 10, 1854, 1. Narvona reported seventy-two Comanches dead, but Captain Simón Moreno brought in seventy-three Comanche scalps as proof of the killing to the town of Jiménez, Chihuahua; see José Andrés Luján to the secretario del gobierno del departamento de Chihuahua, Feb. 16, 1854, in ibid., 2.

[26] Alice Marriott and Carol K. Rachlin (eds.), *Plains Indian Mythology* (New York: Thomas Y. Cromwell Company, 1975), 122.

[27] The anthroponym "Tavetue" appears in "Diez y ocho caciques muertos," *El Registro Oficial,* Apr. 8, 1854, 4. U.S. Army officer William H. Emory surveyed the U.S.-Mexican border in the 1840s and 1850s. Emory referred to "Bajo Sol" [*sic*] as "a bold Comanche, who, as his name signifies, claims to be master of everything under the sun" in *Report of the United States and Mexican Boundary Survey, Made under the Direction of the Secretary of the Interior* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1858), 86.

[28] "Chihuahua, 14 de Diciembre de 1852. Bajo el Sol," *El Registro Oficial,* Dec. 31, 1852, 3. According to Natividad Luján, Bajo el Sol died "fighting Apaches single-handed" in the Sierra del Carmen in northern Coahuila; see Myres (ed.), *O. W. Williams' Stories from the Big Bend,* 25.

[29] Other sources refer to Tabepete as Bajo el Sol's grandmother and to Magüe and Bajo el Sol just as relatives; see José Andrés Luján to the secretario del gobierno del Departamento de Chihuahua, Feb. 16, 1854, in *El Registro Oficial,* Mar. 10, 1854, 4; "Diez y ocho caciques muertos," 4; "Chihuahua, Abril 8 de 1851. Bajo del Sol," *El Registro Oficial,* Apr. 20, 1851, 4. On the possible identification of Magüe as Mowway, see Kavanagh, *Comanche Political History,* 383–384, 388, 480. The inhabitants of San Carlos referred to Bajo el Sol and a brother of his called "Mauwe" as *pelones* (bald or short-haired ones) "because they cut their hair short instead of wearing a long scalp-lock like the other Indians"; see Myres (ed.)., *O. W. Williams' Stories from the Big Bend,* 25.

killed at the Espíritu Santo fight.[30] However, on September 22, 1857, a "capitancillo" by the name "Mahua" passed by San Carlos with a following of sixty warriors on the way to Durango.[31] If Magüe, Mahua, and Mowway are the same person, Bajo el Sol and his people may actually have been Kotsotekas rather than Penatekas.[32]

Macario declared that his captors were reluctant to harass Nuevo León because of the tenacity with which the Mexicans there chased them. Bajo el Sol's Comanches therefore had a preference for raiding Durango and "the frontier points of the west." In fact, in April 1851, a treaty between the Chihuahua authorities and the Comanches represented by Bajo el Sol, Tabepete, Magüe, and another Comanche male permitted the Indians to cross the state of Chihuahua unopposed, which resulted in increasing raids in other areas to the east and south, particularly in the state of Durango. This treaty would be ratified by a new governor, José Cordero, in 1852.[33] In 1851, while at Presidio del Norte (today's Manuel Ojinaga, Chihuahua), U.S. Army officer and border surveyor William H. Emory learned that a four-hundred-member-strong Comanche expedition led by Bajo el Sol had recently crossed Chihuahua unmolested on its way south. By then, the situation in Durango had become so dire that the locals had reportedly begun to abandon even the richest haciendas.[34]

Comanches and their allies spent long periods raiding and trading south of the Rio Grande, operating often from hideouts at the heart of the inaccessible Bolsón de Mapimí. According to Luján, Bajo el Sol and his followers used to enter Mexico

> by the pass at Lajitas to San Carlos in the light of the September moon of every year. . . . And they stayed until they had robbed and plundered to their fill and were ready to go back. By this time they had captives, horses, mules and even cattle to carry back in great numbers; so they had to travel slowly. To return by their pass at Lajitas was to bring them within sixty miles of the soldiers at Presidio, and as they did not wish to have the soldiers following them, they took to crossing the

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[30] Francisco Narvona to the comandante general del departamento de Durango, Feb. 19, 1854, in *El Registro Oficial,* Mar. 10, 1854, 1; Simón Moreno to the comandante general del departamento de Durango, Mar. 4, 1854, ibid., 2; "Diez y ocho caciques muertos," 4.

[31] José Miguel Castilla to the secretario del gobierno del estado de Nuevo León y Coahuila, Oct. 2, 1857, Fondo Siglo XIX, legajo 4, expediente 14, folios 1-1v (Archivo General del Estado de Coahuila, Ramos Arizpe, Coahuila).

[32] CLCPC, *Our Comanche Dictionary,* 18; Saupitty to Rivaya-Martínez, July 14, 2005. It seems that Magüe inherited the leadership of Bajo el Sol's warlike following upon the latter's death. Mexican sources identify him as "mayor capitancillo" (main leader); see Francisco Narvona to the comandante general del departamento de Durango, Feb. 19, 1854, in *El Registro Oficial,* Mar. 10, 1854, 1; Diez y ocho caciques muertos," 4.

[33] "Chihuahua, 14 de Diciembre de 1852. Bajo el Sol," *El Registro Oficial,* Dec. 31, 1852,4; Smith, "The Comanche Sun over Mexico," 46, 47, 50.

[34] Emory, *Report of the United States and Mexican Boundary Survey,* 86.

"Comanche Chief," by Theodore Gentilz, n.d. oil on canvas. *Courtesy of the Witte Museum, San Antonio, Texas.*

river farther east—forty miles farther away from the soldiers. This carried them back on a trail on the east side of the Chisos Mountains, and so the pass came to be known as the Paso de Chisos.[35]

According to Macario, returning Comanche raiders used to pass by the Laguna de Jaco (currently in the jurisdiction of Camargo, Chihuahua), a site called by Emory "the rendezvous and stronghold of the Comanches and Kioways who annually plunder Durango and the neighboring States of Mexico."[36] Indeed, the remote Laguna de Jaco region, near the Chihuahua-Coahuila border, served Comanches and their allies as a base from which they could launch forays west, east, and south, and where they could accumulate livestock, captives, and other plunder out of sight until they decided to go back north.

Macario's deposition also makes clear that around 1850 Comanche trade networks were far more complex than is often assumed. Comanche forays into Mexico had become a highly profitable business not just for the Indians, but also for some Mexicans and Americans. Macario declared that his captors sold much of their plunder at San Carlos, and that their trade extended to Presidio del Norte, Coyame, and even Chihuahua City as well as to New Mexico.[37] Emory referred to the relations between several towns in the Presidio del Norte area, particularly San Carlos, and Indian raiders as "peculiar, and well worth the attention of both the United States and Mexican governments." Similarly, Fröbel considered *norteños* (the inhabitants of Presidio del Norte) "the allies, spies, powder purveyors, the receivers and buyers of stolen goods, of the Texan Comanches." According to Emory, Comanches, made "San Carlos a depôt of arms in their annual excursions into Mexico."[38] Concurrently, according to Macario, Coman-

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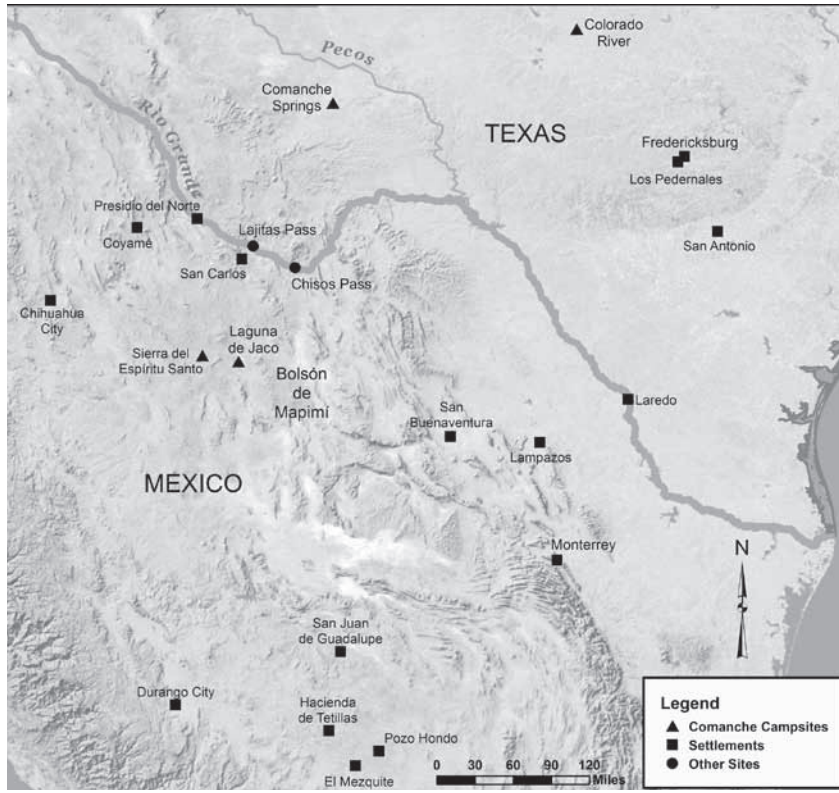
[35] Myres identifies "the great mines of azogue" as the Terlingua area in Brewster County, where extensive quicksilver mining occurred in the twentieth century; see Myres (ed.), *O. W. Williams' Stories from the Big Bend*, 25 (quotation), 42n.62.

[36] Emory, *Report of the United States and Mexican Boundary Survey*, 89.

[37] According to Pablo López, captured at age ten by the Comanches, with whom he spent about ten years until he "surrendered unconditionally" to the Mexicans at the battle of the Espíritu Santo Canyon, the Indians sold livestock in Chihuahua City to José Cordero, the governor of Chihuahua; see José Andrés Luján to the secretario del gobierno del departamento de Chihuahua, Feb. 16, 1854, in *El Registro Oficial*, Mar. 10, 1854, 2. In the course of the battle at Espírtu Santo Canyon, Mexican forces killed two neighbors from San Carlos and one from El Norte who were visiting the Comanche camp to trade. Another ten neighbors from "San Carlos del Coyame" and Santa Teresa had left the encampment the day prior to the attack. According to López, all of these people used to visit the Comanches to obtain livestock in exchange for "powder and provisions," selling the livestock later on to "ten Americans located at the Álamo Chapo"; see José Andrés Luján to the secretario del gobierno del departamento de Chihuahua, Feb. 16, 1854, in *El Registro Oficial*, Mar. 10, 1854, 3–4. Santa Teresa likely refers to the place known now as El Grito in the municipality of Camargo in northeastern Chihuahua. Less likely, it might refer to the village of Santa Teresa, near today's Ciudad Juárez or the place now called Santa Rosa, near Jiménez, in southeastern Chihuahua.

[38] Fröbel, *Seven Years Travel in Central America, Northern Mexico, and the Far West of the United States*, 408; Emory, *Report of the United States and Mexican Boundary Survey*, 86.



The Rio Grande Borderlands ca. 1850. Only the locations mentioned by Macario Leal and the other sources utilized in this article are identified on the map, excluding those New Mexico and northwestern Texas. The map, thus, represents approximately the southern two thirds of the range of Macario's Comanche captors. Map be Joaquín Rivaya-Martínez.

ches acquired spear points and rifles not only at San Carlos, but also in New Mexico and at the "Colorado River." Macario most likely meant the Colorado River that runs through Austin, Texas, although Spanish speakers in the nineteenth century sometimes used "Colorado" to refer to what are now known as the Red and Canadian Rivers. American-run trading posts existed on the banks of all those rivers during the mid-nineteenth century.[39] This supposition is corroborated by Macedonio Perales, a cap-

[39] The main points of trade between Comanches and Anglo dealers in the mid-nineteenth century were Thomas James's two "forts," on the Canadian River, Auguste P. Chouteau's post at Camp Holmes and other trading stations in what is now southwestern Oklahoma, the Bent brothers' several posts on the Arkansas and the Canadian Rivers, Coffee and Warren's post on the Red, and several trading houses of the Torrey brothers, including their main post on Tehuacana Creek, near the Brazos; see H. Allen Anderson, "Adobe Walls, Texas,", <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/AA/hra10.html>

tive from San Buenaventura, Coahuila, who lived with the Comanches between 1849 and 1851. His captors had visited two trading posts located respectively in "Los Pedernales" (probably a small German settlement that existed at the time, some seven miles southwest of Fredericksburg, Texas) and "near the Colorado River."[40] Unfortunately, Macario did not specify if Comanches visited any particular trading posts on the Colorado, or if it was the traders themselves who visited Comanche camps, as New Mexican Comancheros once did farther northwest.

Horses, many of them bred in Mexico only to be driven by Indian raiders, were the main commodity in the Comanche trade. In the fall of 1851, for instance, Emory came across a group of some thirty-five Comanches and Kiowas who were returning from Mexico with nearly a thousand horses "divided into three different squads" at Comanche Springs. The leader of this party, likely an incorporated captive, introduced himself in Spanish as a Comanche by the name "Mucho Toro" (Much Bull), although Emory suspected him to be "an escaped Mexican peon." He told Emory that they had "purchased" the livestock in Mexico, and that theirs was "but the advanced party of several hundred warriors, who were close behind" them. This was confirmed the next day by a huge dust cloud "rising from the trail . . . as far as the eye could reach" that Emory and his party noticed as they crossed the dividing ridge between the Comanche and Leon springs.[41] On one occasion, during a skirmish at the *barrial* (heavy clay land) of San Isidro, near San Juan de Guadalupe, Zacatecas, a Mexican force led by Francisco Treviño reportedly recovered as many as eight thousand horses and mules that Comanches had stolen from Pozo Hondo, Tetillas, and El Mezquite, all places located in the state of Zacatecas.[42]

Macario's captivity presents numerous similarities with the experiences of other captives, particularly other non-infant boys, including Anglos such as Theodore Babb and Clinton Smith, which suggests that sex and age were more important factors than ethnicity in the destiny of non-

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[Accessed March 14, 2013]; Henry C. Armbruster, "Torrey Trading Houses," <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/TT/dft2.html> [Accessed March 14, 2013]; Morris L. Britton, "Coffee's Station," http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/CC/dfc1.html [Accessed March 14, 2013]; Kavanagh, *Comanche Political History,* 284.

[40] Macedonio Perales, Deposition to the Comisión Pesquisidora de la Frontera del Norte, San Buenaventura, Coahuila, Oct. 8, 1873, legajo L-E-1589, folios 366v-367 (Archivo Histórico Genaro Estrada de la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, México, D.F.).

[41] Citing Mucho Toro as his source, Emory identified this large party as "'Bajo Sol's four hundred men" in *Report of the United States and Mexican Boundary Survey,* 86–87.

[42] Francisco Treviño, Deposition to the Comisión Pesquisidora de la Frontera del Norte. Hacienda de las Hermanas, Coahuila, Sept. 21, 1873, legajo L-E-1589, folios 355v–359v, (Archivo Histórico Genaro Estrada de la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores).

Indian captives.[43] Comanche raiders often attacked isolated individuals in the countryside, typically killing the adult men, but often kidnapping children and young adult women. Even though Comanches had a preference for younger captives, whom they could acculturate and incorporate more easily, they sometimes abducted enemy males in their early teens, particularly if the raiders discovered them tending livestock. Captors customarily used such captives as horse herders, as was the case with Macario.

The early stage of captivity was often very harsh, especially when Comanches traveled across enemy land. Captives often witnessed the killing of kin or friends at the time of capture or shortly thereafter. Macario's captors killed his brother when they abducted him. Typically, one of Macario's captors made him mount initially on the rear rump of his horse while the other Comanches hunted his two relatives. Once the chase was over, however, Macario was forced to mount on another horse, to which his captors bound him firmly. Comanches often tied their non-infant captives tightly to their mounts, which were habitually driven by the captors ahead of them. Thus, captives had little or no control over their mounts while on the move, which left them exposed to thorny vegetation, harmful insects, and inclement weather.

Comanches typically subjected their non-infant captives to corporal and emotional hardships that served to confuse them, make them dependent on their captors, and instill in them enough fear to prevent them from attempting to escape. Comanches sometimes beat their captives for failing to obey orders or for not behaving as they expected, as happened to Macario after his mount stampeded with the stolen horses during his first night in captivity. Comanches also beat him repeatedly during his first year in captivity whenever he failed to take care of the horses as they expected. The mistreatment also served to test the captives' hardiness and personal character, which along with their ability to obey orders and behave according to Comanche norms signaled the abductees' potential for incorporation.

As in Macario's case, Comanches customarily beat recently kidnapped non-infant captives upon their first arrival in camp. The abuses inflicted on captives at such occasions could be severe, but Comanches normally avoided killing, mutilating, or otherwise physically impairing their prisoners. As Tabepete showed Macario, Comanche females could be particularly cruel with both male and female captives during their first days in camp. An incorporated Mexican captive named Hɨ̈kiyani reminisced in 1933 how the women at the Comanche encampment whipped her, "as it

[43] Unless otherwise indicated this discussion of Comanche captivity is based on Rivaya-Martínez, "Becoming Comanches." Even though Babb's narrative is more realistic than Smith's, similarities with Macario's own testimony make some of Smith's claims seem more credible.

was customary upon the arrival of a captive."[44] In the words of Dolly Webster, kidnapped along with two of her children by a party of Penatekas on October 1, 1837, "The Indians of the encampment appeared vicious and hostile; particularly the squaws, who . . . claimed the privilege of inflicting blows on me."[45]

During Macario's first night at the Comanches' main encampment, they compelled him to join them in a dance around a big bonfire in the presence of his brother's scalp. Other captives reported similar scalp dances. Comanches sometimes forced the newly brought captives to dance holding the poles from which the scalps hanged, which they had to hit or whip occasionally. Comanches customarily held these dances to honor the return of warriors bringing enemy scalps.

The beating of captives upon their first arrival in camp, and their participation in victory dances probably served as rites of passage, reinforcing the abductees' dependency on their captors, and signaling their subservient status within the Comanche community. When Dolly Webster's captors reached the main body of Comanches on the Colorado River, she and the other captives "were ushered into a large ring, encircled by Indians, and had to undergo the ceremony of being made a Camanche [*sic*], which was to join them for a few moments" in "the dance, and in case of a refusal," they "were beaten severely."[46] Similarly, David G. Burnet, who reportedly lived several months among Comanches around 1818, wrote that if a captive survived the "severe initiation" of the first days in camp, he was "afterwards exempt from corporal punishment . . . considered a member, *sub conditionis,* of their society, and . . . attached as a slave to the family of the warrior who captured him, where he is generally treated with humanity."[47]

There is no suggestion in Macario's account that Comanches ever adopted him, which was a relatively common occurrence in the case of younger abductees. Non-adopted captives belonged to their captors, who sometimes gave them away to some relative, or sold them to non-kin. Because of his gender and age when he was captured, Macario was probably enslaved, at least initially. Comanches used the term *kwɨhɨpɨ* (caught) to convey the idea of "captive," and the word *tɨrɨʔaiwapi* (worker), to convey the idea of "slave."[48] The status of enslaved captives often improved through time, however, and some were eventually fully incorporated.

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[44] E. Adamson Hoebel, Herkeyah's Life, Card 12, Comanche Fieldnotes, 1933, Collection 43, E. Adamson Hoebel Papers, Research Notes, Ser. 5, Box 1 (American Philosophical Society Library, Philadelphia, Pa.).

[45] Dolbeare, *A Narrative of the Captivity and Sufferings of Dolly Webster,* 9.

[46] Ibid., 10–11.

[47] Ernest Wallace, "David G. Burnet's Letters Describing the Comanche Indians," *West Texas Historical Association Year Book* 30 (1954), 130.

[48] CLCPC, *Our Comanche Dictionary,* 35,76; Saupitty to Rivaya-Martínez, July 14, 2005.

Comanches systematically compelled male captives to take care of their livestock, which was Macario's main (and seemingly only) occupation in captivity. However, success on the warpath offered non-adopted male captives an avenue to incorporation. Comanches took their teenage male captives along on the warpath only after they were able to communicate fluently in Comanche, which in Macario's case apparently took just one year. As Comanche captive Clinton Smith recalled, "All the boys over twelve years old were compelled to go with them in their stealing raids."[49]

The fact that Bajo el Sol took Macario along in his first military expedition as a sort of squire suggests that either the Comanche leader was the Tejano's captor, or he had somehow become Macario's master by then. This kind of client-patron relationship between a subordinate individual, usually a captive, and a successful warrior was common in nineteenth-century Comanche society.[50] The insistence with which Bajo el Sol compelled the captive to prove his courage during his first military engagement denotes the leader's strong interest in making Macario a full-fledged warrior. The integration of captives as warriors into a Comanche leader's following increased the latter's political clout. The incorporation of captives was particularly urgent in the aftermath of the deadly 1840 and 1848 outbreaks of smallpox, and the even more lethal cholera epidemic of 1849, which decimated many Comanche bands, severely reducing their military might.[51] At the same time, prowess on the warpath could significantly raise the status of a captive. Pre-reservation Comanches constituted a rank society characterized by a highly martial ethos. Military deeds, the conspicuous display of plunder, and generosity in its redistribution were some of the main avenues for men to gain prestige. Like Comanches by birth, male captives could acquire both wealth and social esteem on the warpath. Moreover, horses and other loot acquired in raids made it possible for a captive to afford the bride price that allowed him to marry a Comanche woman, which brought about the group's full acceptance of the captive.

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[49] John C. Ewers (ed.), *The Indians of Texas in 1830* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1969), 83; J. Marvin Hunter, *The Boy Captives* (1927; reprint, San Saba, Tex,: San Saba Printing, 2002), 73.

[50] Thomas Gladwin, "Comanche Kin Behavior," *American Anthropologist* 50, no. 1 (1948): 91n13. Many of the war party stories included in Kavanagh (ed.), *Comanche Ethnography*, contain implicit references to relationships of this kind.

[51] Joaquín Rivaya-Martínez, "Incidencia de la viruela y otras enfermedades epidémicas en la trayectoria histórico-demográfica de los indios comanches, 1706–1875," in *El impacto demográfico de la viruela. De la época colonial al siglo XX*, ed. Chantal Cramaussel (3 vols.; Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán, 2010), III, 68. Numerous sources reflect the devastating effect that those epidemics had on the Comanches and their native allies, including references to the smallpox outbreak of 1839–40 and the lethal cholera epidemic 1849 in the Kiowa calendars; see James Mooney, *Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1898; reprint, 1979), 274–275, 289–290. After the Kiowas made peace with the northern Comanches in the first decade of the nineteenth century, bands from both groups often resided in close proximity. The alliance with the Kiowas, however, did not extend to the southern Comanches until much later.

Most of Macario's comments on Comanche beliefs can be verified through other sources, including the worship of celestial bodies, the importance of the supernatural power (*puha*) associated with the warriors' shields, and related taboos. However, Macario's perception that Comanches did not believe in an afterlife is inaccurate. His statement that Comanches worshipped a supreme being seems tainted by Macario's own Christian ideas and expectations. On the issue of whether Comanches believed in a paramount deity, other captives are divided. Sarah Ann Horn rejected the idea that Comanches had any gods, whereas, according to Dott Babb, they did believe in a supreme being that they referred to as "'Our sure enough Father,' which in their language is 'To-bicke.'"[52]

Overall, Macario's statements about what he terms "natural laws," on marriage, and about how Comanches dealt with marital infidelities can be confirmed through other sources.[53] However, a betrayed husband's claims for compensation (*nanɨwokɨ*) from a man who absconded with his wife were not always as readily honored as Macario suggests. Besides, his assertion that "never is any of them assisted by the right of the strongest" needs to be qualified in light of anthropologist E. Adamson Hoebel's research. In cases of adultery and wife-stealing in which the absconder was a powerful warrior unwilling to comply, the aggrieved husband could enlist the support of relatives or even an unrelated *tekwɨniwapi* (war hero), who thus became his "champion-at-law," to go collect *nanɨwokɨ*. In Hoebel's interpretation, "the collectivization of the bravery of blood relatives and friends by the prosecutor may be viewed as a social mechanism to give added protection to the rights of the husband."[54]

Macario's account provides significant insight into Comanche patterns of warfare around 1850. His statement that Comanches preferred to wage war during the summer makes sense given the availability of water and forage for the horses on the Southern Plains and in the Trans-Pecos region between May and September. Often, however, Comanches launched major forays into Mexico in late summer or early fall to take advantage of the rainfall-replenished watering places south of the Rio Grande. According to Luján, some of his fellow countrymen thought that Bajo el Sol's Comanches commonly crossed the Rio Grande "in September because it

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[52] Babb, *In the Bosom f the Comanches*, 144; House (ed.), *A Narrative of the Captivity of Mrs. Horn and Her Two Children with That of Mrs. Harris by the Comanche Indians*, 55. On the Comanche belief system see Daniel J Gelo, "Comanche Belief and Ritual" (Ph.D. diss., Rutgers Unviersity, 1986). On Comanche shields, see Ewers (ed.), *The Indians of Texas in 1830*, 116.

[53] On pre-reservation Comanche law see E. Adamson Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians* (Menasha, Wis.: American Anthropological Association, 1940).

[54] Ibid., 59–65 (quotation on p. 60). A *tekwɨniwapi* (Comanche term that incorporates the morpheme *tekwa,* "to speak") was a brave veteran warrior worthy of leading a war party, a war hero who had earned the right to boast about his exploits; see CLCPC, *Our Comanche Dictionary*, 61; Kavanagh, *Comanche Political History*, 29–30.

was the time of 'roasting ears,' for which they had a great liking. Others said that they came then because it was the time when the fall rains began; so when they went back with their plunder, they would find water on the great dry plains over which they had to pass."[55]

Macario's description of the enlistment of warriors for a campaign and the preliminaries to their departure finds ample corroboration in ethnographic and early historical sources.[56] Of particular interest is Macario's statement that the departing raiders relied on the advice of an experienced elderly man, whom he referred to as "Tekugniét."[57] This agrees with the testimony of Pedro Espinosa, another Comanche captive from the Laredo area, who told Col. Richard I. Dodge that when young Comanches "wished to go on a raid into a country unknown to them, it was customary for the older men to assemble the boys for instruction a few days before the time fixed for starting."[58] According to Dodge,

> All being seated in a circle, a bundle of sticks was produced, marked with notches to represent the days. Commencing with the stick with one notch, an old man drew on the ground with his finger, a rude map illustrating the journey of the first day. The rivers, streams, hills, valleys, ravines, hidden water-holes, were all indicated with reference to prominent and carefully described landmarks. When this was thoroughly understood, the stick representing the next day's march was illustrated in the same way, and so to the end.[59]

Overall, Macario's descriptions of Comanche games, weaponry, dress, and footwear coincide with what we know from other historical and ethnographic sources.[60] The Tejano, though, makes the important remark that the external appearance of at least some Comanches served as an index of their social ranking. Wearing a red linen breechcloth and moccasins partially decorated with beadwork indicated the high standing of some Comanche men. In the case of women, the main marker of status was

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[55] Myres (ed.), *O. W. Williams' Stories from the Big Bend*, 25.

[56] See, for instance, Ewers (ed.), *The Indians of Texas in 1830*, 67–74, 117–118; Wallace, "David G. Burnet's Letters Describing the Comanche Indians," 132; Kavanagh (ed.), *Comanche Ethnography*, 63.

[57] The word "Tekugniét," which the notary capitalized, may not be a proper name, but rather the Comanche designation for that particular role. The term, which clearly contains the Comanche morpheme *tekw-* (talk), is suggestively reminiscent of the words *tekwunitu* or *tekwanikitu* (announcer), which denote an individual who announces important news or decisions to the whole camp in a loud voice, a role typically played by old men; see CLCPC, *Our Comanche Dictionary*, 61; Ewers (ed.), *The Indians of Texas in 1830*, 44; Kavanagh (ed.), *Comanche Ethnography*, 26–27, 27n1; Saupitty to Rivaya-Martínez, July 14, 2005.

[58] Col. Richard Irving Dodge, *Our Wild Indians* (Hartford, Conn.: A. D. Worthington and Company, 1882), 552.

[59] Ibid., 551–553.

[60] On Comanche weapons see, for instance, Ewers (ed.), *The Indians of Texas in 1830*, 19, 74–76, 114; Wallace and Hoebel, *The Comanches*, 98–111. On clothing and footwear see ibid., 77–86. On games, see ibid., 112–118.

apparently having their hair long. Scholars have yet to explore in depth the non-egalitarian nature of Comanche society. The differing abilities of Comanche individuals to obtain horses and Euro American commodities through raiding, trading, and diplomacy resulted in the stratification of pre-reservation Comanche society into three ranks: the wealthy (*tsaanaakatɯ*), including successful raiders and their immediate kin; the poor (*tahkapɯ*); and the extremely poor (*tɯbitsi tahkapɯ*).[61] Macario's observations suggest that this ranking system may have crystalized as early as the mid-nineteenth century.

The mourning practices that Macario described also find corroboration in the published ethnographic and historical record.[62] The captive declared that bereaved Comanches used to cut off the ears of those "Indians" who worked for them "as servants," as well as the manes of their horses. That Macario identifies certain "Indians" (as opposed to Hispanics or Anglos) as "servants," suggests that the Comanches with whom he lived may have been more prone to enslave American Indian captives than Euro American ones, echoing an observation already made by Jean Louis Berlandier more than two decades earlier.[63] The fact that Macario did not mention captive (or wife) sacrifices at the burial of a deceased person, which Comanches practiced at least occasionally in earlier times, suggests that they had already given up that custom by the mid-nineteenth century, probably in response to population decline.[64] Similarly, the fact that Macario does not mention the killing of horses at the funeral of their owners suggests that this once common practice had fallen out of use or become unusual by the 1850s.[65] Macario's testimony reinforces instead Wallace and Hoebel's statement that during the late pre-reservation period bereaved Comanches simply shaved off the manes and tails of the deceased's horses, depositing the hair at the grave.[66]

All in all, Macario Leal's deposition offers the unique perspective of a Hispanic Texan who became a direct witness to Comanche culture

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[61] Saupitty to Rivaya-Martínez, July 14, 2005.

[62] On Comanche mourning practices, see Wallace and Hoebel, *The Comanches*, 149–154.

[63] Around 1830, Jean Louis Berlandier noted that Comanches and other Texas Indians treated their "creole" (Euro American) and native captives differently. Ewers (ed.), *The Indians of Texas in 1830*, 75–76.

[64] As late as February 1838, a captive girl named Putnam was reportedly killed and buried at the grave of a deceased Comanche woman; see Dolbeare, *Narrative of the Captivity and Sufferings of Dolly Webster*, 21. On Comanche funereal sacrifices, see Ewers (ed.) *The Indians of Texas in 1830*, 117; Pedro Fermín de Mendinueta to Frey Don Antonio Bucareli y Ursúa, Sept. 30, 1774, Provincias Internas, legajo 65, folios 394-399v (Archivo General de la Nación, México, D.F.); Manuel de Mier y Terán, "Noticia de las tribus de salvajes conocidos que habitan el Departamento de Tejas," *Nueva Antropología* 5, no. 18 (1982): 54; José Francisco Ruiz, "Relación," in *Report on the Indian Tribes of Texas in 1828*, ed. John C. Ewers (New Haven: Yale University Library, 1972).

[65] Comanches reportedly sacrificed more than 5,000 horses during a smallpox epidemic in 1819; see Wallace, "David G. Burnet's Letters Describing the Comanche Indians," 135.

[66] Wallace and Hoebel, *The Comanches*, 152–153.

between 1847 and 1854. It contains a wealth of information on pre-reservation Comanche culture, particularly on Comanche captivity-related behavior, raiding, and trading practices. It also offers significant insight into the geopolitical situation of the U.S.-Mexico frontier at mid-century. Thus, the following translation constitutes a significant addition to the existing English-language documentary corpus on the Comanches and the Rio Gande borderlands.

Deposition of Macario Leal[67]

Felipe N. de Alcalde, lieutenant of the Active Lancer Squadron of Lampazos.

Having a verbal command from the Very Excellent Commander in Chief of the Department [of Nuevo León] to receive a detailed deposition from the young man [by the name of] Macario Leal about whatever happened to him from the moment the *indios bárbaros* made him a captive to the date in which he managed to escape from them, and having to appoint a notary public to record and notarize the proceedings,[68] I choose Second Sergeant Juan N. Marichalar, of the Third Company of the Lancer Regiment of Monterrey, who, informed of the obligation that he [thus] takes on, accepts, swears, and promises to act with secrecy and accuracy.[69] And he signed it with me as a record hereof in the town of Monterrey on May 12, 1854.

[Signed] F. N. de Alcalde
[Signed] Juan N. Marichalar

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[67] Declaración de Macario Leal, May 12, 1854, fondo principal, legajo 3, expediente 7 (Archivo Histórico Municipal de Monterrey, Monterrey, Nuevo León). A transcription of the original document appeared in the *Periódico Oficial del Gobierno del Departamento de Nuevo León*, June 1, 1854, 3–4, and June 8, 1854, 3–4. What follows is not a literal translation of the original Spanish-language document. Instead, the editor has tried to avoid some of the stylistic conventions characteristic of nineteenth-century Spanish-language depositions. The original record includes many overly long sentences consisting of multiple clauses, linked typically by the Spanish conjunction "y" (and), or by some relative pronoun. To make the English text more fluid and intelligible, the editor has divided many such sentences into their constituent clauses and modified slightly the original paragraphing. To avoid ambiguities, many of the personal and relative pronouns that pervade the Spanish text have been replaced with the appropriate nouns and personal names. The footnotes explain the meanings of a few Spanish and Comanche terms that have been left untranslated for lack of a precise equivalent in English.

[68] In the original, "para que actúe en ella." In judicial contexts, "actuar" is often used in the sense of instituting legal proceedings, which does not seem to be the case here.

[69] On the Mexican military forces that operated in the north of the country and the defense of the frontier in the 1850s, see Domingo Cabello, *Respuestas . . . . sobre varias circunstancias de los indios Cumanches Orientales*, Apr. 30, 1786, Bexar Archives 17: 417–419; Manuel Robles, "Memoria del Ministerio de la Guerra.- 1852. Colonias Militares de la Frontera," in *Documentos interesantes sobre colonización*, ed. Vicente E. Manero (México, D.F.: Imprenta de la V. e Hijos de Murguía, 1878), 28–39.

In the town of Monterrey, and on the same date, the said Lieutenant made Macario Leal appear before me for the purpose of taking his deposition, and, before me, the present notary public, he made Macario raise his right hand and make the sign of the cross; and, having asked Macario if he swore by God and the sign of the cross to tell the truth in [all] that he would be interrogated about, he said: "Yes, I [do] swear [it]."

Asked about his name, occupation, and [place of] residence, he said that he was called Macario Leal, [that] his occupation [was that of] shoemaker, [and that he was] a native of the town of Laredo, and a resident there before the Indians took him away.

Asked to tell, in case he remembers, from where, what day, what month, and what year the Indians took him away, how long he stayed among them, and all that happened to him during his stay, as well as what he has noticed regarding their customs and habits, and whatever he knows about the way in which they carry out their incursions against the border departments, and lastly what departments they harass more often and why, Macario said that one year after the Americans invaded the Republic [of Mexico], not recalling now the date nor the month, a relative of his ordered him to bring a mule that was tied by the fence so that [he could] join three [other] relatives of his [who were] sowing a field belonging to Doña Reyes Delgado (the deponent's mother), located in the Rancho del Río.[70] When Macario got there, he heard people laughing but could not see who it was, nor could he suspect that it was the Indians, as he found out later from the Indians themselves. After Macario took the mule, one of his relatives on saddling the mule saw the *bárbaros*, immediately warning the deponent and the other relative so that they tried to save themselves as best they could, which he did on his mule, followed by the other relative on foot. The deponent remained stiff against a post out of fear upon seeing the Indians. The Indians captured him at that very spot, one of them making him mount on the rump of his horse while the others were busy chasing his two relatives. Unfortunately, one of them fell into their hands and was killed and scalped there and then. The deponent was forced to undress him. The Indians quickly mounted [Macario] on a honey-colored horse, tying his feet together underneath the animal's belly, his waist to the head of the saddle, and his hands behind him. With deponent riding in this position, the Indians whipped his horse, driving it in the direction

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[70] U.S. troops penetrated Mexican territory in 1846 in the context of the U.S.-Mexico War, so Macario refers here to the year 1847. Indeed, he claims later on, that he spent "seven years" in captivity. The consistency of Macario's estimates is remarkable, given that captured children typically forgot the date of their capture, and captives in general often lost track of the time they spent among the Indians. The expression "Rancho del Río" appears in capital characters in the original. The editor has not been able to identify a site by that name anywhere near Laredo. Less likely, it might be that the capitalization of "río" was a decision made by Marichalar, the notary, conveying a meaning unintended by Macario. If the expression "rancho del río" had been left in small case it would simply suggest a *rancho* situated by the river.

that they were following. As deponent's horse lacked a bit, and since they were traveling across brush country, the mesquites that they frequently ran into as they moved injured deponent severely, making his body bend backwards without his being able to follow that motion from the waist down, which made him suffer sharp pains.

During the night, the horse herd that they were driving stampeded, spooked by the noise made by the stirrup covers. The horse carrying the deponent followed the others in their flight and deponent spent that night lost, separated from the Indians. When they found him the following morning, they reprimanded him for not having stopped the horse herd, and, even though he apologized, saying that he was tied, they whipped him.

Early in the afternoon the following day they arrived at a *ranchería*.[71] Shortly before they could see the tents or huts, they heard some shots fired by the people who occupied them, which were answered in equal number by the Indians driving the deponent. Upon arrival, they took him down from the horse, stripped him, and he began to suffer the torment inflicted by the Indians, who beat him in different ways, torturing him to such a degree that he came to believe that they would kill him. The Indian woman who tormented him the most was called Arriba del Sol (Tabepete).[72]

The following day, the whole *ranchería*, consisting of some 40 people including men and women, struck camp and headed for San Antonio de Béxar. On the way, they ran into some smugglers, whom deponent sup-

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[71] The Spanish word *ranchería*, meaning "gathering of huts or tents" (from Spanish *rancho*, "hut"), was used in the U.S. Southwest and elsewhere across the Spanish Americas to allude to native villages, particularly to the temporary encampments of nomadic peoples. When used with respect to Comanches and other independent Indians, the term *ranchería* typically conveys a local residential community that functioned as an autonomous sociopolitical unit, typically under the loose leadership of a headman whose name was often used to designate it. Such usage can be seen in Cabello, *Respuestas*; Pedro Garrido y Durán, "Relación de los sucesos ocurridos en la Provincia del Nuevo México . . . , Dec. 21, 1786, Secretaría de Guerra, legajo 7031, expediente 9, folio 37 (Archivo General de Simancas, Spain); Ruiz, "Relación," in Ewers (ed.), *Report on the Indian Tribes of Texas in 1828*; Felipe de Sandoval to Vélez Cachupín, Mar. 1, 1750, Provincias Internas, legajo 37, folios 103–106v (Archivo General de la Nación); Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola to Juan Batista de Anza, Oct. 5, 1786, Spanish Archives of New Mexico (hereafter SANM) II, 11:1058–1080 (New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe, New Mexico); Pedro Vial and Francisco Xavier Chávez, "Informe de su misión diplomática entre los comanches orientale," Nov. 15, 1785, Secretaría de Guerra, legajo 7031, expediente 9, folio 2 (Archivo General de Simancas). Such residential groups are usually called "bands" in English. Interestingly, the Comanche term *nʉmʉnakanʉʉ* also conveys the twofold notion of residential and sociopolitical unit. Kavanagh translates it as "the people who live together in a house(-hold)." A *nʉmʉnakanʉʉ* typically consisted of bilaterally extended family groups of cooperating nuclear families. Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, 14; Kavanagh, *Comanche Political History*, 41–42 (quotation on page 41).

[72] Originally the notary wrote "Abajo de" (under, beneath) instead of "Arriba de" (over, on top of, above). He then damaged the document in his attempt to erase the mistake, which forced him to make a clarifying note on the margin. The error may actually have been Macario's, who seems to have mixed up Tabepete's Spanish name, "Arriba del Sol," with that of the Comanche leader "Bajo el Sol," whom he mentions later on.

poses were American. The Indians killed them, destroyed the freight of *indianas*[73] and tobacco that they were transporting, and took away the mules and the draft horses that the smugglers were bringing along.

Upon arriving at San Antonio, the Indians killed some cattle and gave deponent (cooked) meat with cold marrow, warning him that he must eat until he felt that his belly would burst. Once he could eat no more they gave him a gourd full of water, which they forced him to drink fully. Right away they made him a thick cigar of American tobacco, which they forced him to smoke with the purpose that he vomit[74] what they had given him. While he was doing it, they tied a *mecate*[75] around his waist and threw him into a creek, where he sank swallowing much water. When he was on the verge of fainting, they took him out and squeezed his stomach so that he threw up all the water that he had drunk.

That day, when they passed San Antonio, the Indians untied Macario. That night they stopped in the brush, far away from San Antonio, where they killed a horse that they roasted to eat, giving the deponent the raw kidneys, which he refused to eat. They lashed him into tasting it. Thenceforth he did not have any water, which they denied him for three days. Mistreating him in this manner, they kept moving towards their *ranchería*, which they reached in about a month and a half. Every night, when the Indians went to sleep, they tied deponent's hands behind him, tying his feet with a *mecate* that they threw over a tree, raising half of his body so that he was left resting only on his back. Once they arrived at the *ranchería*, which was located on the banks of the Gila River, they were received with much joy, which they made evident to deponent by whipping him. That night they gave him a dance that they formed around a big bonfire, in which he was forced to dance in front of his brother's scalp, which one of the Indians had gathered when they killed him.

The occupation that they gave him in that *ranchería* was that of keeper of the horse herd, and, since he could not carry it out properly because the

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[73] *Indianas* are pieces of cloth made of flax or cotton and painted on one side. Rubén Cobos translates *indiana* as "a kind of printed calico" in *A Dictionary of New Mexico and Southern Colorado Spanish* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2003), 124.

[74] In the original, *depusiera*, from the verb "deponer," which here seems to convey the idea of "vomiting" (rather than the more common meaning of "defecating"). It does not seem random that Comaches threw Macario into the water right after he vomited (or defecated). Comanches sometimes behaved towards recently seized individuals in strange, violent ways, giving the captives the impression that their captors enjoyed their suffering. In a similar episode narrated by English-born captive Sarah Ann Horn, her captors spent an hour "amusing themselves" by throwing her two sons into a stream and taking them out when they were nearly drowned; House (ed.), *A Narrative of the Captivity of Mrs. Horn and Her Two Children with That of Mrs. Harris by the Comanche Indians*, 34. Despite their apparent cruelty, such actions may have accomplished the practical aim of keeping the captives clean, particularly those forced to ride for many hours without dismounting to relieve themselves. In turn, keeping the captives clean would have helped the warriors to keep their shields (the main repository of their supernatural power) safe from contamination.

[75] A *mecate* is a rope made of horse mane, hemp, or some other plant.

herd was too big, they punished him frequently; thus he learned their language in a year. Once he learned it they took him on a campaign against the Americans on the Colorado River. The Indian who took him along was called Bajo el Sol, who was their *capitán*.[76] When they were fighting, Bajo el Sol told the deponent to bring him a *gandul*[77] by the hair or else he would kill him. Deponent, in order not to suffer certain death, risked being killed by the Americans by repeatedly closing too much on them, shooting arrows at them, and receiving several gunshots in the shield and one in a leg. On returning alongside the *capitán*, he was upbraided for not having carried out what he had been told; deponent replied that he was afraid of the Americans, and the *capitán* heaped scorn and curses on him. He ordered Macario to paint him a dapple-gray horse using red, blue, yellow, green, and other colors that they were carrying, and to put vermilion blinkers[78] on it, as well as a red *garantía*[79] around its neck and another one on its tail. The Indian told him straightaway "now you will see what it is to be a man, a man among the select," and entered the fight with his lance and then dismounted, ordering Macario to take the horse away. The Indian received twenty- something gunshots, and returned grabbing an American by the hair, whom he presented to the deponent to fight. Macario being too small to even move the American, when he tried to do it the American spurred him, causing the Indian to knock the American down and kill him. Then Bajo el Sol summoned the other *bárbaros*, who were getting dressed for battle, and they killed off the Americans, carrying away their belongings.

In the seven years that deponent was with the Indians, he received seven

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[76] *Capitán*, meaning "captain" or "military leader," was the most common Spanish-language term for Comanche leaders since colonial times. Individual *capitanes* were typically identified as headmen of particular *rancherías*, as it seems to be the case here. According to Cobos in *A Dictionary of New Mexico and Southern Colorado Spanish*, 42, *capitán* was used in New Mexico and southern Colorado with the meaning of "war captain."

[77] The Spanish term *gandul* was originally applied to Moorish militiamen from the Kingdom of Granada and from Africa. When used in regards to American Indians, this term is often mistranslated as "loafer" or just "Indian male" or "heathen Indian." When applied to Comanches and other independent Indians, however, *gandul* typically denotes a young warrior. In the present case the term is applied to an American soldier with the same connotation. In the Spanish of New Mexico and Colorado, *gandul* carries the connotation of "loafer, tramp," but it is also "a term applied to young Indian braves or warriors"; ibid, 111. For an early explanation of this latter usage with regards to Comanches see Fernando Chacón to Pedro de Nava, Nov. 24, 1802, SANM II, 14:637.

[78] In the original, *anteojos de vermellon*, literally "vermilion blinkers," which might refer here to the native practice of drawing a circle around the horses' eyes, using vermilion in this case.

[79] The word *garantía*, meaning "guarantee" or "warrant" does not make sense in this context unless Macario used it with the otherwise undocumented meaning of "amulet." Another possibility is that *garantía* is actually a misspelling of *gargantilla*, meaning "necklace" or "choker," which makes more sense in relation with the horse's neck than it does in relation with the horse's tail. In Mexico, the word *gargantón* is also used for a kind of halter with hanging ends that serve as an adornment as well as to tie the horse when the rider dismounts; see Francisco J. Santamaría, *Diccionario de mejicanismos* (México, D.F.: Editorial Porrúa, 1974), 551.

bullet wounds. The last year they brought him along on campaign against the people here.[80] They ran across some muleteers on the road to El Gallo and killed them, keeping one of them alive for the deponent, who did not want to kill him, so they thrashed him. It was then that deponent made the decision to escape from them. He managed to do it that night by distancing himself a little from the Indians under the pretext that he needed to relieve himself, taking along a donkey that he later had to leave to another Indian. He then hid in a thicket at a short distance from El Gallo while the Indians continued their march. The following day he presented himself to the judge of that hacienda, who ordered him to go get his weapons, which he had left where he had spent the night.[81] There was a gathering of men who blocked his way. Nevertheless, deponent kept going to get his bow to carry out the order that he had received. As soon as he was armed with the bow, the men ran towards the house of the hacienda shouting that there were Indians. Deponent, however, called on them to help him carry his things, telling them that he was a captive. In fact they helped him, but they did not return any of the things that they took in their charge, including a bag containing golden pesos. Deponent notified the judge of that hacienda of it, but the only things that he could get back were his bow and four arrows. From there, they sent him to Durango, and immediately on to this capital upon an order from his Very Excellent Governor and Commander in Chief of this department.

In the time that deponent was with the Indians, he noticed that they believe in a god that they consider on high. They always ask him for the success of their enterprises, but they have not built him any temples, nor have they formal prayers for him, except one that they always use at mealtime. Cutting a piece of meat, they reserve it for their god, offering it to him and not making any use of that piece other than burying it. They do not think that there exists any other life than the present one, nor do they ever expect rewards or punishments for their actions. There are some Indians who worship the sun, the moon, or the stars.[82]

Among them, the shield is a defensive weapon to which they offer much veneration. When they are not fighting they keep it perfectly covered, even more eagerly in times of rain to protect it from the water. They make it of bison hide, which they stretch out perfectly, and, in that disposition,

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[80] "Here" probably meaning Mexico generally rather than the Monterrey area specifically.

[81] The fact that Macario was shortly taken to Durango City when he turned himself in at this Hacienda del Gallo suggests a location at present-day San Pedro del Gallo, Durango, some fifty miles west of Torreón, Coahuila, and about 110 miles north of Durango City.

[82] According to Comanche consultant Post Oak Jim, "the moon was the mother . . . the guardian of the raid," and Comanche raiders prayed to the moon to help their ropes succeed in taking away many horses; see Kavanagh (ed.), *Comanche Ethnography*, 401. Nonetheless, Comanches prayed more often to the sun and earth. They also had the practice of swearing by the sun to emphasize one's truthfulness; ibid., 389, 407, 19, 64.

they sprinkle it with boiling water. They cover it with buckskin, celebrating this operation with a ritual dance. Its shape is circular, about three spans in diameter. They fix a strip or hoop to the back, through which they pass the arm to protect themselves from the shots fired at them. They never smoke in front of this kind of shield, nor do they pass water or meat near it, taking the greatest care with this observation, which they consider religious. To go to sleep they place the shield on a high post, and they make their bed away from it, placing the head in the direction that the shield is hanging. Each Indian paints an animal head on his shield using red ocher. Others attach to the shield the preserved animal head. They think that the animal they have chosen is the one that has the power to protect them from the gunshots that they receive in the shield.[83]

They do not have civil laws to regulate their way of life, ruled only by natural laws, and never do they rely on the right of the strongest as they respect one another's property, and they are very scrupulous in their payments, without ever intending to do their companions harm. They only admit one kind of punishment, which is for the Indian male who tries to disturb another man's domestic calm by wooing the latter's wife. If the aggrieved husband finds them in the act of adultery, he seizes the other man's horses and goods without the latter ever resisting to hand them over. The wife who abandons her husband to prostitute herself receives the punishment of losing her nose when the one concerned finds her. They arrange their marriages by means of a gift that always consists of the best horse belonging to the suitor. He addresses it to the [male] head of the family into which he wants to marry. If the latter approves of the present and accepts it, the suitor becomes bound in marriage to all the daughters of the one who received the gift.

Comanches campaign at all times, preferring the summer because of the ease they then have to fatten up their horses. To invite others to go on a campaign, they play drum music, and dance around a hide that they hit with little sticks. This dance starts at the *capitán*'s house, and from there the number of warriors keeps growing. Once they have gathered, they take advice from an old Indian, whom they consider experienced because of his age, and with enough good sense to predict the success of their enterprise. They call this Indian *Tekugniét*.[84] He is the one who shows them the way that they must go, and how to protect themselves from the evils that he foresees may happen to them. They set off once the ceremony is over, that day being very apparent as they spend the night on the outskirts

[83] The shield (*topɨ*) was the Comanche defensive weapon par excellence. The buckskin cover for the shield (*topɨtsoʔnika*) was typically decorated after the shield's owner received some supernatural power in a dream. Decorations typically consisted of some drawing reproducing the power-giving animal or some actual body part of it, usually the head or feathers, scalps, or other ornaments; ibid., 66, 392.

[84] *Tekugniét* is defined in note 57.

of the encampment.[85] At dawn they continue their trip, moving all day long. Thus they march daily until they reach the place that they want to harry, taking every opportunity that presents itself along the way to exercise their barbarity. The elders among them are very useful because, since they sleep little due to their age, they serve them to keep watch at night while the others are asleep. They say that they wage war on us because we do not want to make peace with them, and that either they will destroy us or their race will disappear.[86] They take the horses and captives that they seize by Laguna de Jaco, and they go to San Carlos to sell them, taking the remainder to the Presidio del Norte, Acuyame [*sic*], Chihuahua [City],[87] and New Mexico. The Indians with whom the deponent lived are afraid of attacking this department [Nuevo León] because they are pursued with more determination and suffer more harm than they do in Durango and the frontier points of the west, and therefore they prefer to carry out their incursions across those regions.

Their usual weapons are the bow and arrow and the lance, and some of them use the rifle.[88] They make their bows of *palo de mora* or cat's-claw, preferring the former.[89] They prepare it by rubbing it with fat and leaving it in the sun. They make the string of deer[90] or cow sinew, and they only string the bow when they need to use it. They make their lances (*chuzos*) of a *verduguillo*[91] perfectly sharpened with two edges, and three spans long, which they secure to a strong shaft. To prevent them from cracking, they com-

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[85] Departing warriors often spent the first night in the proximity of the main camp in order to facilitate romantic encounters with women; see Kavanagh (ed.), *Comanche Ethnography*, 63.

[86] This statement suggests that Comanches, or at least those with whom Macario lived, blamed the Mexicans for their raids south of the border. To the Indians, peace with Euro Americans had involved diplomatic presents for the Comanche leaders, trading opportunities, and military collaboration since Spanish colonial times. As several historians have argued, the incapacity of Mexican authorities to satisfy Comanche expectations for presents and trade was a major factor contributing to their forays beyond the Rio Grande; see, for instance, Babcock, "Trans-national Trade Routes and Diplomacy"; DeLay, *War of a Thousand Deserts*; and Velasco Ávila, "La amenaza comanche en la frontera mexicana, 1800–1841." Macario's statement further suggests that Comanches were conscious of the heavy casualty toll that their campaigns into Mexico cost them. See Joaquín Rivaya-Martínez, "A Different Look at Native American Depopulation: Comanche Raiding, Captive Taking, and Population Decline," *Ethnohistory*, forthcoming.

[87] That is present-day Manuel Benavides, Manuel Ojinaga, Coyame, and Chihuahua City, all in the Mexican state of Chihuahua. The form "Acuyame" seems a scribal mistake; what Macario probably meant is "a Cuyame," that is "to Coyame."

[88] "Two-edged" (*de dos filos*) appears erased and almost illegible on the document. There is also a marginal note which reads: *de dos filos=tachado=no vale* ("with two edges=erased=not valid").

[89] In the original, *uña de gato*, that is, "cat's-claw" (*Acacia gregii*). In Latin America, *palo de mora* refers typically to the species *Chlorophora tinctoria*, a type of mulberry tree. However, Macario seems to allude here to the Osage orange or bois d'arc. On Comanche bows, see Kavanagh (ed.), *Comanche Ethnography*, 41,

[90] *Venado*, which appears in the original, normally denotes "deer," but it can also mean "elk."

[91] The Spanish term *chuzo* refers to a sort of pike consisting of an iron point mounted on a stick. *Verdugillo* (also known in Spanish as *verdugo* or *estoque*) refers to a kind of thin and long sword that can only cause harm by using its point; however, Macario suggests that Comanches sharpened it into two edges. Macario uses here the dialectal form *muarra* for *moharra*, "spearhead." Comanches made the shafts of their arrows and lances of *parɨabi*, meaning "dogwood" (*cornejo* in Spanish). On Comanche lances (*tsikarehi* or *woinutsik*) see CLCPC, *Our Comanche Dictionary*, 41; and Kavanagh (ed.), *Comanche Ethnography*, 41, 67, 237, 391.

monly fix them with a strip or ferrule of silver to secure the part where the spear point joins the shaft. They acquire these kinds of weapons as well as rifles at San Carlos, New Mexico, and the Colorado River, paying for them with coins, or with the processed hides that they obtain in their hunts.[92]

The men's dress consists of a *camiseta*[93] of *indiana* sewn with sinew. [They also wear] *mitazas*, a kind of *chibarras*[94] made so as to cover the legs only. They fit them to the waist with a belt, and on the sides they have a flap whose width increases gradually from the upper part to the feet. On the edges of those flaps they wear some long straps that they drag on the ground to erase their footprints when they move on foot. Some men attach silver caps to the edges of those straps, which clink against each other when they move and make a noise that they find pleasant. They make the loincloth (*Chánica*)[95] of a red piece of linen cloth, this color being the one that they prefer, and the one used by the Indians of higher status. The footwear of those who belong to this class is like an ordinary woman's shoe with instep, and partially covered with beadwork making diverse designs. On the head they wear some silver buckles that hold their hair braids. In times of war they also use a hoop covered with cloth and decorated with feathers all around.[96]

Women use a sort of *quirquemel* (*nekunica*)[97] consisting of a square [piece of] buckskin with a slit in the center through which they pass their head, and whose edges are adorned with beadwork and straps with silver caps. Their knee-length buckskin petticoat is decorated all around in the same way as the *nekunica*. Their footwear has the shape of a boot with no heel reaching up to near the knee, and decorated with designs made of beads and silver. They do not wear anything on their head, and it is a distinction among them to let their hair grow.[98]

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[92] The omission of horses from the list of commodities that Comanches exchanged for weapons at San Carlos, New Mexico, and the Colorado River is strange, especially in view of Macario's earlier comment that Comanches used to sell stolen horses and captives at San Carlos and other northern Chihuahua towns and in New Mexico. One plausible explanation is that Comanches used to trade for weapons *before* the raids, when they did not yet have stolen horses to sell.

[93] The word *camiseta* refers typically to an often short shirt with wide or loose sleeves.

[94] Both *mitazas* and *chivarras* (spelled *chibarras* on the document) are northern Mexico regionalisms that refer to a kind of chaps or leggings used to ride that reach from the waist to the ankle. *Mitazas*, also known as *chaparreras* (whence English "chaps") are typically made of tanned leather whereas *chivarras* are generally made of goat skin; Santamaría, *Diccionario de mejicanismos*, 410, 728.

[95] *Chánica* is the Spanish phonetic transcription of the Comanche word *tsa?nika*, in which the "?" symbol represents a glottal stop; see CLCPC, *Our Comanche Dictionary*, 66, 122. Macario uses here the expression "de más proporciones" in allusion to the wealthiest and most powerful Comanche men. The Comanche term for people from the highest social rank, *tsaanaakatɯ*, means literally "good place owner," that is, a well-off person.

[96] The feathered bonnet was a mark of military prowess worn only by the most outstanding warriors; see Kavanagh (ed.), *Comanche Ethnography*, 237–238, 263, 288, 316, 392–393.

[97] The form *quirquemel* is a variant of *quisquémel* (from Nahuatl *quechtli* "shirt"), also spelled *quisquímel*, which refers to a sort of shawl worn by native women, which typically covers their shoulders and back; see Santamaría, *Diccionario de mejicanismos*, 910.

[98] The subject of this sentence in the original is the masculine pronoun "ellos," which seems a scribal

When an Indian dies, the whole *ranchería* goes into mourning. The men show their bereavement by cutting their hair. The women do it by shaving their head, and gashing themselves on the cheeks, breasts, hands, legs, and the soles of their feet. They cut the ears of the Indians who work for them as servants, and the manes of their horses. For twenty days, the Indians do not wear any silver nor do they use any other kind of adornment; and the women remain uncovered from the waist up, and wear no *napa*, *teguas*, or other footwear.[99]

Their games are horse races, ball games, and *tórpetit*.[100] They play the ball with some curved sticks (that they use like a *chacual*[101] or racket), which have a flat surface and a convex one. Women play it with their feet.[102] The *tórpetit* consists of eight short semi-cylindrical sticks, one *geme*[103] in length; in the middle of the sticks' flat surface they open a groove that they paint in red, painting some black dots on the edges. They use these sticks like dice, throwing them and counting the number of points added by all of the sticks that fall with the grooved surface up.

[Deponent states] that he has nothing else to say. That he has told the truth under the oath he has sworn. He confirmed and ratified his deposition when it was read to him, stating that he is twenty years old, and signing with the *juez fiscal*[104] and the present notary public.

[Signed] Felipe N. de Alcalde
[Signed] Macario Leal
I officially attest[105]
[Signed] Juan N. Marichalar

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mistake given that Macario is clearly talking about women in that section, and he has already discussed men's hairstyles above.

[99] "Indians" is used here in the plural masculine form (*indios*), which in Spanish may refer to men only or to people of both sexes. *Napa* is Macario's (or the notary's) phonetic Spanish transcription of the Comanche word *napɯ*, meaning "shoe" or "moccasin"; see CLCPC, *Our Comanche Dictionary*, 28, 136, 54. In the Spanish of northern Mexico and the U.S. Southwest *teguas* refers to a kind of sandals made of buckskin or leather; see Cobos, *A Dictionary of New Mexico and Southern Colorado Spanish*, 221. In Chihuahua and other parts of northern Mexico, the word *teguas* refers to a sort of yellowish buckskin boots used by peasants; see Santamaría, *Diccionario de mejicanismos*, 1021.

[100] *Tórpetit* is Macario's (or the notary's) attempt to phonetically transcribe the original Comanche word into Spanish. The Comanche verb *tohpetihtɯ* reportedly means "to throw around"; see CLCPC, *Our Comanche Dictionary*, 62. Thomas Kavanagh gives *tohpeti* as "stick game"; see *Comanche Ethnography*, 520.

[101] *Chacual* is a Mexican term from the Nahuatl *tzacualli*, "stopping device," which refers to a little leather basket used to catch the ball in an ancient ball game, as well as to the game itself; see Santamaría, *Diccionario de mejicanismos*, 345.

[102] Comanche women were still playing a kickball game as late as 1933; see Wallace and Hoebel, *The Comanches*, 115.

[103] The term *geme* (also spelled *jeme*) refers to the distance between the thumb and the index finger when they are farthest apart.

[104] The expression *juez fiscal* conveys here the idea of a judge conducting an inquiry. It is an allusion to Lieutenant Alcalde.

[105] The Spanish expression *doy fe* used in the original conveys here the idea of "I officially attest (to the truth of all the statements contained herein)"; see Javier F. Becerra, *Diccionario de terminología jurídica mexicana* (México, D. F.: Escuela Libre de Derecho, 2011), 455–456.