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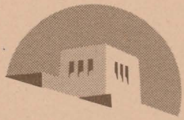

UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO, ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO 87131

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SUBVERTING THE (DIS)COURSE: MEXICANA/INDIA VOICES IN SOUTHWESTERN NARRATIVES

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7/15/94

Subverting the (Dis)course: Mexicana/India Voices in Southwestern Narratives

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In Anglo-American literature of the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries "captivity narratives" formed a subset of the colonizing literature. These narratives, told by both men and women, illustrated the barbarity of Indian tribes, inhumanity to their captives, rationalizing the subsequent taking of Native lands and annihilation of Native peoples. The captivity narratives recounted by women were a special genre of "horror stories" including infanticide, rape, violence, and barbarism. If the women survived, it was, they believed, a tribute to their faith in the Christian God, who had answered their prayers. These captivity narratives, often recounted to someone who wrote the story, were sensational and sold well. Beginning in the colonial period these narratives appealed to and reinforced the fear and hatred of colonists towards the Native peoples. In The Narrative of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson, 1682, the author described her captors in terms of barbarism and murder. In 1692 Mary Renville wrote her Thrilling Narrative of Indian Captivity emphasizing the "thrilling," while in 1859 the New York Times reported the cases of seventeen children rescued by the Comissioner of Indian Affairs. Moreover the Times often informed its readers of Indian "uprisings," "atrocities," and continued captivities of Whites. Of prurient interest to the reader was whether or not the "White" women had sexual relations with their captors, although often this was only hinted at in the tales. These sensationalized accounts of intercultural violence and conflict not only justified the colonizers' right in the economic sphere, but reinforced the spiritual superiority of a Christian god.

As Glenda Riley has noted;

> these captivity narratives fulfilled various functions throughout the nearly three centuries of their existence. During the colonial period they were largely religious documents concerned with the issue of salvation for those who had escaped the savagery and debasement of their lives as captives. By

> the end of the eighteenth century, they became more strongly an expression of anti-Indian sentiment and as such began to deviate increasingly from factual accounts. . . Throughout their history, captivity narratives deviated little in form. The unifying pattern was that of an odyssey. Whether male or female, the captive followed a sequence of separation from family and civilization, detention by the savage captors, and eventual reunion with white society. Yet the return to their former civilization was not always a happy one. Some women experienced particular difficulties in adjustment because they missed their native children, because they found themselves rejected by white society due to their "contamination" by their Indian captors, or because they lacked financial means to support themselves. (Riley 19)

Cultural conflict and the opposing conqueror/conquered aspect also existed in the Hispanic Southwest, reinforced by Native tribes rebelling against the destruction of their traditional lands and pathways. From the sixteenth century until the late 1880s slave trading and the capturing of other peoples was not an unusual occurrence in the Southwest. The Native tribes captured each other, captured Mexicanos, and the Mexicanos captured and enslaved the Natives. From the Spanish and later the Anglo perspective, the burden and blame for these captivities was put on the Native peoples as they were called barbarous "Indian depredations."

Official accounts kept by Spanish, Mexican, and later Anglo chroniclers and journal keepers are filled with descriptions of Native and Mexicana women and children who were captured. Women and children were primarily the ones who were kept as captives by the Native peoples to replace their own children who had been killed or captured, to serve as ransom, or because they would have the least problems with them; men who were taken prisoner were often killed. Native peoples, both women and men, were taken captives by the Mexicanos for their use as labor and to be sold as commodities.

Being separated from your family and community, life drastically changed, uprooted from the things you know can cause devastating lifelong effects; it is surprising, therefore, that there is not more literature about the lives of these people. It is surprising because hundreds of accounts tell of men, women, and children (Mexicanos and Indios) being carried into captivity, hardly any that have a resolution. That is, many families never knew if their loved ones were dead or remained captives. It is only at times that we have a glimmer of what may have happened to them because some were rescued, some were ransomed or otherwise returned to their families. Yet we have few narratives of what their lives had been, as the genre of captivity narratives, first person accounts of being captures, especially those of women, does not exist as such in our literature. (There are some fictionalized, creative accounts such as º In this paper, I want to discuss the captivities of six women, three Mexicanas and three Indias as seen in stories and songs told about them. Theirs are voices that are subverted into the narratives of other voices; that of their children, their families, the person who rescued them and felt responsible for them, or of women who knew them and who were trying to include their voices in a collective voice of their lives. I have not found any stories told by the women themselves. This silencing of these women's voices from a direct narrative voice, into a "remembered voice," a historical voice, is not unusual. If they were Indias who were still living in the Mexicano community, they would continue to guard themselves. In fact, one Mexicana who had a Navajo grandmother told me that her grandmother had been forbidden to speak of her childhood to the family. If they were Mexicanas who had been restored to their own community, they would be considered "suspect," perhaps impure, and were not likely to openly tell their stories, as was the case of Inez Gonzáles. That their voices, and their stories have survived at all speaks to the admiration of those around them for their survival through the hardships and deprivations they suffered.

a historia de un cautivo" by Porfirion Gonzales, serialized in *La Voz del Pubelo* , Las Vegas, in 1898.) These voices from the past also speak to conditions that we as Chicanos and Ñative peoples would rather put to rest. That we traded people as slaves, that we were inhumane to each other,

that we could be the oppressors as well as the oppressed are issues that we would prefer to leave dormant. Yet the circumstances are there, and the voices, albeit just whispers, of these women can serve as reminders not only to the evils of societies, but also to the survival of the races and their redemptions.

The history of the captivities, the slave trade in the Hispanic Southwest starting in the 1600s, is a complex web of mutual hostility, of constant warfare, of raids and campaigns in reprisal, by both Spanish/Mexicanos and Indios. The seizure of captive children and women from enemies undoubtedly had been practiced by the apachean and other tribes before Coronado's time. And the Spanish idea of the repartimiento, the use of Indian labor which was given to certain people, was in use in Mexico and South America before the Spanish entry into the Southwest. Very few encomiendas were given in New Mexico, and the repartimiento system was theoretically designed to be as benevolent to the Indians as it was practical to the Spaniards. Although the enslavement of Indians was forbidden by Spanish law, the slave trade flourished in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Mexicans continued it in the nineteenth, and the Americans who arrived in 1848 tolerated it. As has been noted, "Although illegal, the custom flourished openly, rationalized by the supposed benefit conferred on the victims by exposure to Christianity" (McNitt, iii). Traffic in Indian slaves not only was enjoyed by the upper levels of secular and religious authority but also extended into every home of moderate means. One historian notes

> Records of various New Mexican parishes reveal that during a fifty year period--from 1700-1760--nearly 800 Apaches were anointed with oil and holy water, and baptized into the Catholic faith. These were not willing converts . . . They were women and children, taken against their will by slave raiders, and distributed by lot among the captors. In accord with Catholic tradition, the individuals were baptized into Spanish families. Although they bore Spanish names, these Apaches would never be a part of the family of their captors. Their status remained that of menials and servants (Bailey, 19).

The use of these Indian servants was rationalized, unlike the African slave experience, by having "adopted them into the family," their souls saved by christianizing them. These "slaves" were kept within the family, were not sold from person to person, and were sometimes able to barter for their freedom. Many of those freed became detribalized Indians, called genízaros, who later formed townships such as that of Abiqiue, New Mexico. (See Gutiérrez).

As slave raids were made on Native people, the frequency and intensity of raids and reprisals increased on Spanish/Mexicano settlers. The Spanish policy towards Native tribes was one of divide and conquer, trying to use the politics of one tribe against another: a policy that worked to some extent. While in general the Pueblo tribes were allied with the Spanish against the more nomadic tribes, it was the Navajos who most of all suffered from Spanish raids.

In the early Spanish documents there is a great confusion between who is causing the reprisals, the Apache or the Navajos. There was so much harassment from Native tribes in San Gabriel, the first Spanish town, that the inhabitants were forced to move to Santa Fe. During the 1640s the Pueblos and the Navajos alternated between fighting each other and forming alliances to drive out the colonists. By 1650 Navajo raids were increasingly concentrated in driving off Spanish and Pueblo horses -- later sheep would also be a focus. In the period between 1650-60 Fray Alonso de Posada described a situation in which the colonists lived in fear -- men were killed "atrociously," women and children carried off as captives. This was a fear that continued to be seen in the literature and the oral tradition as late as the early 1900s. It should also be noted that while Native aggressions, raids, and depredations were recorded promptly, Spanish aggressions were almost never recorded. This anti-Native perspective continued when the Americans took over.

In two latter campaigns (1675 and 1678) Juan Domínguez de Mendoza along with 50 mounted Spanish troops, and 400 Christian Indians (Pueblos) attacked the Navajo settlements. The number of Indian captives taken by the Spaniards and Spanish and Pueblo captives rescued by them, 85 Navajos taken, 9 pueblos and 2 Spanish citizens rescued, fairly represents (according to

Frank Mcnitt) the approximate ratio of captives taken by the two sides during the next 190 years. (11) (that is 85 nomadic Indians to 11 colonized Indians and settlers).

Over the years from the 1740s to the 1800s the Navajo, a farming and sheep raising people, were subjected to increasing pressure and harassment by the Utes and Comanches from the North, and in 1778 it was the Apaches which had the area of New Mexico and Arizona in terror. All of these tribes only survived calculated destruction by the Spaniards by alternating between war and treaties. In 1800, however, began the real Spanish attempt to push their frontier west into the grazing country held by the Navajos: all of which led to more raids and escalating reprisals. Pressures from the Anglos moving westward and the Spanish moving north led to increasingly desperate attempts by the Natives to maintain their traditional lands. After 1848 when the Americans took control of the territory, matters were no better. Because the Native peoples were considered barbarous by the Americans, they supposedly had neither rights nor feelings worthy of consideration. After one or two rays of hope at the start, treaties drafted by Americans became progressively worse than anything conceived under Spanish rule. Finally the Comanche tribes, one of the most feared and mobile of all native tribes, succumbed in 1874-75. Although there are recorded incidents of captives being taken as late as the 1880s, by the 1900s the practice had ended; the Native peoples had gone down to defeat.

What then are the stories, the remembered history of the women who were taken captive, taken from their culture into another? Because, as has been mentioned, all the voices are submerged into another discourse, many of which have a specific authorial intentionality in mind, it is difficult to discern or to speak in any sort of authoritative manner about "truths," veracity, or precision about these texts. Nevertheless at times, we can discern the intentionality of the texts in which they are found, and see glimpses of what their live may have been like. We know a bit more about the reactions of the families they left behind. For example, Josephine Córdova of Taos tells of her grandmother Josefa's reaction to the loss of her son Manuel in 1867 to either Navajos or Mescalero Apaches. Josefa nearly lost her mind with grief, blaming her husband because he had

not searched enough. In her grief she pleaded with the Baby Jesus in the Arroyo Seco Church to restore her child. When he did not, she stole the statue and hid it in a crevice in the mountains. She neglected her other six children, three of whom died, and she continued to grieve all her life until she died in 1927 (Córdova, 26-270. The Tucson Citizen January 6, 1875, states;

> A woman named Francisca Rosa went out to Apache pass this week in search of her son who was made captive by the Apaches near Arispe over ten years ago. The poor woman said that she did not know whether he had entirely forgotten his mother tongue or not, but that she hoped to be able to induce him to quit his wild life and come and live among his relatives once more. It is very doubtful if he leaves the Apaches, as he could have done so at any time during the past two years if he had been so disposed. Her son is undoubtedly married and has children among them, and to all intents and purposes he has become an Apache. But it will be a hard trial for his poor mother if he refuses to come home with her. During all the long absent years she has constantly thought of and prayed for him, and now to find him a savage and an enemy to her people will be heart breaking for the poor woman.

To begin I would like to discuss the stories of Native women, two Navajos and one Apache. The Apache text is included in a group of stories told by Apaches to anthropologist Grenville Goodwin in the 1930s. Several of the stories, in particular the story told by John Rope, an Apache scout for the Americans, and by David Longstreet tell about women's captivities and I will summarize them here. I also include the story of Mrs. Andrew Stanley, a White Mountain Apache, who was captured by Chiricahuas in the 1880s because it is one of the few that give us a native woman's perspective on the alienation caused by her captivity and the difficulties she faced in integrating herself back into the community.

When John Rope was scouting for the Americans around 1877 the scouts reported finding a Chiricahua woman who was near starvation. She told of being captured by Mexicans and kept in a

jail for about a year. She was befriended by a Mexicana who would come to see her and bring her things. One time the Mexicana asked her if she had thought about escaping, assuring her that she would help her. There was to be a dance, and the Chiricahua prisoners were made to clear a path from the town to where the dance was to be. The Mexicana brought the Chiricahua two dresses, one white to wear to the dance, and one brown to wear in her escape. She also told the Chiricahua woman to shake her arms and legs and run around inside the building so she would not be weak.

> The next night of the dance it was bright moonlight. She (the Chiricahua) could hear the drums and horns over where the dance was. She put on the white dress and pretty soon the Mexican girl came and got her. They started to walk down the path that the prisoners had cleared. There were lots of Mexicans going along the path, but it was too dark and the Chiricahua woman was dressed like the other Mexican women. The Mexican girl was carrying the parcel with her food and the brown dress under her arm. There were two girls in front of them so the Mexican girl and the Chiricahua woman went from side to side pretending to look at things and let the other people get ahead, as well as the two girls . . . the Mexican girl and the woman dodged in behind one of the piles of brush at the side of the trail. Here the woman put on her brown dress and took the food. The Mexican girl walked out and caught up with three other girls in front and went on to the dance. (Basso,114-115)

Thus the Chiricahua woman manages to escape and survive until the Apache scouts find her. This narrative leaves us with many questions: what languages did the women speak and how did they understand each other? why did the Mexicana help her? how did she get out of the jail and so on?

The following story is that of David Longstreet who tells of his mother's capture around 1865 and her subsequent escape and return to her own people. What is interesting about this story is

that the mother, never named in the narrative, was taking care of her niece who is also captured and never returned to the tribe. His mother cries for the little girl who is "adopted" by an American officer. She is told, "Don't cry. Your sister-in-law and your nephew got killed -- you should feel sorry for them. But that little girl will be raised just like a White person." (Basso, 195) Later she is told that the little girl no longer spoke Apache, but only English.

The final narrative from a Native perspective is the tale of Mrs. Andrew Stanley, a White Mountain Apache, who in the 1880s was captured by Chiricahuas. It is one of the few texts that give us a Native woman's perspective and the only narrative that tells us what emotions were going through her mind as she was captured and as she returned home. Her tale is remarkable as she defended herself with revolvers, rode wild horses, surviving a long trip home because she didn't know the territory, often got lost, and was afraid to talk to anyone. Finally she meets some people with a wagon, Tonto Apaches, who had been captured as children by Mexicanos and raised by them. These people had befriended each other in earlier days, so the ex-captives help her. She finally returns to her people but remains apart from them for six days before she begins to approach them. As she thinks of her problems she cries. Recognized by her uncle and cousin, all the people gather around her. However, she has a violent personal reaction to her homecoming; "then a lot of people gathered about me. But I had been so long alone that they all smelt bad to me, and I could not stand it. I vomited because of it. They gave me food to eat, but I could not swallow it. I was not used to this. I slept a ways apart from the rest, so as to avoid being too close to them" (Basso, 218). However the next day she finds herself abandoned because her people fear she may have led the enemy to them. The tale ends with this resolution, however;

> These people thought that I was dead long ago, and now when I came back, it was like a ghost coming back to them. But the next day my maternal uncle came back here to see how things were and saw my horse there now. So all the rest came back to their camps now. That's the way it used to be in the old days; whenever a person returned who had been captive to the

> enemy, their relatives were always afraid that he would lead the enemy to them. This has happened before. (Basso, 219)

The reticence of American Indian women to tell their stories (especially to outsiders) comes from various cultural traditions: the first is the subordination of the individual to the collective; and the second is that, as Gretchen Bataille and Kathleen Mullen Sands, tell us, "American Indian women's autobiographies tend to be retrospective rather than introspective, and thus may seem understated to those unaccustomed to the emotional reserve of Indian people. There is little self-indulgence on the part of Indian women narrators; events occur and are articulated in words conservative in emotional connotation" (Bataille, 18).

The other Native captivities are described by two Nuevomexicana writers: one is a "true" story of a Navajo woman told by Dora Ortiz Vásquez; the other is a literary creation about a Navajo slave, told by Fabiola Cabeza de Baca. I will discuss the reasons for their inclusions later.

Dora Ortiz Vásquez writes about the Navajo slave, Rosario, who was a servant to the famous Padre Martínez in Taos. Vásquez' book Enchanted Temples of Taos was written in the early 1930s but not published until 1975. Vásquez was a granddaughter of the famous Spanish priest and had known Rosario when the writer was a little girl. The discourse in this book is a curious one in which the narrative shifts back and forth between sympathy and nostalgia for the woman she had known, and a sympathetic portraiture of Padre Martínez, Rosario's captor.

Rosario, whose Navajo name was Ated-Bah-Hozhoni "Happy Girl," known also as Ma-Ya-Yo, is portrayed as fortunate to have such good "owners" but she also has a roving spirit. The narrative is a colonizing discourse that attempts to picture the conditions of these slaves as happy, and amiable. Nevertheless the consciousness about their position leaps out from the text:

> In the Padre's home there were several maids, but the most outstanding one was Rosario, the young Navajo slave, who was about twenty-five years of age. Padre Martínez had bought her for one hundred and fifty pesos. She went out her duties wishing and watching for a good chance to free herself

> and go back to her own people, although she had no complaints, for fate had been good to her. She had a good home, but she had the characteristics of her own people, restlessness and a desire to roam rather than stay in one house and be ruled. (Vásquez, 9)

Rosarios' desire to be free is acknowledged throughout the text as "she could not endure this captivity much longer; she so longed to run to the country and climb those mountains in the distance and enjoy the outdoor, free life . . . she was one of the luckiest of her friends and she felt quite privileged, for to be a slave to the good Padre was to her an honor" (Vásquez, 100). Vásquez here vacilates between the "good home and good luck" that Rosario has in being a slave in the household to good Padre Martínez and acknowledging her right to be free. Various times Rosario tries to escape. One time she is so grumpy she behaves "badly" by making some blue corn tortillas that she usually made deliciously, badly. Her behavior concerned Father Martínez (whose name is always preceded in the narrative by the word good, or some other benevolent adjective) and he decided that she must be unhappy because she was separated on captivity from her little daughter who was around one year old. He decides to try and buy the daughter also, thinking that would make Rosario "happy." When they go to see the family that has bought her daughter, her daughter flies into her mother's arms. There follows an emotional scene, "So deeply stirred were they all, that they forgot their selfishness. They all shed a few tears, even Doña Manuela (the daughter's owner) with all her pride began to cry, for she too had known sorrow when she had lost her only child years ago" (Vásquez, 16)

The narrative seems to lead to a reconciliation to her fate on Rosario's part, nevertheless when she hears that Navajos are coming to attack Taos, she resolves to flee and return home. Joined by several other Navajo slaves, they are soon captured by the Spaniards. When they find Rosario one of the boys tells her, "Padre Martínez has sent for you; he wants you back. You belong to him; already you are costing him over three hundred pesos." Upon her return Padre Martínez behaves so well to her that she is ashamed because the family is so "good" to her.

During the rest of the narrative about Padre Martínez and Taos the story of Rosario is subordinate, she only appears from time to time until near the end. In a chapter entitled "Rosario Gets Her Freedom Too Late" Padre Martínez breaks the news to Rosario that she is free after President Lincoln delivered his Emancipation Proclamation. Padre Martínez tells Rosario that if she wishes to return to her people she may and that he will pay her for the years she served him. In an interesting aside, when Rosario sees a picture of Abraham Lincoln she thinks he "looks a bit Navajo." Faced with the choice of going back to a people she no longer knows, and where she no longer has a place she decides to stay with Martínez, saying, "I have all I need -- I am a part of you; I cannot leave you. Will you let me stay." The symbol that Rosario chooses to emphasize her free choice is to weave a serape which she gives to Padre Martinez. The serape is an icon of her captivity, and the changes in her life that symbolize this captivity.

> "I'll weave a serape for the good Padre as a token of appreciation for all that he has done for Soledad and myself." She was making a plan of it in her mind as she carded and spun the wool. What colors would she use? "I'll make it a bit Navajo and the rest Spanish, for I am both now. I'll use more white for the pureness, nobleness and sincerity of the padre, and I'll use black for the sorrow I caused them and for the sorrow I too went through many years ago. and I'll put red for the courage we all have to have. (Vásquez, 69)

This serape becomes a symbol for "the loyalty of a faithful servant and how she felt towards the one family who so patiently overlooked all her faults and gave her a home" (Vásquez, 70). An interesting sidenote is the genre of weaving in New Mexico which is known as captivity, servant or "slave blankets". These were blankets woven by Navajo slaves with incorporated both Spanish and Navajo elements, that is Navajo designs with Spanish loom work (Fisher, 33).

Although Vásquez uses her narrative about Rosario as a way to illustrate the benevolence of Padre Antonio Martínez, the narrative is always a conflicted one. Vásquez' emotions often lie with

Rosario and are illustrated in the poignant descriptions of Rosario who longs to be free as well as within value judgments such as Rosario gets her freedom *too* late. (Too late for what? To have her own life and family?)

In the The Good Life Fabiola Cabeza de Baca wrote about the Turrieta family, a family representative of village life in northern New Mexico, where Cabeza de Baca had worked with both Hispanic and Native women as a home economist. She includes a section titled "The Herb Woman" in which she introduces Seńá Martina, a Navajo woman who had been a slave. The mother of the Turrieta family, Doña Paula is seen preparing food for drying when Seńá Martina drops by the house. The dialogue and relationship between these two women is presented as an example of Spanish/India conviviality. In the story, told from the perspective of Doña Paula, the women work alongside one another, helping each other mutually, sharing knowledge and the preparation of food. Seńá Martina is the curandera of the area, visiting families with her herbs. Throughout the narration, Seńá Martina remains a mysterious person, even to Doña Paula,

> The medicine woman seemed so old and wrinkled to Doña Paula and she wondered how old she was. No one remembered when she was born. She had been a slave in the García family for two generations and that was all any one knew. She had not wanted her freedom, yet she had always been free. She had never married, but she had several sons and daughters. Doña Paula had heard many tales about Seńá Martina. Some said the children belonged to the patrón, the master, under whom she had worked; others said they were his grandchildren. Doña Paula thought, "What right have I thinking of such things? They are children of God and they have been good sons and daughters. That is all that matters." (Cabeza de Baca, 140)

Yet while Seńá Martina is presented as a helper and the one who knows how to cook and prepare food, she is non the less present at every event and meal, leading one to believe that she falls into the category of servant. As she grows older she becomes feeble and dies, but not before

being given the last rites. And as she dies, Doña Paula thinks, "She died as she lived, contented, helping others to the end and causing no one any inconvenience with a lingering illness" (Cabeza de Baca, 42). At the end of the narration we are again reminded of the Indianness of Señá Martina;

> Next morning the priest arrived by eight o'clock to say the Mass for the departed one. The men carried the body on a litter as there was no coffin for Señá Martina; she had asked to be given an Indian burial. She had often said to Doña Paula, "I do not want a coffin. There is no need for pomp and expense because once we are dead nothing matters anymore. The coffin rots and we return to the earth as was intended . . . Doña Paula was the chief mourner for Señá Martina, who had been closer to her than even her own mother. She had depended on her since she came to El Alamo as a bride and theirs had been a silent friendship, deeper than words could express and only the heart could feel. (Cabeza de Baca, 43)

The captivity texts referred to above, Señá Martina and Rosario, are texts that are embedded in colonial discourse. They are narratives ambivalent in the description of sympathy for the plight of these two captives, yet are texts which feel little remorse for the colonizer's having enslaved them. Rather they are ideological discourses which try to invent or describe an ideological politics of "cultures in harmony" in which the dominant discourse is that of women working in harmony together, no matter what their class or situation is (Fabiola Cabeza de Baca) or one which places the blame on captive's restless ways, and trying to escape which only caused "trouble to the family" which is Rosario's narrative. In the narrative about Rosario, the discourse of domination is one in which Padre Martínez is praised for his sympathetic attitude, his good treatment of the slave and his patience; whether his attitude was just or not is never questioned. The entire perspective about slavery and captivity is never questioned by the narrative speakers; it is accepted. What does peek

through the text is a strange ambivalence about the desire to be free, an ambivalence about the nature of the cultural other.

What do we, as readers, learn about these Indias who were captured? That eventually they learned to conform and to adapt, that they had tried to escape, that they had longed for their people and their culture. We learn too, that they survived, that they cried, and that they invoked a wistfulness in the people who observed them that was difficult to ignore.

Now we turn to the captivity tales of Mexicanas who were captured by American Indians. Described here is the story of Inez González, an unpublished narrative about Refugio Gurriola, and an Indita, a song, about the capture of Placida Romero.

The tale of Inez González is unusual because of her rescue by U.S Government Officials and their subsequent interest in her life. In 1850 Inez González, who lived in Santa Cruz, Sonora went with other members of her family on a religious pilgrimage to the town of Magdalena for the Fiesta of San Francisco. She was fifteen at the time. In their party besides the young Inez was her uncle, Pacheco, her aunt, Mercedes Pacheco, a boy, Francisco Pacheco and a young married woman, Jesús Salvador. They had a escort of ten soldiers under the command of Ensign Limón. On September 30 the party was attached by Pima Apaches from east-central Arizona. The three women and the boy were taken captives. Mercedes Pacheco was apparently sold by the Apaches to Navajos and not heard from again. Jesus Salvador remained a captive until she escaped with a child. Inez remained an Indian captive for about 10 months until 1851 when she was sold by her captors to a party of Mexicano slave traders from Santa Fe. In that same year a party from the American Commission to survey the new boundary line of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hildalgo arrived in the area. Its leader was a Rhode Islander, John Russell Bartlett, who had with him an interpreter John Carey Cremony. One evening the members of the commission noticed the young woman and discovered that she was a captive being conveyed for re-sale in Santa Fe. The Americans demanded that she be freed. She is described by Bartlett in the following manner;

> The girl herself was quite young, artless, and interesting in appearance, prepossessing in manners, and by her deportment gave evidence that she had been carefully brought up. Her purchaser belonged to a people with whom the system of peonage prevails, and among whom, as a general thing, females are not estimated as with us, especially in a moral point of view . . . I therefore deemed it to be my duty -- and a pleasant one it certainly was, to extend over her the protection of the laws of the United States, and to see that, until delivered in safety to her parents, she should be 'treated with the utmost hospitality' that our position would allow. (Bartlett, 306-307).

Inez tells them her story and Bartlett claims, "no improper freedom was taken with her person; but she was robbed of her clothing, save a skirt and under linen and was made to work very hard" (Bartlett, 308). As Inez was being led back to her home they were met by a group of men, among whom was one of Inez' uncles and her step-father Jesús Ortiz. The wildly emotional scene is described by Bartlett;

> The joy of the father and friends in again beholding the face of her whom they supposed was forever lost from them, was unbounded. Each in turn (rough and half naked as many of them were), embraced her after the Spanish custom; and it was long ere one could utter a word. Tears of joy burst from all; and the sun-burnt and brawny men, in whom the finer feelings of our nature are wrongly supposed not to exist, wept like children, as they looked with astonishment on the rescued girl. She was not less overcome than they; and it was long before she could utter the name of her mother, and ask if she and her little brothers yet lived. The members of the Commission who witnessed this affectionate and joyful scene, could not but participate in the feelings of the poor child and her friends: and the big tears as they rolled down their weather-beaten and bearded faces, showed how fully they sympathized with the feelings of our Mexican friends (Bartlett, Vol 1, 399)

Later when Inez is finally reunited with her mother the description is again minutely recorded:

> Mr. Cremony helped Inez from the saddle, when in perfect ecstasy she rushed to her mother's arms. Words cannot express the joy manifested on this happy occasion. Their screams were painful to hear. The mother could scarcely believe what she saw, and after every embrace and gush of tears, she withdrew her arms to gaze on the face of her child. I have witnessed many scenes on the stage, of the meeting of friends after a long separation, and have read highly-wrought narratives of similar interviews, but none of them approached in pathos the spontaneous burst of feeling exhibited by the mother and daughter on this occasion. Thanks to the Almighty rose above all other sounds, while they remained clasped in each other's arms, for the deliverance from captivity, and the restoration of the beloved daughter to her home and friends. Although a joyful scene, it was a painfully affecting one to the spectators, not one of whom, could restrain his tears (Bartlett, Vol 1,403)

Inez then goes about trying to pick up the pieces of her life. However it is soon clear that its course has been undeniably altered. In the next year 1852, when the Commission returns to Santa Clara they find that Inez was living at Tubac with Captain Gómez who was the commander of the Presidio. Bartlett demands to see Inez. "The poor girl seemed very glad to see us. She was not ill, but evidently felt under some restraint, as the Captain remained during the interview. She seemed very sad and unhappy; and when asked if she would accompany us back to the States, as we had before invited her, she knew not what to say, and, fearing to give offense to her new captor, looked to him for a reply. The interview was a very unsatisfactory one, and we were all quite reluctant to leave her in such a position" (Bartlett, Vol 2, 303).

The discourse of indignation offered by Mr. Bartlett is commented upon from the perspective of J. Ross Browne, another member of the party:

> It was admitted by all that Mr. Bartlett had manifested a most praiseworthy and chivalrous interest in the misfortunes of this young woman. At the tender age of fifteen she had seen her relatives murdered before her eyes; had been dragged over mountains and deserts by ruthless savages; had suffered the most cruel barbarities at their hands; and was now once more, by the exertions of this humane American, restored to her friends and to civilization. The delicate and chivalrous conduct of Mr. Bartlett toward the fair captive can not be too highly estimated, considering her beauty and the peculiar circumstances of her career (Browne, 178).

Browne describes Inez as "the fair Inez, the divine Inez" and as a beautiful young woman. He explains that Gómez could not marry Inez as he already had a wife. This fact angers Bartlett "who had rescued the divine Inez" and he wrote an official protest to the governor of Sonora and to the Bishop. These officials acquitted Gómez of bad conduct upon receiving his explanation that he was already married and his wife would "be very unhappy if he married another woman" (Browne, 179). Later Cremony recorded that Gómez married Inez after his wife died and legitimized their two sons.

The last chapter in the story is again recorded by Browne who visited her in 1865. "Doña Inez is married and settled at Santa Cruz. Her husband is not Captain Gómez . . . On the subject of her treatment by the Apaches she was somewhat reserved . . . Doña Inez is now about twenty-seven years of age, though she looks older. Her features are thin, sharp, and care-worn, owing to ill-health. Possibly she may have been pretty in her youth. Mr. Bartlett thought so and he ought to be a judge. He saw a great deal of beauty unadorned in his tour of exploration" (Browne, 179). During this period Cremony also saw her and he states "my trip to Santa Cruz offered me the opportunity to visit Inez, whom I found to be the wife of the chief and most influential man in that little community. She has

an affectionate husband . . . is surrounded by a fine and promising family of three boys and a girl and is universally esteemed for her many excellent qualities."

Thus Inez is seen through the eyes of her redeemer, Bartlett, as a fair innocent angel of captivity. His interest in her was a romantic one in saving a fair maiden from barbarism, and in seeing himself as the chivalric hero. That she had fallen, in his opinion, into sin and that he saw her as being taken advantage of still, angered him no end. Realistically perhaps Inez had no choice. No matter her protestations of innocence, her virtue would have been suspect in Mexican society, and indeed even her own reticence in speaking about it illustrated, perhaps, her own acceptance of her moral position. This narrative of captivity focuses more upon the restoration and its aftermath than on the captivity itself.

In the Kit Carson archives in Taos is an unpublished manuscript titled "La cautiva" which is the story of Refugio Gurriola. The manuscript is "a "true story" which covered the span of about 1858-1864. Begun in Magdalena, Sonora in 1858 it ended in Taos around 1864. It was a story written by Jacobo M. Bernal of Taos whose mother told him the story. It was finally written in 1971 in Spanish by Mr. Bernal when he was 82 years old. A second more creative version of the story exists in English, written by Bernal's wife Myrtle Rendón Bernal. Refugio Gurriola had married Teófilo Martínez who was the grand uncle of Jacobo Bernal.

Refugio Gurriola too came from a family who lived near Magdalena. She was around fifteen when she was captured by Yaqui Indians and she was later sold (along with her horse) to Apaches. She lived for five years among the Apaches learning to hunt, to dry meat, to fish, and to make clothes. Refugio met Tomás, another captive who spoke Spanish to Refugio and he offered to help her escape. They escaped traveling through Navajo country until finally they reached the trading post of Juan José Trujillo in Tierra Amarilla. Finally Refugio arrived at Fort Union where she was taken in by the Captain and his wife Juanita. While at Fort Union she met Teófilo Martínez, a soldier in the army,

and they fall in love. Teófilo writes a letter to his mother Luz Lucero de Martínez telling her about Refugio, that she had been an Indian captive, and that he wants to marry her. Apparently Teófilo was very timid with women so the family is happy that he has found someone to marry. Teofilo's two older brothers (Inocencio and Nestor) go from Taos to pick up Refugio so that she may live with the family until Teófilo is mustered out of the army. (Inocencio is Jacobo Bernal's grandfather).

All the people in Taos had heard of Refugio and her plight and were awaiting her arrival with great anticipation. They had posted lookouts to notify townspeople of her arrival. One of the lookouts spotted the party and the church bell of Taos began to ring. When Refugio approached and dismounted her horse, she was embraced by the people and people threw pieces of silver at her, as a sign of welcome. As Refugio neared the church she entered to give thanks for her salvation. According to the story it did not take Refugio long to be a verdadera Taoseña. She married Teofilo and because she was an expert seamstress she became a dressmaker. As well adjusted as she became to life in Taos, she always refused to go to a ritual play put on by the taoseños called "Los comanches" where the men of the village played the part of Comanches. She was too afraid to come out during that time.

Beyond the "happy" ending of this story, there is an epilogue. One day as Inocencio Martínez was walking around Taos plaza he comes upon a man playing a musical instrument up to then unknown in Taos. The musician was a Mexicano from Sonora and Inocencio invited him to visit at the house of his mother Luz. He was interested in the musician because he himself was a violinist well known in the Taos area. Upon hearing that he was from Magdalena, Refugio asked him if he knew Guadalupe Gurriola. The musician said yes, and that he had two daughters, Refugio and Elena, and that Refugio had been captured by Indians and never seen again. Refugio asked him if he recognized her,

and he did. He told her that her mother had died and her father had left Magdalena. Refugio tells him that she had hoped some day to see her mother again.

This Spanish version of the story is corroborated by placenames and the names of the people who helped Refugio along the way. There are careful details as to the canyons, streets, family relationships, and clothing indicative of the oral tradition from which it came. It is documented with the placement of other people who could corroborate the evidence of this extraordinary tale. Yet there are also included conversations between people, such as between the captive Tomás who helped Refugio escape, and the conversation with the Músico.

That the general story is true is of no doubt. There is even a photograph of Refugio in the archives so we can see what she looked like as she was older. The family lineage of the Martínez' is also included to document Refugio's relationship to the narrator.

The English version of the story, written by Bernal's wife, begins to transform the facts. Although never completed, more elements of introspection and conjecture about what Refugio's life must have been like enter the narration. She is more religious than in the previous story, she is accepted into the family before she falls in love with Teófilo, the captive who helps her is named Felipe, not Tomás, and the story begins to demonstrate more of the characteristics of Anglo/American captivity narratives, such as Indians being described as cruel and savage, elements not included in the Spanish version. In the few chapters that are completed the motivation, and the introspection become more acute and romantic elements are added. It is clear that this English version was on its way to becoming a romanticized captivity. However, the Spanish version rings more true and gives us more clues as to what Refugio Gurriola's life may have been like. One detail in the story is that when she was left at Fort Union, she removed her Indian clothes, a buckskin dress, but decided to save it since it is a reminder that the clothing served her well during her captivity. Her fear of the "Comancheros" play and the details about her family

all the end, all lend a certain believable pathos to the tale. While the Yaqui Indians are seen as cruel at the beginning of the story, (they are the ones who kill her younger sister Nene), the Apaches do not treat Refugio in a particularly cruel manner, except for keeping her tied at night so she won't escape. Of particular interest is the emphasis in the story on Refugio's whiteness of skin and her beauty. This is given as the central explanation as to why she is treated so well. An examination of Refugio's picture, however, belies this.

Finally I want to examine a last captivity tale in the form of an Indita, a commissioned ballad, the Indita of Plácida Romero. For this information I am indebted to the work of my colleague Enrique Lamadrid who has collected the Indita and has examined its history, legend and performance traditions. Of particular importance to Lamadrid is the fact that this Indita has been sung by five generations of the women of the Romero and Gallegos families. Thus the singing of this ballad by the women who are descendants of the original cautiva restores and reinforces her memory and the memory of her ordeal for the family. As Lamadrid comments, this ballad forms of the Inditas "share a thematic fascination with disasters, natural and historical, and the personal dimension of human tragedy." While many Inditas deal with a variety of themes, the Indita de Plácida Romero does deal with a cautiva. Plácida Romero was captured in 1881 and the song was written by an anonymous local poet six months later. In his excellent article and research on this particular Indita Lamadrid traces the different versions of the song, its entry and change into the oral tradition. Of interest to me is Lamadrid's reconstruction of the official Aguilar Trujillo 1985 version of the Indita, performed by her descendants. In the story Placida and her daughter are captured by Gileño Apaches. During the fight Placida's husband is killed. Separated from her daughter, Placida is able to escape and make her way home. After returning she gives birth to a daughter by a young Apache, whom she also names Trinidad, after her lost daughter (Lamadrid, 11). The ballad is full of emotive elements meant to capture the sympathy of the audience for the captive woman. In the refrain the pain of

separation from her known life as she is lead away into captivity is caught up in an emotional repetition of "Adiós, ya me voy." She says good by to her daughters, to her ranch, her town. Even the trees and the rocks weep to see her go into captivity. The word "Adios" is repeated 12 times. As Lamadrid states, this reinforces the speaker's attitude and, "the repeated interjections of "adiós" re-emphasize the tragic absence of the abducted speaker while simultaneously projecting her presence and concern back to her family" (Lamadrid, 20). This Indita, while being the most emotional of all the captivity narratives discussed here, is also almost totally lacking in blame towards the Indians who captured her, nor does it describe them in barbaric terms. As Lamadrid points out, even when talking to the descendants of Plácida Romero, they talked about how well she had been treated by the Apache's, even while discussing some cruelties they had heard about.

These captivity narratives of Indias and Mexicanas are illustrative of the underside of cultural conflict and hostility. These are the great tragedies and the great adventures of their lives. The voices and travails of these women were never public ones; their stories are told by others with various intentionalities. In the case of the India captivities told from the Indian perspective we see kindness on the part of individual Mexicanas, support on the part of others who had been captives, and welcome, after initial suspicion on the part of their kinsfolk and relatives. The India captivities as related by the Hispana writers had a different goal. In the case of Dora Ortiz Vásquez, the tale of Rosario is used to show the nobility of Father Martinez and to illustrate what a kind, sympathetic, and forgiving man he was. However, this text is a complicated one in which the subverted narrative, that of the desire for freedom on the part of Rosario, keeps popping forth. The text of Fabiola Cabeza de Baca is meant to express the way Indian and Mexicano cultures were able to work together mutually. There is certainly no hostility expressed here as it was the political ideology and hoped for wish of Cabeza de Baca that this be so. Nevertheless the colonizing discourse is evident.

The Mexicana captivities offer an interesting contrast. The famous case of Inez González deals with the ideology of the Americans who rescued her. Because she was their "fair" and divine" heroine, they saw themselves as her saviors. Doubtless they were anti-slavery advocates as well as chivalric heroes. And although Inez is a Mexicana their prejudice does not come out against her, but against the traders who bought her and later against Captain Gómez who, in their opinion, did not do the honorable thing by her. Thus did they see their "noble victory" tarnished. The story of Refugio Gurriola is interesting because once again she is the "fair maiden," who has lived an adventurous life. She is ennobled in her skill of survival by her family, and at the same time made "feminine" by her fear of the ritual play. The story also distinguishes the people of Taos in their acceptance of her and for their generosity.

Finally the Indita of Plácida Romero reminds us of the heart wrenching agony and displacement suffered by all these captives. That any survived at all is due to their strength as women, good luck, and their own ability to escape. In these aspects these captivity narratives differ from those in the Anglo/American tradition. Perhaps it is because the Native and Mexicano cultures continued to struggle and survive together in a "real" way-knowing the perspectives of both the colonizing and the colonized.

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