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PREFACE

THE PUBLISHED literature concerning the Luiseño is not voluminous, nor has an integrated view of their pre-mission social organization emerged save for the preliminary efforts of Kroeber (1925) and Strong (1929). There is a body of valuable hints, brief sketches, partial analyses, and suggestions, but many important features of the old life have remained unexplored from the structural point of view.

Some of the data, of course, could not be procured in 1900, and are not available today due to the vicissitudes to which the Luiseño have been subjected. Acculturation serves to raise difficulties also, but the character of the old Luiseño culture is so distinctive that, given time and thorough familiarity with the people, the native features can usually be extricated from the Spanish, Mexican, and Anglo-American elements. This applies as much to details of the old social patterns as to material culture. A major difficulty in acquiring field data arises from metalinguistic considerations. The older people think in the native idiom, and "translations" must always be scrutinized with great care. Concerning social or religious concepts, Luiseño rarely possesses an English equivalent, hence a trait-listing approach is not only useless, but misleading.

Since only fragments of the old social organization are to be discovered either from source materials or from the field, analysis of pre-mission social structure must take the form of reconstruction. For the same reasons, there can be no pretense of being complete, conclusive, or final. Until more concrete information becomes available, some features of the reconstruction must stand as mere hypotheses. For the most part these take the form of interpolations or extrapolations from the patterned data. The lack of completeness in this study, however, is partly offset by the presentation of several analyses, and a model is established whereby additional field work, perhaps by other investigators, can be more fruitful. The major objective, however, is to prepare a limited reconstruction-investigation into the subject of Luiseño social organization as it existed at about the time of Mission contact. For the purpose of emphasizing the structural characteristics of the study, it is not desirable to make the work encyclopedic.

The great kindness of my Indian informants who gave freely of both time and patience is especially deserving of gratitude, as is that of the "Anglos" in the vicinity who placed various facilities at my disposal. At least three-fourths of the older Indian population have contributed to this study directly or indirectly, and unfortunately cannot be listed. But Marcus and Genevieve Golsh who assisted with arrangements and information, were exceptionally helpful, as were also Max Kalak and the medicine man Herman Kalak. Without the activities of Henry Rodriguez, who introduced me to the most superior informants in the region, and who gathered extensive information upon a host of subjects such as music, ethnobotany, and material culture, this study could not have succeeded. Among other things he drove many miles at his own expense in the collection of mapping details. Furthermore, his independent musicological studies led me to a much deeper understanding both of Luiseño teaching methods (to which I was subjected) and the subtler aspects of the cosmogony and native metalinguistics.

Religious chief Rejinaldo Pachito is responsible for a great range of informa-

tion. Not only did he prepare my understanding of the native religion as if I were to succeed him in office, but he was very active in the collection of older ethnography from persons in the society who might possess it. In a sense, much of the present study is his own.

Yet it should be pointed out that the present effort is by no means a "single-case" study. Although frequent reference is made to the information given me by Chief Pachito, that information does not encompass the entire scope of the investigation. Furthermore, not only did other informants give important bits of data throughout the period of field work, but various techniques were devised to cross-check all information, from whatever source, and organize it into a consistent organic whole.

Luiseño words are used as sparingly as possible in the text. Since little is to be gained by cluttering the text with italics and hard-to-read phonetic symbols, only the initial rendition of a native word or an important reference is so indicated. Orthography for these Luiseño words, and a glossary, are in the appendixes at the end of this study.

Among colleagues who have done field work in the region and contributed freely of their findings and opinions, Delbert L. True is especially noteworthy. His archaeological findings have many times served as a check upon other information; his listings of sites in the Valley Center area made a new population estimate possible.

I am indebted to Ralph L. Beals for his suggestions, and to C. W. Meighan whose archaeological expeditions to the Luiseño territory have contributed so many insights into the problems under investigation. Particular gratitude is due William A. Lessa who has counseled, advised, read manuscripts, and listened to various developments at great length. None of these people is responsible for whatever shortcomings or errors may have crept into the work, however. Effort has been spent to avoid deficiencies, but where they occur the fault is my own.

R. C. W.

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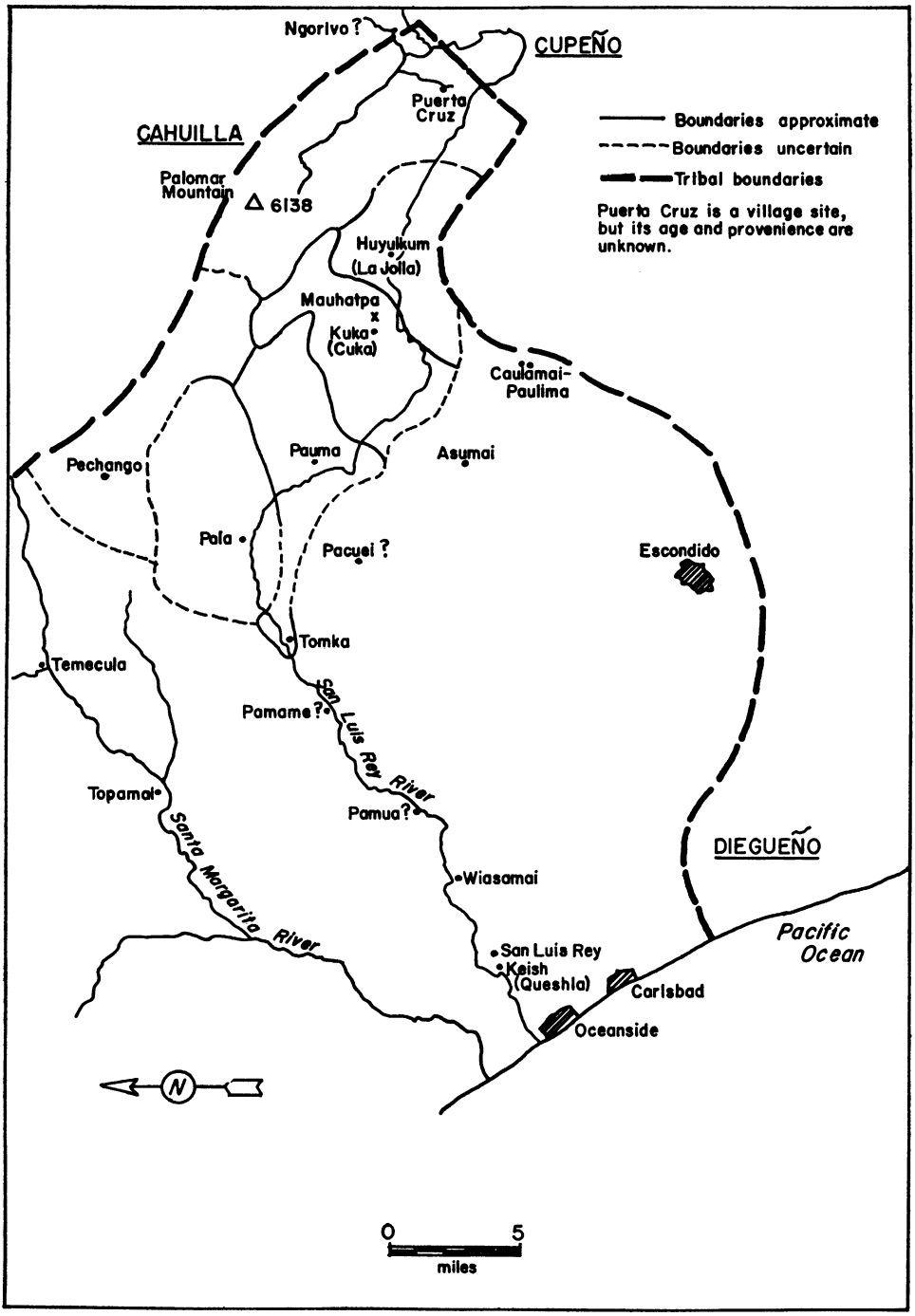


Fig. 1. Partly Mapped Rancherias of the Luiseño, Palomar Mountain Area.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE TWO missions of San Luis Rey de Francia and San Juan Capistrano, like all those of California north of the present Mexican border, were established by the Franciscan Order at the command of King Carlos III of Spain (Webb, 1952:3). The territory of the Indians who take their so-called tribal names from these two missions was situated about a day's travel north of San Diego, and south of Los Angeles (near San Gabriel Mission), in what was then called Alta California. These Indians, the "Luiseño" and "Juaneño," total estimated population of some ten thousand persons, occupied a territory of about fifteen hundred square miles fronting on the Pacific Ocean. In spite of the mission designations, the two peoples were so much alike culturally, and the territories so similar geographically, that, for the reconstruction of social organization in this study, they will as a rule be treated as a single people under the name Luiseño. Except for dialect varients of the word for "people," *ataxŭm,* the Luiseño have no tribal name for themselves but the vague *puyŭmkowĭtchŭm,* meaning "western people."

The Luiseño have been subjected to intensive European influences for nearly two hundred years, and were exposed to chance contacts during the preceding two centuries. At present their numbers have diminished so that their culture and self-identification will disappear within a very few years, particularly if the few small reservations now occupied are broken up. In 1925 Kroeber (p. 883) estimated their numbers at 500; the 1950 figure given by Tax (1956:map) is 1196. But neither datum gives a clear idea of the situation. Surely the number of those with purely indigenous blood cannot exceed fifty, nearly all of whom are old. The remainder are mixed bloods (although mixed bloods with less than one-eighth Luiseño blood are not counted), people adopted by the tribe, or people of other Indian extraction who have married into reservation families and been included in the population counts. The Luiseño now practice virtual tribal exogamy.

The drastic decline of conservative elements in the population has made disappearance of their old religion-centered culture core a certainty. The children of mixed marriages in large part adopt the culture of the ambient Anglo-Americans, and most of them leave the reservations permanently. Few learn the language or subscribe to the native religion. These developments have had an important bearing on this study in that at last it has become possible to acquire important new materials not hitherto recorded nor integrated into an analysis of Luiseño social organization: Although the culture has declined and there is therefore less information to gather, resistance has also declined and what information there is, is more readily available. Almost all materials incorporated in this study are original or have been independently checked with informants.

Any attempted reconstruction of the Luiseño social organization must take into account that the population of the region has been subject to acculturation, dislocation, decimation, and other vicissitudes. Changes have not been uniform. They vary with time and historical events, with distance from centers of disturbing influence, and with cultural structure and the nature of the aspects affected.

Nine chronological periods may be usefully identified:

I. Precontact
II. Early contact: From Cabrillo's voyage of 1542, to 1769.
III. Initial mission: Between 1769 and 1776
IV. Early mission: From 1776 to 1798.
V. Intermediate mission: From 1798 to 1825.
VI. Late mission: From 1825 to 1834.
VII. Postsecularization of the missions: 1834 to 1846.
VIII. Early Anglo-American: 1846 to 1876.
IX. Reservation: 1876 to the present.

Precontact era ethnographical materials are scarce. Some inferences have been made, however. The language belongs to the Shoshonean division of the Uto-Aztecan family of languages. Linguistic distribution studies of this subgroup (Kroeber, 1925:575) suggest migration of peoples to California from the Great Basin area. Various dating estimates concerning the appearance of the Shoshonean language group in the southern California area have been made, but none are definitive: A.D. 1000 seems insufficient; two or even three thousand years of elapsed time may not be excessive. Romney (verbal communication) on the basis of trait clusters estimated that the Uto-Aztecan radiation originated in the southern Great Basin some two thousand years ago. Klimek (1935) thought the movements very early, and some of Meighan's findings might so indicate.

The Luiseño have a story about how, long before the missions were established, their prognosticators foretold the coming of men from big ships with white sails. This is especially interesting in view of the opportunity for contact that began as early as 1542 with the voyage of Cabrillo to Santa Catalina Island and nearby regions. Viscaino in 1602 also made a voyage of exploration along the coasts of Alta California as far north as Luiseño territory (Holder 1910:21–22). Among the English expeditions listed that may possibly have worked their way into Californian waters are those of Drake (1578), Cavendish (1586–1587), Hawkins (1593), Dampier (1680 and 1704), Cooke and Crowley (1683), Woodes Rogers (1709), Shelvocke and Clipperton (1719), Anson (1740), and Wallis and Carteret (1769?). Further, there were occasional forays into the Pacific by French and Dutch ships (Schurz, 1939). Whether any of these English, French, or Dutch vessels made actual contact with the Luiseño or other local people is not clear. But San Diego Bay and Santa Catalina Island both provided good anchorages with fresh water, a relatively rare combination along those parts of the California coast not then occupied by the Spanish. That the Indians sighted ships, however, is certain. The annual galleon out of Manila for Acapulco provided two hundred and fifty years of opportunity for contacts along the California shores. The eastern segment of the route ran southward along the coast and through the "Channel of Santa Barbara." If the Luiseño story is true, their prognosticators were correct. The Manila Galleon and its route were directly responsible for Spanish occupation of Alta California.

In 1741 the Russians moved into Alaska and engaged in extensive fur trading along the coast. A little later, the British also began a program of exploration and settlement. Since these activities presented a threat to the treasure-filled Manila

Galleon, the Spanish Crown acted with dispatch. The military were commissioned to establish presidios at suitable locations, and as fast as resources permitted missions were erected at favorable spots within one day's travel of each other along a line of communications paralleling the coastline. This road was called El Camino Real. By providing two lines of communication, one by land and one by sea, and by creating missions as magazines of supply (foodstuffs, medicines, saddle and pack animals, cloth, leather, and other goods), the operation was to be made both secure and largely self-supporting.

The maintenance, defense, and extension of territorial claims were basic to Spanish imperial policies, whereas conversion of the heathen preoccupied the Franciscan Order. Through unified action, both sets of objectives were achieved with a minimum of personnel and expense. Spain combined the sword and cross into very effective instruments of conquest. But the territorial and religious ambitions were secondary considerations in the occupation of Alta California. A secure line of imperial communication with the Philippines, Spain's only means of access to the Orient, was at stake.

According to the Papal Bulls of May 3 and 4, 1493, dividing the non-Christian world between Portugal and Spain, the Philippines "belonged" to Spain, and in 1565 Legaspi established Spanish rule there. Those same documents also had great effects on lines of communication. With minor exceptions, Spain was denied routes around the Cape of Good Hope and through the Straits of Malacca. Instead, administration and trade with the Philippines was maintained by a tortuous route which reached more than halfway around the globe. Madrid was connected with Manila by way of Cadiz, Vera Cruz, Mexico City, and Acapulco, crossing the world's two major oceans and the North American continent. The prevailing westerly winds in the "roaring forties" brought eastbound galleons to the California coast in the vicinity of Cape Mendocino so that the presence of the Russians and British in those waters became a serious matter. Since the Philippines could not be held without keeping the trans-Pacific route open, the conquest of Alta California was prosecuted as rapidly as resources permitted. Operations began in 1769 with the establishment of the presidio and mission at San Diego de Alcala. Local opposition was negligible. The conquest ended with the Mexican Revolution in 1820.

The yearly voyages of the Manila Galleon continued for two and a half centuries with very few interruptions. More than thirty disasters at sea are recorded (Schurz, 1939:256). Most of them occurred in the western Pacific and were due to fire or typhoon. Cermeno's galleon *San Agustin* (1595) is known to have been wrecked on the northern California coast, and the survivors made their way to Acapulco in a ship's boat (Wagner, 1924). Some galleons disappeared without a trace. Concerning contact, William Shaler (1804:56), then a Yankee ship captain in the rawhide trade, says:

> The Indians that inhabit the shores and islands of the canal of Santa Barbara seem to be a race of people quite distinct from the other aboriginals of the country. They are handsome people . . . and display great ingenuity in all their arts. . . . The Indians of the canal have a tradition of a race of white men being shipwrecked on their coast, at some remote period; this they assign as the cause of the great difference in their favor before mentioned.

In defining the canal of Santa Barbara, he adds (1804:51):

> California is naturally divided by a range of high mountains . . . that runs from south to north, through its whole extension, and each side is boardered [*sic*] by a number of islands. Those on the western side, that form the canal of Santa Barbara, are St. Miguel, Santa Rosa, Santa Cruz, Santa Barbara, Santa Catlina, and Santa Clemente [*sic*].

Concerning racial or general cultural superiority as being derived by shipwreck, Shaler's ideas are his own, but the tale may nevertheless have some significance for the early contact period. Santa Catalina and San Clemente islands are adjacent to the Juaneño-Luiseño coast, and are therefore included in Shaler's generalized statement.

William Shaler himself appears to be a good source of information. At the end of the eighteenth century he was a Yankee entrepreneur in the rawhide and fur trade. He also conducted negotiations with the Barbary Pirates, and served as United States Consul at Havana, Cuba. His *Journal of a Voyage* is accurate and lucid, having probably been intended as a gazette or guide to other traders from east-coast ports. Unfortunately, he did not visit Missions San Luis Rey or San Juan Capistrano, but he did spend considerable time with the natives of Catalina Island while his ship was anchored there for repairs. His descriptions of the natives of the canal of Santa Barbara thus probably apply mostly to the peoples contacted while on Santa Catalina.

In view of shipping traffic in California waters, intimate contacts in addition to those with the explorers Cabrillo and Viscaino seem likely. The galleons were loaded with all sorts of luxury goods and passengers, including slaves, and the captains seem to have been unwilling to risk stopping for fresh water or food along the inhospitable California coast in spite of the great hardships suffered during a voyage of six months or more. Yet if the British, French, or Dutch did not leave behind some marooned sailor, the galleons may have contributed deserters or escaped slaves, or shipwreck may have left survivors in the area.

The importance of tracing these details of the early contact period lies in the possibility that elements of one of the world's great religions (Christianity, Mohammedanism, Judaism, Buddhism) may have affected indigenous populations of southern California before conquest. Chingishnish is a regional "god" whose cult seems to have diffused among the Luiseño from Santa Catalina Island (DuBois, 1908: 75), or from the Gabrielino town of Pubunga (Harrington, 1933*a*:88). DuBois supposed the diffusion to have taken place after the founding of San Luis Rey in 1798, but my chief informant, Rejinaldo Pachito, is dubious about the date because the Chingishnish beliefs were taught to his great-grandfather, Antonio, as a boy. The latter was an "old man" when the mission was founded. However, the *mani* songs and rituals, involving the drinking of an infusion of the roots of Datura *meteloides* to induce dreams, did diffuse in the manner and at the time DuBois mentioned. Confusion is difficult to avoid, for investigation has shown that Chingishnish is a conservator of all morals and particularly ceremonial forms. Thus, all rituals are sacred to Chingishnish, regardless of their relative age. Even newly created abbreviations of old ceremonies are so regarded.

The moralistic properties seated in this, a single "deity" that Kroeber (1925:

656) calls a Jehovah, suggest non-Indian origins (Underhill, 1948:9–10), even though Chingishnish is Luiseño in personality. His moralistic and avenging nature virtually focuses guardianship of all Luiseño religious injunctions into a semi-anthropomorphic being. In a religious system replete with complexities properly understood only by specialist religious officials, the concentration of fear, awe, and respect on a single enforcer simplifies the understanding of the need for correct behavioral rigor to the naïve. Such monolithic simplicity stands in sharp contrast to the Wiyot (or culture hero) cycle of religious legends, songs, and rituals.

Luiseño religion is antithetical to syncretism, and is fatalistically amoral. All of life is based upon the concept of power, *ayelkwi,* and the expression or exercise of that power is both automatic and necessarily rigorously correct. Otherwise the power becomes manifest in ways that are disastrous to anyone within its sphere of influence. The total number of power forms is unknown, and the Luiseño is avidly interested in acquiring such forms. Although each power form still retains its own unique qualities and dangers, Chingishnish is the deity who also enforces and exercises the punitive aspects of the power forms. In other words, he reduplicates the perils inhering in the misapplications of the power forms—a kind of moralistic tautology. It is as if he were the spirit of some old medicine man who through corporeal "spies" (e.g., rattlesnake, raven, North Star) concerns himself with all the moralistic sanctions of the people. As a kind of medicine man, he is purely Luiseño. Contrasted to the self-generative, automatic, and fatalistic consequences that misuse of ayelkwi brings, the moralist (Chingishnish) is alien.

Thus considered, the legend reported by Shaler of white men shipwrecked along the coast becomes more meaningful and the other potentialities for contact more significant. Some person from Europe, or even an escaped Moslem or Buddhist slave from the galleon, might have established himself among the natives and become the original "Chingishnish." His skills, crafts, and philosophy would have loomed large in the eyes of the Indians, who were already extremely concerned with the acquisition of new power forms—but only in so far as absolute mastery of each detailed ayelkwi procedure could be learned. In view of the greatly restricted material cultural resources available to a castaway locally, there would have been little within that province of the arts that he could have conveyed to the Indians. A lack of tools would have greatly limited his efforts. Hence the contribution of Chingishnish to Luiseño culture was largely restricted to the concept of a monotheistic moral enforcer, and possibly the use of the religious enclosure as a place of sanctuary (Boscana, 1934:37).

Boscana, a priest who served at Mission San Juan Capistrano from 1814 to 1826 and spent some time at both San Luis Rey and San Gabriel, has contributed other evidence that points to the possibility that Chingishnish has non-Indian origins. It is hazardous to try here to evaluate only portions of the two garbled Boscana versions of the native cosmogony without detailed examinations of the whole, but there is one paragraph in the earlier version (1933 edition of Robinson's translation) that seems to bear strongly on the problem of contact. (The later variant form of Boscana's manuscript was discovered by Harrington only a short time before its publication in 1934.) The passage in question occurs in the chapter "Of the creation of the World According to the Belief of Those Residing on the

Sea Coast," which was not only omitted from the later version, but was even repudiated (1934:15).

> Out of the confines of a *rancheria,* called Pubuna, distant from San Juan Capistrano northeast about eight leagues, came the monster Ouiot, and the Indians at the present time preserve the account in their annals. At that time, all the inhabitants were at peace, and quietly following their domestic pursuits, but Ouiot, being of a fierce disposition, a warrior, ambitious and haughty, soon managed to gain a supremacy over many of the towns adjoining that where he originated. During the commencement of his reign he was pacific, kind, and generous to such a degree that every-one appeared happy and contented with their chief. But, after the lapse of a few years he gradually exposed his ferocity, and persecuted many of his vassals, treating them cruelly, and some he put to death. In fact, he soon became the detestation of all his subjects. (Boscana, 1933:32.)

This story has the curious effect of representing "Ouiot" as a "monster" in complete contradistinction to every other known representation of Wiyot. In song, legend, and ritual, Wiyot is the beloved culture hero whose passing is much mourned. That part of the cosmogony reserved to Wiyot is an elaborate tragedy, and he was not executed as an oppressive leader. Further, he is not associated with Pubuna or Pubunga, a town in southern Gabrielino territory on San Pedro Bay near the present Seal Beach, California. Undoubtedly the repudiated chapter in Boscana is much confused with Gabrielino features as Kroeber (1925:636) suggests, and the monstrous Ouiot derives from Gabrielino sources.

But can the false Ouiot be interpreted as being identical with Chingishnish? DuBois (1908:75) and Kroeber (1925:622) to some degree associated Chingishnish with the Gabrielino and the Islanders. Harrington (1933*a*:88) actually traced him to the same town, Pubunga, as the false Ouiot. This Ouiot is represented as a conqueror, and the cult of Chingishnish is centered in the warrior societies. But the Luiseño did not engage in wars of conquest, nor did the Gabrielino. Conquest and vassalage are foreign to the region. Yet to have a "conqueror" with a monotheistic concept of moral enforcement show up in the region is, considering the Manila Galleon and Shaler's legend of white men shipwrecked along the coast, within the realm of expectations.

A suggested solution to the problem depends upon the etymologies of the terms Ouiot and Chingishnish. I found an uncertain but credible derivation of Chingishnish from the verb form *tcheluk*^{h}, "to stop abruptly" (with the fatalistic sense of being utterly incapable of avoiding whatever caused the stopping). If this applies, then the name Chingishnish is actually a descriptive noun citing the activities or potentialities of the "god" bearing the title. On the other hand, dialect variations may have assisted Boscana in confusing Ouiot (Wiyot?) with *waiyŭt* which means, simply "white." Thus, Chingishnish the "Jehovah" may be associated with the false Ouiot, or waiyut, the conqueror of Pubunga—a monotheistically oriented white man. The Wiyot of legend and ceremony is an altogether different entity, and will be so treated in chapter iv.

Parenthetically, it should be mentioned that Boscana treated Luiseño-Juaneño religion very differently in the later, variant version of his work. The chapter on the beliefs of the Indians of the interior, entitled simply "On the Creation of the World," was retained and expanded with revisions. The controversial chapter, "Of the Creation of the World According to the Belief of Those Residing on the

Sea Coast," was omitted and repudiated as follows (Boscana, 1934:15): "Others tell other things which I am not taking time to write, considering them the forgings of their crude brains." It is unfortunate that Kroeber (1925:636) did not have access to these later variant views of Boscana, and that, in the interests of caution, he classified the Juaneño as a separate and somewhat different group from the Luiseño. The controversial chapter in question seems to have been one of his major reasons for doing so. With the elimination of this chapter, which rightly aroused such caution in Kroeber, the need for cultural differentiation between the Juaneño and Luiseño is largely eliminated except for minor variations such as existed between any two widely spaced organized groupings.

Harrington's attempt to acquire important information on Chingishnish dating to early contact times (cited above) enjoyed considerable success due to the fidelity with which certain kinds of information are preserved by various old families. For example, one family at Pauma has preserved a highly circumstantial and detailed account of the defeat of Pauma in a war with Pechanga sometime around 1785. This, of course, is in the early mission period. Moreover, Rejinaldo Pachito, eighth of the line of Soktchum religious chiefs, has recounted the story of the founding of his line, perhaps as early as 1625. These stories have a ring of truth, probably stemming from the great emphasis the Luiseño place upon accuracy of detail, particularly in the exercise of ayelkwi powers. But like any information that depends for transmission upon the memory, there are losses and uncertainties. Unfortunately, although he was taught the names of all eight of his predecessors, Chief Pachito can remember the names of only the last three, and the founder of the line, Sheiyutl or Sheiyul. The predecessors were (1) Selso, Pachito's father; (2) Jose, his grandfather (Kroeber's "old Pachito") and (3) Antonio, his great-grandfather, who was a boy of only thirteen at the time of the Pauma-Pechanga war. Concerning his ancestor Sheiyutl, and the founding of the Soktchum lines, Pachito related the following story:

> Sheiyutl and his mother belonged to the Pauma people. One day while the people were up on Palomar Mountain in the collective gathering area called Wavemai procuring the acorn crop, another child struck Sheiyutl's eye and blinded it. Apparently for some not readily explained reason Sheiyutl had become the butt of his age group. His mother made a demand on the chief for redress. She was rebuffed, and became so angry that she took the boy to nearby Sulpa where they lived alone until after he had become a grown man. Occasionally they stole things needed from Pala. After the old woman died Sheiyutl lived on alone for a time, but, tiring of it, decided to return to Pauma. The people saw a stranger coming and made preparations to attack and kill him. But the old religious chief "recognized" the young man. After brushing himself with his *tcheiyat* feather bunchlet (a magical preparation for dangerous duty) the old chief went forth and brought the young man to his home. Later Sheiyutl married the old chief's daughter, and a son by this marriage became the first of the Soktchum line of religious chiefs.

Sheiyutl never became a religious chief, but his son did. The first chief of the Soktchum line inherited the office from his mother's father who probably had no male heir. This means of perpetuating the office is in complete agreement with both Boscana versions, and suggests the presence of a matrilineal principle of inheritance. But the patrilineal characteristic is also present in that the new line is traced through eight antecedent males who bear the name Soktchum, "scratched." Presumably this name derives from the damage to Sheiyutl's eye.

That the matrilineal principle is perhaps as important as the patrilineal is implicit in the self-exile of Sheiyutl's mother. The father of the boy was probably unknown, as was that of a war chief, Wakaterat, who led the forces of Pechanga in the eighteenth-century war against Pauma. Wakaterat was thought to have been sired by a spirit. The behavior of the children toward the young Sheiyutl and the refusal of the chief to make redress tend to confirm the absence of social paternity. If the boy's father had died it should have led to no such results because of the levirate and sororal polygyny. Parallel cousins are called siblings by the Luiseño.

For the adult Sheiyutl to have become the husband of a woman who must bear the new chief again raises questions of his paternity. From the position of a rejected child he became a man of high rank who, although "recognized" upon his approach to the village, nevertheless was greeted and welcomed only after the old chief had exercised his tcheiyat feather bunchlet. The nature of the natal supernatural power in a child cannot always be immediately determined, but that the adult Sheiyutl was regarded as a powerful being is not doubted. This was probably a major reason for his selection as the sire of a new line of religious chiefs. These features are important in an analysis of social organization and will be considered at length later.

Several major changes in Luiseño life are responsible for the disruption of their social organization. One of these is the adoption of Christian-Spanish incest regulations that were added to the old native system. Another is the repeated uprooting of whole villages and the removal of their populations to the missions or, later, to "refuges" in the deep interior. But one of the most crucial was decimation of their numbers. The Luiseño-Juaneño contact period from 1769 to 1776 is meaningful in that it points up possible demographic decline through epidemic diseases imported by the Europeans at a time so early that the effects could hardly have been recorded.

San Diego de Alcala was established in 1769, and San Carlos de Borromeo became the far northern end of the mission chain in 1770. The year 1771 added another pair of mission stations with the founding of San Antonio de Padua in the north and San Gabriel Arcangel near the present Los Angeles. Thus the Camino Real became active with Spanish traffic from the very beginning, and the Luiseño-Juaneño villages along the way became subject to infection. Without natural immunity to venereal diseases and endemic-epidemic European diseases such as smallpox and measles, serious population losses must have been suffered almost immediately by the natives. The spread of such diseases may have been slowed somewhat by a tendency of the villages to practice endogamy; nevertheless, espionage and other activities of the medicine men, and the sporadic outbreak of warfare, provided some opportunities for dissemination. It is one of the major contentions of this study that pre-Spanish populations in southern California were considerably larger than estimates based upon inadequate mission statistics make them appear (cf. Krober, 1925:883). With populations running perhaps as high as two hundred for each rancheria, demography comes into consonance with ethnography—allowing for the fairly elaborate system of officials and population classes indicated by ethnographic details.

The founding of San Juan Capistrano, first mission in the Juaneño-Luiseño

territory, inaugurated the early mission period throughout its zone of influence. From 1776 onward, it, in addition to San Diego and San Gabriel, served as a permanent focus of disease—and even more than that. Various village populations were uprooted and herded into the mission compounds so that the chances of infection became much greater. Furthermore, the new arts and crafts introduced by imported mission personnel were regarded by sorcerers throughout the hinterlands as new power forms. This attracted these sorcerers to the missions where they tended to remain only long enough to acquire new ayelkwi. Undoubtedly some of them contracted diseases during their stay and thus helped spread them.

Systematic destruction of the native culture and social organization was begun. The old hunting-gathering economy was gradually eliminated in favor of herding and agriculture. Native "alcaldes" and "generals" were appointed to exercise control over the mission activities, thus supplanting the Indian chiefs (Tac, 1952:13). Concerted effort was made to destroy the old native leadership; "wizards" were persecuted (Reid, 1926:58). Christian incest rules were added to those already observed by the Indians; village endogamy was eliminated. What seems to have been a system of preferential cross-cousin marriage was destroyed. Parallel cousins were already termed siblings and thus unmarriageable. Several forms of religious observance were declared "obscene" (Boscana, 1934:40), and extirpated. Divorce was prevented. Nevertheless, early efforts to replace the old native cultural forms met with uneven results, despite various forms of coercion. The Indian religion resisted change, and time and space factors hampered the missionaries. The native religion was a culture focus for the Juaneño-Luiseño, and through new details and structural information on the religion it has become possible to trace some probable outlines of the old native social organization.

The missions served as strong centers of diffusion of new culture traits. Mission control of the outlying populations came about only slowly, but representatives from the interior villages did tend to drift in and out of direct influence, especially in the first few years after the founding of San Juan Capistrano. Later, the missionaries took strong measures to keep the native neophytes with them (Engelhardt, 1922:175). Although the ritualized core of the Luiseño religion was very conservative, selective diffusion nevertheless took place at a relatively rapid rate. This came about because of the natives' emphasis upon sorcery and their concepts of what constituted it. Witchcraft provided the means for food increase, acumen in hunting, and offensive and defensive weapons in warfare. Hence the acquisition of supernatural powers was a means of gaining high status in the society. Furthermore, the appearance of new power forms in the region tended to disturb the balance of power among the autonomous feuding rancherias. The missions, because of the new power forms to be found there, attracted medicine men from the entire region from the very beginning.

Engelhardt (1921 and 1922) has published lists of named "villages" compiled from baptismal registers of San Juan Capistrano (1776) and San Luis Rey (1798). These sharply reflect the relative ages of the two missions. The register of San Luis Rey is comparatively simple and shows a modest number of errors. That of the earlier mission is the opposite. Ignoring the more obvious mistakes of understanding, and adjusting for vagaries of orthography, the register of San

Juan Capistrano still shows so many named places that one is forced to conclude the presence of individual homesites as well as villages in the listing. Several villages can be identified as non-Luiseño; for example, Jurupa, near the present Riverside, California. One village complex, Maulhatpa, is mentioned to which Meighan has given a terminal date of between 1780 and 1820. It is absent from the San Luis Rey register.

Maulhatpa is interesting not only for its listing in the San Juan Capistrano baptismal register and the archaeological terminal date of 1780–1820, but also for the fact that a small tripod pot seems to be associated with its demise, and that the probable maker of the pot is known. These features bring into sharper focus the significance of diffusion from the missions. The early mission period was one of very weak control by the Spanish over the native populations. Initially baptism did not result in permanent residence at the mission by all the recipients, but well before the founding of San Luis Rey the priests had developed means of preventing the escape of baptized neophytes. Some escaping neophytes had acquired information they used as sorcery at home, and these new forms of sorcery probably disrupted intervillage relations and increased the frequency of warfare. But, more important, the neophytes' return to the interior assured the spread of disease.

Yet in spite of all the opportunities for a sharp reduction of population, San Luis Rey eventually became the most populous of all the missions of California. Does this mean that the Luiseño possessed greater resistance to European diseases? Or did they have a larger population and territory? These are not questions that can be answered definitively. That the Luiseño filled their ecological niche with a large population is probable. The remoteness of the Palomar Mountain region from the mission undoubtedly reduced the frequency of exposure to disease, and it was in this region that the villages remained longest undisturbed. Village endogamy also reduced the frequency of exposure.

Undoubtedly other important factors also contributed to the size of the population associated with San Luis Rey. For one thing, this mission was not established until 1798, and its assistencia at San Antonio de Pala was not established until 1816, only about five years before the beginning of that long twilight of disorder preceding the final secularization of the missions in 1834. Also, from its founding until 1832 San Luis Rey was subject to the basic resident policies of only one priest, Father Peyri. Apparently this missionary had a well-conceived and deliberate plan of operations which differed considerably from that at San Juan Capistrano and elsewhere. Instead of hastily moving virtually all of the populations into the immediate environs of the mission, Fr. Peyri dispersed his people among several mission ranchos. This is indicated by the fact that although Pauma is only some seven miles from the assistencia at Pala, its population was never uprooted from its native village. Although religious conversion proceeded as rapidly as practicable, drastic alterations of the native economy and distribution patterns moved at a more deliberate pace than elsewhere. Thus it appears possible that although epidemics, once introduced, may have had fully as serious effects on the native population of San Luis Rey as on others, the frequency of exposure may have been reduced by distance and the policies of Fr. Peyri.

There is at present no way of estimating the exact meaning of the mission statistics in terms of which populations were counted, but it is certain that the entire neophyte count was not physically at the mission itself. Both Tac (1952) and Engelhardt (1921) mention the several outlying ranchos belonging to the mission. Thus, demographically, the intermediate mission period shows different temporal peaks in the curve for the two missions. In the long run this is not significant, for the Juaneño have disappeared and the Luiseño nearly so. But for an estimate of the original population these considerations do have some bearing.

The major historical event of the intermediate mission period was the Mexican Revolution. This occurred as an aftermath of Napoleon's conquest of Spain (Wilgus, 1941:281 ff.), and in 1815 the Manila Galleon made its last voyage. The Californias became provinces of the Republic of Mexico, but they were remote and governmental controls were weak and confused. Chaotic conditions in Mexico did not make for the kind of stability that had been enjoyed under the crown, and various schemes were aimed toward the eventual secularization of the now-wealthy missions. In nearly all instances provisions were included that appeared to make the Indians beneficiaries of the mission wealth. Nothing came of any of these plans. Finally, in 1834, after years of mismanagement and looting, the missions were secularized, but the Indians were left to their own devices. In some instances they entered into conditions bordering on serfdom in the service of various rancheros; in others they fled to the interior or drifted into the pueblos.

Because of their remoteness, the villages associated with Palomar Mountain became refuges. Political struggles over Mexican land grants tended to favor these interior villages, because the California contenders were not much interested in Indian affairs. Examination of the rancheria names mentioned by the Mariner-Grijalva expedition of 1795 (Hill, 1927:32) brings out sharply the refuge aspect of the region. One old informant was found who was able to identify nearly all the listed rancherias. He located them all in the Pala, Pauma, Rincon, and La Jolla area. Rather than being actual rancherias or villages, however, these sites were in each instance small areas identified with particular families or extended groups called "parties." Almost all of them possessed a *wamkĭsh* area (post and brush religious enclosure), indicating that the families and parties were headed by a religious chief. The interpretation seems simple. The conservative nature of the Luiseño religion, and certain supernatural sanctions contained within it, make all officials responsible for ceremonial affairs very reluctant to give up such activities. With the breakup of the missions and the alienation of much land through Mexican land grants, the principal surviving native families, in whose care most Luiseño religious activities remained, found refuge in the Palomar area. Whatever may have happened to the bulk of the population of the various villages formerly served by them, these officials continued to practice the old rituals in the new locations. Apparently the new home sites of many of these displaced religious chiefs were named after the original villages from which they came.

In the past, these features have led to much confusion among scholars. Investigators have been unable to discover the true nature of Luiseño social organization. First, the large number of families with religious chiefs made it appear that all families must have had such chiefs. Second, the preponderance of landless

but seemingly important families led to doubt that the rancherias mentioned by the Spanish were much more than a temporary clustering of family groups squatting around some water hole or food resource. Thus the expression "rancheria" became a vague term not associated with any concrete territory. Third, such seemingly loose relationships among wandering groups suggested that the population had always been quite small. Consequently the old fundamental rancherias, based upon well-defined territories and with autonomous, semiendogamous populations, tended to be obscured. The relatively large populations with specialized officials and a moiety system of religious, economic, and marital reciprocity could be seen only with great difficulty; for example, Gifford (personal communication) felt strongly that moieties once existed among the Luiseño, although nowhere in his writings does he seem to have marshalled sufficient evidence to state the fact with confidence.

The great gathering of fragmentary social and religious groups in the Palomar Mountain area has now melted away. With it disappeared the complexities and disorder resulting from such concentrations of displaced populations. Although the tracings of the old pre-Spanish social organizations are now much fainter than they were at the turn of the twentieth century, they are no longer so badly obscured by the demographic disorder and cultural chaos that then obtained.

The looting and mismanagement of the late mission period between 1825 and 1834 destroyed most of the social controls exercised by the missions over the Indians. Drunkenness, murder, disease, flight into supposedly more favorable places from semislavery, all cut deeply into the population. Most remaining social controls were those exercised by the Indians among themselves, with only some application of provincial laws. Here and there the old mission alcaldes and generals continued to dominate segments of the population, in some instances for self-aggrandizement. Nor did this state of affairs change materially after the Mexican War of 1846 and the establishment of the state of California. It is Luiseño understanding that, according to the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the United States was to accept as citizens all persons living in the ceded territory. Apparently this provision was not honored in its application to Indians. In 1852 the Senate refused to ratify a treaty that would have confirmed the Indians in their possessions and ameliorated their conditions. The Luiseño further believe that, by a curious fiction that considered an Indian an Indian whatever his language or regional affiliations culturally, the failure of the treaty of 1852 placed them technically at war with the United States until the recent settlement of the Seminole conflict. The validity of these beliefs is not within the scope of this paper. They are included to provide a sense of the psychological conditions prevailing among the Luiseño in their relations to the federal government and Anglos in general.

The early Anglo-American period is characterized by two major features: the policies of the American government, and the influx of new populations, which led to rapid shrinkage of remaining Luiseño land. The growth of Los Angeles and its surrounding orchards and produce gardens pushed back the Indians; then dispossession from more favorable lands that were still retained by a scattering of families, and inability to get legal redress, caused many of them to migrate to the city. There they rapidly sank into virtual slavery. On week ends they were

arrested by peace officers for vagrancy and drunkenness; on Mondays their services were "auctioned" to ranchers for the amount of the fines. On the following week ends the small wages were again squandered for liquor, and the process was repeated. Disorders among themselves and the debilitating effects of such a life rapidly reduced their numbers. The people of the Islands, the Gabrielino, the Juaneño, and other local groups are believed to be extinct. The Luiseño are nearly so.

All this eventually led to protest from some leading Anglo citizens, and an investigating committee which included Helen Hunt Jackson was appointed by the president. Its recommendations included one to set aside land for reservations. This was approved by President Arthur, but not by Congress. Eventually Mrs. Jackson's propagandistic novel *Ramona* appeared, in which the point was made that these highly missionized people could neither bring suit in their own behalf nor testify in court, and public outrage forced reluctant establishment of the reservations. The Luiseño survived, but have never recovered from the severity of these events and their effects.

CHAPTER II

THE PEOPLE AND ENVIRONMENT

ALTHOUGH Kroeber (1925) and Strong (1929) treated the Luiseño and Juaneño as separate entities, other precedents exist which treat the two groups as substantially the same "tribe." For example, Harrington (1933, 1934, 1935) did so, and early Spanish explorers including Grijalva in 1795 (Hill, 1927) made little distinction. Dialect differences between the Luiseño and Juaneño did not prevent mutual understanding, and other general conditions favor the view that although local variations in culture may have existed, they were of a minor order such as may develop at the village level of organization rather than at a tribal or regional level. The over-all ecology of the two areas was very similar, including climate, geography, flora, and fauna. Both the ecology and topography favor the development of local political and geographic units at the expense of tribal self-identification, but do not justify a division of the people into separate "tribes."

The local geographical-population unit named "rancheria" by the Spanish (Hill, 1927:28) is crucial to reconstruction of social organization and therefore will be reviewed at some length in this chapter. The Juaneño-Luiseño territory was composed of about fifty rancherias, each with a population of perhaps two hundred persons. Multiplying these figures one obtains an estimated ten thousand persons for the population of the combined areas in contrast to the five thousand assigned by Kroeber (1925) to the Juaneño-Luiseño for the pre-Spanish era. Since the wealth of social institutions existing in any culture is to some degree related to population density, and since the Juaneño-Luiseño have more elaborate social patterns than might be expected if rancheria population were restricted too severely, a review of the demography is needed. This in turn requires a survey of the ecology and various features of terrain and climate.

The distribution and general nature of various local geographical and political units of population are correlative details that require examination in a demographic study of this nature. Population density can be determined to some extent from evaluation of various historical sources, but it needs to be rigorously checked for validity in relation to ecological potentialities, archaeological survey information, and ethnographic field data. Demography and ecology combined with topography and other features delineate relationships that, although not deterministic of social structure in themselves, nevertheless tend to limit the range of social structural typologies likely to be found among a hunting-gathering people. Consideration of various of these features will form the content of this chapter.

The Pacific coastal range of mountains west of the Gulf of California and the great Colorado Desert form a geographical cul-de-sac. Along the crest of this mountain range is a rain-shadow line which divides the region into two general ecological districts: (1) to the east, a sparsely populated desert; (2) to the west, a fairly arid area, but comparatively much richer in food resources. The latter has considerably more rainfall than the desert region, particularly during the winter season. The Juaneño-Luiseño Indians occupied a portion of the territory west of the rain-shadow line.

Contrary to the boundaries on Kroeber's map (1925:pl. 57), the strip of territory containing Saboba near San Jacinto Mountain, and Aquanga on the eastern flank of Palomar Mountain, is excluded from Luiseño-Juaneño territory in this study. Qualified informants believe that both localities belonged to the Shoshonean Serrano or Cahuilla Indians; Luiseño movement into these areas is said to have occurred sometime after 1800. For example, the informants were acquainted with individuals now deceased who moved to Saboba after being forced out of their village site, Paxavxa, in Temescal Canyon between present Corona and Lake Elsinore. Other considerations may be cited. Saboba and Aquanga belong to a territory east of the Elsinore Fault axis; it is dry upland and seems to have been more suited to the economy of the inland Cahuilla Indians than to the Luiseño, although the latter may have occasionally pursued game into the area. Immediately along the Fault the economy was probably oriented more toward the oak groves in the mountains to the west than toward the less productive upland basin. This consideration places the Fault zone within the Luiseño-Juaneño province. The upland basin was transitional, becoming very arid toward its eastern and northern edges, hence its exclusion seems appropriate.

The changes herein described and subscribed to with great caution cannot in any way detract from the pioneer studies of Kroeber. Improved transportation has permitted a better examination of the natural features of terrain, and some additional critical studies of the remnants of the Luiseño have been made. Nevertheless, none of the boundaries described can be considered hard and fast. Kroeber himself in 1925 (p. 616) noted that the opportunity to prepare an exact map had passed away fifty years before. Thus no criticism can be implied; at best only "corrections" can be offered. The map for this study (fig. 1) is based on fresh information and on a reconstruction of flora distributions at the beginning of the mission period.

Next to the Juaneño on the north and west were the Uto-Aztecan-speaking Gabrielino who take their name from Mission San Gabriel Arcangel, founded September 8, 1771. These people occupied the relatively rich Los Angeles Basin and its mountain fringes. They possessed a plentiful water supply, food-rich marshes and brackish sloughs, extensive beaches, a sheltered coast, and well-forested mountain and basin areas. They were culturally advanced, strongly oriented toward the sea and the coastal islands (Kroeber, 1925:621), and seem to be now extinct. They are mentioned only because some features of their culture were very like the Luiseño's, and items will occasionally be introduced for comparative or correlative purposes.

A point of foremost importance in preparing a population estimate of the Luiseño-Juaneño region is the number and locations of local social and geographical units—in Spanish nomenclature, the rancherias. Although mission statistics seem to provide a tempting shortcut in the formulation of population estimates, the appearance is misleading. For example, a preliminary effort, made by Miss Winifred Whitfield and myself to arrange mission statistics in some form usable by SWAC, the Southwestern Computer at the University of California, Los Angeles failed. Although Miss Whitfield is an expert in the preparation of data for the computer, each approach invariably was frustrated by several lacunae in the information.

That Kroeber was actutely aware of the difficulties involved in any attempt to formulate an estimate of population from mission data is very clear: "It must be pointed out that the mission data are of such a character that they cannot be used with any accuracy except after a far more painstaking analysis than they have yet been subjected to" (1925:881).

For Missions San Juan Capistrano and San Luis Rey, this would mean the sorting and reorganization of more than a hundred thousand separate items of information. But even this monumental effort would not insure accuracy or completeness. Among other things, some of the mission records have been lost. Kroeber continues:

> . . . A study of the baptismal registers, where these give birthplaces, may provide some notion of the strength of the various groups for certain periods at a few of the missions; and from such conclusions an estimate of the size of the tribes represented at all of the establishments between 1769 and 1834 might be derivable. Before this can be done, however, the location of the rancherias mentioned must be worked out with at least approximate precision.

This last sentence provides one major basis of approach in the present study. Historical materials have been combed. Efforts to use rosters of alleged rancherias compiled from various records of the two missions are frustrating, but three non-mission lists have been found which yield fairly reliable information. The lists in question were prepared by: (1) Father Boscana about 1822 (1934:60) for San Juan Capistrano, containing fifteen named places (fourteen rancherias); (2) Grijalva in 1795 (Hill, 1927:32) for the San Luis Rey River and Mission environs, containing fourteen named places; and (3) D. L. True. Names for some of the sites in True's archaeological survey list have been procured from informants. Harrington (1933:114) has also contributed valuable information concerning some sites from Temescal Canyon and the Lake Elsinore district. Kroeber's mapped materials (1925:pl. 57) and the mission rosters have been used insofar as possible as cross-reference material.

Engelhardt (1922:244) has published a list of Indian rancherias written into the baptismal register of San Juan Capistrano. It was collected and arranged by Miss Estella R. Clemence of Washington, D.C. This list contains the names of an incredible 330 rancherias. However, close scrutiny indicates glaring errors in understanding between priests and Indians, orthographic inconsistency, and a host of other such difficulties. By contrast, Boscana (1934:60) names only fifteen "rancherias or towns which were founded by the first settlers of this canyada of San Juan Capistrano and its environs." Unfortunately his list does not seem to be complete.

In further contrast to the San Juan Capistrano rancheria collection, the entries compiled from the Pedron of San Luis Rey amount to only 121 items in spite of the fact that the latter mission served an area about three times as large as the former. The lists duplicate each other on many entries, and each contains names of places far removed geographically from the mission; for example *Guechinga* and *Guachenga* are listed at San Juan Capistrano. *Guachenga* is also found in the San Luis Rey list. According to the diary of Father Jose Sanchez (entry for Sept. 26, 1821), where it spelled *Guachinga,* this rancheria was located at San Bernardino (Engelhardt, 1921:46). Engelhardt (1921:255) thinks *Juechinja* is another ortho-

graphic variant of the same name, and he is probably correct. But the problem of mission orthographies must be approached with great caution. For instance, in spite of temptingly different-appearing values for *Kechinga* and *Quetchinga,* both these renderings probably apply to *Quechla* (Tac, 1952:12), the site of the rancheria at San Luis Rey Mission. The missionary renderings for the Luiseño /k'/ and /kw/ are confusing.

San Juan Capistrano (1776) is one of the oldest of the California missions, and the resident priests' unfamiliarity with the local language is obvious. But the orthographies of the listings are even more confounded by the mother tongues of the priests themselves. For example, two noun suffixes are used frequently when applied to named places. These are *-nga,* and *-mai;* either may be found with the same stem. In the San Juan Capistrano list they appear as follows: *-ga, -nga, -ng, -na,* and *-gua; -ma, -me, -maye, -mii*(!), *-mi, -meie, -meye, -miy,* and *-m.* In -mii the Latin orthography is obvious; when the full spellings are compared with a list of the priests' nationalities, usages such as may be found in German, French, Portuguese, Italian, Basque, and Catalan as well as Spanish and Latin can be seen.

Miss Clemence, who collected and arranged the San Juan Capistrano list, seems to have felt that since some of the names appear but once, they may refer to families. More is involved than this, however. In some instances either the priest or the neophyte failed to communicate satisfactorily. The entries *Nacomeye, Naccome,* and *Nacomaye* are suspect. These could possibly be **no kamela* or **no kamai,* meaning "my nephew" or "my grandson," respectively. *Mocuache,* and *Mugoxe,* when adjusted for orthography, dialect and sound values, appear to be **mokwatchi.* The possible meanings are: (1) a way in which some boy is hunched over in a shuffling, leisurely manner of walking, and (2) a figure of speech describing a legendary pursuit in which the people chased Nahatchĭsh, the Praying Mantis. In the first instance *mokwatchi is probably a nickname; in the second it might be either a nickname or a locale where the legendary chase is supposed to have occurred.

Of especial interest is the only two-word entry in the San Juan Capistrano list: *Chon-Noua.* This is undoubtedly **cham no',* "our head," "our chief." One peculiar and very frequent entry is *Melijo.* Inquiry concerning this word brings forth two possibilities: It may be the Indian attempt at pronouncing **mal hijo,* Spanish for "bad child," that is, not baptized; but more likely it is a contracted Luiseño-Spanish tautology **mela* and **hijo,* that is, "child-child." Reduplication of stem affixes is common in Luiseño. In the first instance the priests should have soon penetrated the accent of the Indians, thus preventing this "rancheria" name from assuming a high frequency in the lists.

Some entries are names of individual "gardens," "house sites," or local areas within the rancheria proper. Two of these can be identified with reasonable certainty: *Ycaye* seems to be the modern **Kaiyi,* a small area belonging to Kuka rancheria; *Mauhatpa* (modern Maulpa), which has been "dug" by Meighan (MS in preparation), seems to have been a village site separated spatially from but integral politically with Kuka. According to informants, Maulpa, Maulhatpa, Mauhatpa, Maulapa, and Maulahatpa are all the "same"—variant forms of the same noun.

The difficulties encountered in the mission rosters present a task for a separate

and lengthy study beyond the scope of the present investigation. Except for purposes of comparison, they are not suitable for estimating the number of rancherias occupied by the Juaneño-Luiseño people. Instead, the historical lists of Boscana (1934:60) and Grijalva (Hill, 1927:32), and the archaeological survey of True (unpublished MS) are used. These combined give an actual count of thirty-three rancherias, all with a high degree of probability of having actually existed. To these we may add bits of information relating to the Temecula-Lake Elsinore and the Escondido districts, forming an over-all estimate of fifty rancherias. With this approach the mission rosters become useful for cross-checking, thus improving the

TABLE 1

PARTIAL LIST OF RANCHERIAS—SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO

Boscana	Kroeber	Mission list
1. Putuidem	Pu-tuid-em	Pituide
Atoum-pumcaxque	Ahachmai	Acaptivit
2. Ulbe		Julbe
3. Tebone		Tobane
4. Ene		Henga
5. Panga	Panhe	Pange (San Mateo)
6. Souche	Hechmai	Zoucche
7. Tobe		Tobna
8. Tumume	Humai (?)	Tumume
9. Tepipche		
10. Ecjelme		Eguelme
11. Taje		Tague
12. Uut		Uhunga
13. Alume	Alona	Alauna
14. Uxme	Ushmai	Uchmeie

validity of the estimates. Boscana's list is incorporated as table 1, that of Grijalva as table 2, and the survey of True as table 3.

Boscana says that both Putuidem and Atoum-pumcaxque had the same chief, one Choqual (1934:60), hence both occupied sites belonging to a single rancheria after the manner of Kuka-Maulpa. Tepipche does not appear in the San Juan Capistrano baptismal compilation in the form recorded by Boscana (1934:60): "... was called *Tepipche* which signifies a kind of bush or chamizo (I am not acquainted with it, nor do I know its proper name), which the natives call Tapipche [*sic*]."

Table 2 for San Luis Rey includes a list prepared by Grijalva in 1795 (Hill, 1927:32), here partly corrected and compared with other sources. Most of the named places lay along the San Luis Rey River. Both Hill (1927:31) and Engelhardt (1921:6) agree upon the order in which Grijalva records these rancherias: (1) Curila, (2) Topame, (3) Quque, (4) Cupame, (5) Paume, (6) Pale, (7) Palui, and so forth. The order contains error. Although Curila is probably the first of the rancherias on the upper San Luis Rey River, and Kuka is without much doubt third in descending order, Cupame is without question the Cupa of the Cupeño Indians. Further, Topamai belongs much lower down, and upon the tributary

Santa Margarita River. Following Quque (Kuka), Paume, Pale, and "Palui" seem to be in the correct order, with the last having been situated somewhere near the present locale of Lilac.

The proper sound values for "Palui" (Hill) are in doubt; Engelhardt (1921:6) reads Grijalva's old Spanish script for this term as "Palin," but then he also construes Quque as "Luque." The -ui or -in sequence could easily be confused, and if the medial consonant defeated both authors, the way is open for reconstruction. Assuming the medial consonant to be "q," and accepting Hill's final -ui, then the name becomes *Paqui, a term in excellent agreement with "Pacuei" and "Pagui" in

TABLE 2

PARTIAL LIST OF RANCHERIAS—SAN LUIS REY

Grijalva (partly corrected)	Kroeber	Informants	San Juan	San Luis
1. Curila	Ngorivo	both	Guariba	Corena
2.	Heweyu	Huyulkum	Lacuiac	Jujuya
3. Queque	Cuka	Kuka	Cugue	Cuqui
4. Paume	Paumo	Pauma	Paumo	Paumega
5. Pale	Pala	Pala	Pala	Pala
6. Palui		Pakwi (?)	Pacuei	Pagui
7. Pamame			Pamameye	Pomame
8. Pamua			Pahamua	
9. Asichigmes	Wiasamai	Wiashemai	Uasna	
10. Quesinille	Keish	Kiłsh	Kechinga	Quechinga
11. Topame	Topamai	Topamai	Topome	Topome
12. Chumelle			Patchoumie	
13. Checape			Chacape	Chacap
14. Pamamelli			Paamuele	

the mission lists, neither of which contains "Palin" or "Palui." Although Chief Pachito knows that Pauma fought a successful war against this rancheria, probably in the late eighteenth century, and knows its general location, he is unfortunately hazy about the exact rendition of the name. To all three possibilities he replies uniformly: "It was something like that."

Huyulkum, the modern La Jolla (in the mountains), also Heweyu, Jujuya, *Lacuiac, Lacoye, and LaCola (Hill, 1927:111), meaning roughly "windy place," has been listed as number two in table 2. It is located archaeologically between Curila and Kuka, and descendants of the indigenous population still live nearby. The proper locations of those rancherias along the lower San Luis Rey River are unknown, except where shown by Kroeber (1925:pl. 57).

The Valley Center district number sites in table 3 were discovered and evaluated by D. L. True and filed by him with the Department of Anthropology and Sociology at the University of California, Los Angeles. True's "Old Complex" terminology indicates a probable great antiquity for the sites bearing this label. There is no reason to believe that the people whose material culture is listed Old Complex had anything to do with the later San Luis Rey I and II (True, 1957). But there is justification for presuming that Meighan's (1954:222) San Luis Rey

II is Luiseño, and probably also his San Luis Rey I. The type site for San Luis Rey II is called Sulpa, and informant Chief Pachito claims it as a private "garden"; the founder of his lineage, Sheiyutl, lived there as a boy some nine generations ago. Although San Luis Rey I contains no pottery sherds, San Luis Rey II does, a sampling test applied to all sites so labeled in table 3. Named sites have been identified by informants. Both Kaulawut-Paulima (Caulama, *Colime) and Souma appear in the San Juan Capistrano roster, but not in that of San Luis Rey. Why this is so is not clear, for both sites continued to be occupied until fairly recent times.

TABLE 3

PARTIAL LIST OF RANCHERIAS—SAN LUIS REY AREA (D. L. TRUE)

Valley Center number	Age	Type	Name
5.	II	Village site	(?)
6.	I	(?)	(?)
8.	II	Village site (?)	(?)
9.	II	Village site	(?)
11.	II		
12.	II	Village site complex	Waixi (?)
13.	II		
17.	Old Complex	(?)	(?)
18.	II	Village site	Diegueño (?)
19.	II	Village site	Diegueño (?)
29.	II	Village site	Souma
30.	II	(?)	(?)
33.	II	Village sites (two)	Kaulawut-Paulima

The list in table 3 is not exhaustive, but probably includes most village sites in the Valley Center district. Judging from the nearness of Kaulawut and Paulima to each other, these sites (number 33) appear to be another single rancheria containing two major permanent aggregations of house sites such as occur at Kuka-Maulpa, and possibly at Putuidem-Ahachmai. Eliminating numbers 8, 18, and 19 as dubious and considering item 33 to be a single rancheria, the number of rancherias remaining in the True compilation is just five.

It is clear that the three tables are conservative in their listings and do not contain all rancherias in the territories of the two missions. To the thirty-three listed must be added estimates for the Elsinore Fault area, the Escondido district, and the Luiseño coastal zone. The first two are not appreciably smaller than the Valley Center district, and should be considered to have contained ten or eleven rancherias, one of which is known to have been named Pumusi. The Elsinore Fault–Temescal Canyon strip contained Pechanga, Temecula, Paxavxa, 'Avaa'ax, and perhaps an additional two in the vicinity of Lake Elsinore. Thus, simple addition brings the total to a rounded fifty rancherias, plus or minus five, for the territory of the two missions. Now, if each rancheria is accorded an average population of two hundred persons, the total population for the entire region becomes ten thousand plus or minus a thousand.

The bulk of the information on which a population estimate can be based is indirect. One important consideration is the logistics of the Spanish occupation of Alta California, that is, the science of military economics and supply.

The coast of Alta California, from San Diego northward to San Francisco and above, became the scene of intensive Spanish activity in the years following 1769. Mission locations were based upon a number of important territorial, military, and religious considerations. As an extension of territorial control of the Spanish empire, each mission was placed so that it would command as much territory and as large a population as feasible. As posts of military potential they were located strategically to give maximum protection to the route of the Manila Galleon while at the same time halting Russian and British economic and territorial ambitions in the region (Schurz, 1939:245). To achieve this last objective the missions had to be located so that they were not subject to direct attack by naval units (cf. Shaler, 1935:61), yet they had to be near enough the ocean to represent a threat to marauders.

Logistics, the military science of supply, required that the missions become bases of military resources (cf. Shaler, 1935:61), especially food, medicines, cloth, and other necessities, and that they be linked by a reasonably good system of communications. The Camino Real which traversed the length of Alta California was connected to Mexico City by two routes: An inland trail opened by DeAnza (1774–1776) crossed the Colorado Desert and connected with an inland chain of missions; the other route traversed the peninsula of Baja California by way of the mission posts there. Overland travel was frequently used, and therefore the Camino Real and its connections were very important to the whole operation. Although prevailing winds along most of the coast favored an easy southward passage for sailing ships they made travel northward formidable and not lightly undertaken in vessels of the types used by the Spanish (Espinosa y Tello, 1930).

Although the objectives of religion were different from those of empire, considerations of communications, logistics, and security were nearly identical for both. A combination of military and religious resources, if not indispensable for success, certainly represented great economy when considered in relation to the probable supply of men, money, and other necessities, the presence of hostile populations, and the great distances and difficult terrain.

In such a plan, the missions were expected to serve as magazines for military units should further encroachments occur (Shaler, 1935:61), and as links in a chain of supply and communications located about a day's travel apart (Engelhardt, 1921:3). As such, they had to be carefully placed, but since the acquisition and preparation of substantial quantities of military supplies requires the work of many hands, it is to be assumed that to make the system workable each mission had to have substantial native population reserves reasonably nearby.

None of the so-called Mission Indian Tribes were agriculturalists. To convert and instruct them in the arts of animal husbandry and agriculture would take time. This meant that production would be very low during the initial stages of missionary activities, and could rise only after some years of effort. But experience elsewhere, especially in Baja California, must have made it clear to the authorities that immediate postcontact epidemics would account for great losses

among the local populations. From a purely military viewpoint this raised a pressing question: Were the population reserves sufficiently large to sustain such deterioration?

Concerning the drastic effects of mission life upon native populations William Shaler (1935:57), reporting on his voyage of 1804, says:

> One of the missionaries informed me, that, fifty years ago, they numbered 7,000 souls at the mission of Purissima, in latitude 26° 30′, and that at present they do not exceed fifty persons. At present, Lower California is nearly depopulated: no mission there numbers above 350 Indians; not more than three exceed 250; and the greater part have less than fifty persons.

Shaler wrote just thirty-five years after the beginning of the Alta California undertaking which itself was begun only fifteen years later than the time in which "they numbered 7,000 souls at the mission of Purissima," Baja California. Thus, by the time San Diego de Alcala was founded in 1769, the devastation of populations in Baja California had probably not reached a climax. Nevertheless, the Spanish had been in the Americas for more than two and a half centuries and population trends of continental Mexico must have been as clear to the authorities as were those of the California peninsula.

All this means that if the missions were to be expected to succeed as magazines and to serve as outposts of empire, substantial reserves of population would have to have been present locally, pending development of resistance to various diseases. Otherwise, extensive missionization would not be economically and militarily feasible; it would be cheaper to set up a minimum number of forts or posts and freight supplies to them. Missionary activities under these circumstances could be reduced to a secondary status, in fact if not in presentation. In the instance of San Juan Capistrano and San Luis Rey, the necessary population reserves must have been present in abundance. The former was one of the earliest of such establishments; the latter became the wealthiest of all Alta California undertakings—and the most populous—even though fully two-fifths of its Indians were swept away during the first thirty-five years of its existence (Tac, 1952:12).

From this, one conclusion is difficult to avoid. If Shaler's figure of seven thousand Indians for Purissima fifty years previously is correct, and if the decline to a population of only three hundred and fifty at the time of writing in 1804 may be accepted, then Kroeber's (1925:883) estimate of only a thousand Indians for San Juan Capistrano must be substantially raised. San Juan Capistrano had existed for thirty-five of the fifty years in question, and the epidemic diseases for this period must have been somewhat similar for both missions with similar results. Further, if the estimate were at least trebled, then population reserves would begin to come into consonance with military requirements. Even so, however, there are difficulties. Failure of disease to reduce the population at a rate equivalent to that of Purissima can be partly attributed to delays in moving outlying populations to the mission compound. But diseases such as measles and smallpox require only human vectors for their spread; hence, it must be inferred that the human vectors were absent. Although the probability can be demonstrated that medicine men explored the potential new sources of magic and power represented by the missionaries, it is also virtually certain (Reid, 1926:52) that stringent efforts were made at the missions to prevent the escape of neophytes. Since this was accom-

plished only after a few years of experience, one other feature must be inferred: The people of any particular rancheria must have been an autonomous, endogamous unit. This last inference agrees substantially with the views of informants and a considerable body of other information to be explored below.

Ecological balance, all other things being equal, means that high population density and great natural fertility of the land, including adequate water, occur together. It has been shown that the real establishment of a chain of missions hinged in part upon military and economic considerations, one of which was a suitable population reserve. Since the mission chain in Alta California was in fact established, and did indeed serve as a series of military magazines, then the conclusion that appropriate conditions obtained is difficult to avoid, even though there is little in the landscape today to encourage such a view. Agriculture, forest fires, dessication, and other fruits of Spanish and Anglo-American occupation have radically altered the conditions that made for a rich hunting-gathering territory.

According to informants, the live oak (*Quercus*), of which there are no less than six varieties, provided an estimated 50 per cent of the native diet. Each species is apparently adapted to slightly different habitats. During early mission times the frontal slopes of the mountains along the immediate coast were probably as devoid of oak as today, but elsewhere any reasonably sheltered flat, saddle, or other area where the water table was not too deep must have had its quota of oak trees. Shaler (1935:52) described the Alta California of 1804 as having pleasant and fertile valleys and plains, ". . . many of which are covered with fine forests of oak and other timber: these are almost universally remote from the seacoast."

This is hard to visualize now, for most of the forest cover has disappeared, and many of the remaining groves cannot last much longer. The dreary consequences of clearing the land for agriculture were compellingly recorded by Reid in 1852. Following is his description of conditions at San Gabriel Mission near Los Angeles (1926:47):

> The site occupied by the principle building of the Mission, the vineyards and gardens, was at the conquest of this country, a complete forest of oaks with considerable underwood . . . This hollow was a complete thicket, formed of sycamores, cottonwoods, larch, ash and willows; besides, brambles, nettles, palma cristi, wild roses and wild grapevines lent a hand to make it impassable, except where footpaths had rendered entrance to its barriers a matter more easily accomplished. This hollow, cleared of all encumbrance, served to raise the first crops ever produced at the Mission, *and although now a washed waste of gravel and sand, nevertheless, at that time it rejoiced in a rich black soil.* (Italics supplied.)

Much the same impression is gained from missionary sources. Fr. Boscana (1934:60), writing shortly after 1820, says of the San Juan Capistrano Mission site: "This canyada [had] a thick growth of willows, cottonwoods, sycamores, fuchsias, beds of reeds, all of it being a marsh of water . . ." According to Father Mariner's diary of the 1795 expedition in search of a site for the mission that was to become San Luis Rey (Hill, 1927:191).

> In my opinion and that of the rest, the place nearest . . . with all of the essentials for a mission, is the rancheria Pale, and it is in the middle of the district where the said language [Juaneño-Luiseño] is spoken, as though in a round bowl, but the great growth of trees impedes access to it.

Contrary to Fr. Mariner, the lower course of the San Luis Rey River also provided excellent conditions for the growth of relatively large hunting-gathering populations. Concerning the country to the west of Pala, Fr. Mariner says (Hill, 1927:190):

A league [2.63 miles] further down the water of the arroyo no longer flows, but there are puddles of water as far as San Juan Capistrano el Viejo [the future site of Mission San Luis Rey], where we arrived the next day about ten in the morning, or a little before. Its pools are very deep, without any possibility of taking out the water, and it does not flow; there is no firewood, timber, or building stone, and the land is worthless because it is so sandy. There are only a few pieces near the hills that are good.

Perhaps Fr. Mariner did not consider live oak suitable building material, and his remarks about the water must be regarded as applicable to potential irrigation. Father Lasuen, the presidente of the missions, disagreed with the Mariner recommendations, probably because of the military implications of the Camino Real, and of a different evaluation of the worth of "San Juan Capistrano el Viejo."

After he had seen the locality . . . Fr. Lasuen wrote to Borica [the governor]: 'The site of Sonquich, equivocally called Pale is not suitable, because it is ten leagues from the Camino Real' (Engelhardt, 1921:6). . . . after the country round had been explored anew, Fr. Lasuen decided on the valley which Fr. Juan Crespi when passing there with the Portola expedition in July, 1769, had already noted as a favorable locality for a mission and which on that occasion he had christened San Juan Capistrano. Since the founding of Mission San Juan Capistrano, in 1776, this place had been known as San Juan Capistrano *el Viejo*, or *Old* Capistrano, to distinguish it from the Mission of the same name. From this region the Fathers of San Diego had already obtained many good neophytes (Engelhardt, 1921:8).

Finally, Pablo Tac, an Indian youth from San Luis Rey, and protégé of Fr. Peyri, writing in Rome about 1835 (Hewes and Hewes, 1952:9) had this to say: "Our country [Quechla], before the Fernandino came, was a woods. He ordered them to cut the trees and make in this fashion a clearing." Quechla is the Luiseño Indian name for the location of San Luis Rey Mission; that is, it is the same location as San Juan Capistrano el Viejo.

Although disagreement existed between Mariner and Presidente Lasuen over the suitability of Pala or Quechla for the proposed mission site, there remains little doubt over the general agreement among all quoted observers concerning the nature of the country. The reports point to conditions much more favorable to a hunting and gathering people than have existed for the last century or so, particularly if the forest cover comprised a large number of live oaks. Other things being equal, the circumstances suggest a reasonably heavy population and good agricultural potentialities, conditions that satisfied the combined Spanish military-missionary requirements.

Clues to the production of wild foods for game animals as well as humans can be found in some of the mission statistics on production. For example, in 1819 San Juan Capistrano produced 3,207 bushels of grain, beans, peas, and other agricultural products, and pastured 31,263 head of livestock (Engelhardt, 1922:182–3). At San Luis Rey for the same year the figures were 20,892 bushels of produce and 25,100 head of livestock (Engelhardt, 1921:222). Neither the amount of grain fed to the animals nor the number of beasts slaughtered for food at the missions is known. But the grazing of more than 56,000 animals in the territory cannot be

minimized. Apparently even this number did not overtax the land, for by 1831, in the midst of secularization difficulties with the Mexican authorities, the mission herds had risen to an astronomical 71,460 head. Although these data cannot indicate the number of wild fauna in the territory, they nevertheless suggest plenitude, especially when it is recalled that the grazers and browsers such as deer compete ecologically with human population very little if at all. The local Indians used acorns, seeds, berries, bulbs, and so forth. Only in foraging for greens, barks, and tender growing tips of certain plants did deer consume food also considered palatable by humans.

Leopold (1955:106), commenting on deer populations in general and the ecological niche they fill, says:

> One way or another the herd is balanced to its food supply. For example, in a certain range of natural chaparral growth on the coast of California, the deer population average about twenty animals per square mile. It has been found that a range in the same region where the year-around food supply has been improved by controlled burning and seeding of grasses can support three times as large a population—an average of about sixty deer per square mile. However, the better range, paradoxically, has a higher death rate. This fact is not so mysterious if we remember that in a stable population deaths must balance births. The better range is stabilized at a higher density, but since more deer are born, more must die to keep the herd at the limit imposed by the supply of food. Thus on the poorer range the annual turnover rate (the number of deaths replaced by births) is about thirty per hundred, while on the better range it is forty per cent more.

In 1819 the territory—some 1,500 square miles—contained 56,000 cattle. Assuming an undisturbed natural chaparral growth, according to Leopold the deer population for pre-Spanish times would have numbered some 30,000. But land other than chaparral is involved, and surely fires occasionally swept the region. Under the most favorable conditions the deer population could reach 90,000 for the territory in the chaparral alone; it does not seem excessive to assign a variable 60,000 as the natural stand of deer in the Luiseño-Juaneño range (taking into consideration the number of cattle pastured on the same ranges—71,000 in 1831), or 40 per square mile. If the average rancheria contained 30 square miles, then the deer population would average some 1,200 animals per rancheria, with an annual turnover of some 33 per cent. Assuming that humans secured the bulk of turnover—say a full 30 per cent—then the number of animals secured yearly would amount to 360 per annum per rancheria, or one animal per day. Assuming, conservatively, that a deer dresses out to fifty pounds of usable flesh, and assuming a rancheria population of two hundred, venison alone would provide one-quarter of a pound of food for each individual daily. But the population pyramid would include large numbers of persons in the below-five age bracket who would be expected to eat little meat, hence there would be about half a pound each.

Although agriculture brought a change in the uses of certain acreages, it did not immediately change the old native articles of diet—and *wiwĭsh,* a slightly gritty, somewhat bitter, purplish-gray, gelatinous substance prepared from ground partly leached acorns, is still a highly prized item of diet. But agriculture gradually shifted emphasis from the oak groves scattered through the highlands—areas generally unsuited to farming—to the river flats, and benches. It seems unlikely, although difficult to prove, that agricultural products alone immediately sup-

plied a larger amount of food than had been previously available from native sources. Luiseño informants today insist that the yield of a mature oak is prodigious, sometimes exceeding a ton of acorns; they estimate that this single foodstuff provided at least 50 per cent of the native diet.

Supporting this contention to some extent is the Luiseño division of labor for the gathering of vegetal foodstuffs. Almost all seeds, roots, bulbs, berries, greens, and other miscellaneous subsistence items were collected by women, while men reserved their energies for hunting. Nevertheless, both sexes without regard to age turned out en masse to harvest the acorn crop which was carried with tumpline and net to large granaries in the villages. The number of harvesters was necessary because of distance, the short harvesting season, and the large yields that were expected to support the population for most of the coming year. Failure to gather and protect the crop would result in its loss to birds and rodents. (Acorns were frequently used as bait to capture or kill another item of diet, wood rats.) These last considerations tend to establish as fact the Luiseño contention that although they were not initially agriculturalists, nevertheless they formed a relatively sedentary population due to their dependence upon the acorn crop and the harvesting and storage problems associated with it.

By means of the tables and other details discussed above, the Juaneño-Luiseño population and territory have been divided into some fifty units. Although the boundaries of most of these are not known, such boundaries did exist and have been partly mapped for Pauma, Kuka, Huyulkum, Pala, and Pechanga (see fig. 1). Each unit contained at least one village, and, in view of the relatively large block of territory involved in each instance, it has seemed appropriate to use the traditional Spanish term "rancheria" as a description. "Rancheria" suggests a fairly sedentary population living in a place in some ways similar to a rancho or town, but with dwellings informally arranged, and without the same political and economic structures. When speaking of the rancheria, the Luiseño use two distinctive but similar-appearing terms: (1) *tch'o'nŭm tcho'mi,* a possessive expression meaning something like "this that is all ours," and (2) *tchŏn tcho'mi,* which conveys a collective sense regarding native use of the land and its resources. The term rancheria may be used in context to mean the population, the land unit, or both.

As an ecological segment, the alignment of a rancheria runs contrary to the present agricultural scheme. By nature, the latter is virtually horizontal; the rancheria on the other hand is vertical for reasons just as compelling. The sierra and riverine terrain comprise a territory marked generally by three different vegetation characteristics. The stream valleys contain most of the water and corresponding vegetation; the steeper hillsides are covered with native chaparral; the upper reaches with flats and saddles—in the instance of Pauma rancheria—were marked by the best oak groves. Foodstuffs matured at different seasons in the different altitudes, further contributing to a vertical ecological arrangement. Thus, each rancheria is composed of several definite topological units, arranged so that all necessary types of terrain are included within its boundaries, for example, oak groves, chaparral-covered slopes, river bottoms, springs, and so forth. None is so large that a man could not reach any part of it on foot in about half a day, starting from the major dwelling site or village; each includes all features neces-

sary for maximum efficiency in the harvesting of food and other resources according to daily need, seasonal availability, accessibility, and defensibility. Of those rancherias mapped or partially mapped, Kuka is largest with about 40 square miles, Pauma contains some 30 square miles, and Huyulkum seems to have been perhaps 20 square miles. It is unfortunate that the mapping could not have been completed for Kuka and Huyulkum, and that only three rancherias have yielded significant information. Based on this scanty evidence, one can assume that the average rancheria covered about 30 square miles of territory. Similar lacunae in the data exist in the estimates of 200 persons for each rancheria and the premission existence of some 50 rancherias. Nevertheless, various details independently discovered are complementary, and thus lend support to the estimates:

1) When the Juaneño-Luiseño cultural and ecological province is inscribed on a United States Geological Survey map, the boundaries describe a rough rectangle conservatively 47.5 miles along the coastal axis, and some 32 miles along the axis perpendicular to the coast.

2) Hence, $47.5 \times 32 = 1{,}520$ square miles—rounded to 1,500 square miles.

3) Then, 1,500 square miles/50 rancherias = 30 square miles per rancheria, a figure that agrees with that actually platted for Pauma.

4) And, 200 persons/30 square miles = 6.7 persons per square mile.

5) Now, if the populace were to subsist entirely on acorns, and

   a) if an oak tree were to produce, not the estimated 2,000 pounds or more of acorns, but only 1,000 pounds,

   b) then 1,000 pounds/365 days = 2.74 pounds of acorns per day, which should surely feed three average persons, considering the nutritive qualities of these nuts.

6) But, assuming that one tree would provide subsistence for only one person, a population density of 6.7 persons per square mile would require a tree density of 6.7 per square mile, each tree providing 1,000 pounds of nuts per annum. The entire rancheria would require 200 bearing trees.

7) And, since acorns have been estimated by informants to have provided only about half the native food supply, the quantity of acorns and the number of trees may be halved: 1.37 pounds per day *or* 3.35 trees per square mile.

Descriptions of the terrain by earlier travelers suggest that the number of oaks was much greater than 3.35 per square mile, but this need not invalidate the population estimate. Among the six species of oaks, the fruit of some was much more esteemed than that of others, so that presumably, except in times of famine, certain varieties were ignored. Furthermore, from time to time natural agencies such as drought or, as informants insist, thunderstorms, and possibly brush fires may have caused a failure of the crop. In such an event both warfare over the remaining crop and starvation would have reduced the population. There is oral as well as other evidence to support the theories of both warfare and starvation; but there is also information to indicate that rancheria populations were fairly large.

Fr. Mariner's diary from the Spanish expedition of 1795 says in part (Hill, 1927:187) that Esecha valley in San Diegueño territory near the Luiseño boundary in the vicinity of modern Escondido:

. . . contains much very good land, with sufficient moisture. In the surrounding foothills there are five very large rancherias. At a league and a half beyond, there is a very large one in which I counted one hundred and nine men, and around it there are three others. The large one is called Samptay Luscat. The valley is covered with liveoaks, common oaks, cottonwoods, sycamores, willows and pines.

Between the sierra and Pamo [valley, San Diego territory] we passed two rancherias containing a great many Indians.

The Pamo valley rancherias may have had boundaries adjacent to Huyulkum and Kuka.

The sex ratio for these people is not known, but it can scarcely have been less than one to one, with a high probability of somewhat more women than men. Assuming that all adult males were present for Fr. Mariner's census, adding an equal number of women indicates an adult population of 218. To this must be added an estimate of the number of children. Fr. Mariner probably used the doctrinal standardization of 1793 (cf. Cook, 1955:42) in his census; hence all persons under the age of ten were considered children. And, says Cook (1955:43): ". . . the children constituted between ten and twenty per cent of the aboriginal population. Since the exact value can never be ascertained, it is wholly reasonable to establish the arbitrary figure of fifteen per cent." In the case of Samptay Luscat, this 15 per cent added to the 218 adult population brings the total to a conservative 250 Indians. Since within two days' travel Fr. Mariner passed nine rancherias of which six were "very large," and the "very large" Samptay Luscat contained at least 250 Indians, and since the terrain and ecology were similar throughout the entire region in question, then an estimate of an average of two hundred persons per rancheria does not seem excessive. If the Juaneño-Luiseño territory contained fifty rancherias, then that people numbered some ten thousand persons.

There is a contemporary account which estimates the population of San Luis Rey at more than that given by Kroeber. Pablo Tac has said (Hewes and Hewes, 1952:12): "In Quechla not long ago there were 5,000 souls, with all their neighbouring lands. Through a sickness that came to California 2,000 souls died and 3,000 were left." Clearly one or more epidemics are indicated. Furthermore, the "5,000" figure seems to be intended for the year 1798 at the founding of the mission, for young Pablo Tac reported elsewhere (Hewes and Hewes, 1952:8):

The Fernandino Father remains in our country with the little troop that he brought. A camp was made and here he lived for many days. In the morning he said Mass, and then he planned how he would baptize them, where he would put his house, the church, and as there were five thousand souls (*who were all the Indians there were*), how he would sustain them . . . (italics supplied).

Tac's estimate of "3,000" survivors agrees substantially with the 1831 neophyte peak of 2,819 at San Luis Rey, and the respective figures were probably communicated to the boy by the priest, perhaps when both made the trip from California to Europe, boarding ship on January 17, 1832 (Hewes and Hewes, 1952:2). The population reduction during the thirty-four years of Fr. Peyri's administration of the mission amounts to about 40 per cent, a surprising 10 per cent below the normal range of 50 per cent losses throughout the mission system as a whole (Engelhardt, 1912 II:593). This suggests that the figures are conservative, per-

haps due to Peyri's policy of keeping some of his people dispersed and of moving villages to the mission only slowly. An additional objection may be raised concerning these statistics. The initial estimate of five thousand was made only in 1798, some twenty-eight years after the establishment of the mission system and the Camino Real. For twenty-two of those years, San Juan Capistrano and the Camino had existed as focuses of infection, and before that San Diego de Alcala had been there. If Peyri lost two-fifths of his population—two thousand souls—during the thirty-four years of his administration, it is not unreasonable to accept a similar figure for population losses during the preceding twenty-eight years, especially since it is known that both earlier missions drew many neophytes from Luiseño territory. The pre-Spanish population of the Luiseño then, may be placed at roughly seven thousand.

To establish a pre-Spanish population of three thousand for the Juaneño, a slightly different approach is used. Initial Spanish estimates of population reserves must have been based upon the rancherias along the coastal strip served by the Camino Real. This is supported by the fact that at least seven of Boscana's fourteen rancherias were located by or near the water. The economy of the coastal peoples must have been directed more toward food products of the sea than of the land. With greater food potentialities, assuming that native technology permitted adequate exploitation, the population could have stabilized at a larger number per rancheria. A densely populated coast would have given great encouragement to the establishment of missions as primary sources of military supply. At any rate, if the San Juan territory had contained only fourteen rancherias and the average population were only two hundred, the total would be twenty-eight hundred, a figure fairly close to the three thousand accepted here as the revised population estimate.

Little or nothing is known about the coastal Juaneño-Luiseño. Naturally, they were the most exposed and therefore the first to suffer extermination by disease and other vicissitudes introduced by the Europeans. Consequently, the estimates upon which this study is based come from an examination of the economy and terrain of the interior. There seems little reason to assign a full 30 square miles of territory to each coastal rancheria, and indeed the locations of Fr. Boscana's seven marine rancherias suggest the exploitation of considerably less land by those people. This has the effect of either increasing the average size of the interior rancherias, or of increasing their number. In either event the situation suggests an increase in the combined estimate of ten thousand aboriginals for the territories of the two missions. Certainly the concatenations of data do not argue in favor of reduction in the estimates. Otherwise, it would be difficult to explain why the grave and intelligent mission fathers undertook to erect the elaborate gardens and stone church at San Juan Capistrano, which was shaken down in the great earthquake of 1812, or to account for the reasons why San Luis Rey became the greatest and wealthiest of all the missions. Ambition can be accepted as a partial answer, but it does not suffice entirely in the face of the vast and disastrous population losses so common to the Spanish missions throughout both Californias.

CHAPTER III

ECONOMY AND WARFARE

THERE IS little need for an extensive discussion of the detailed economy of the Luiseño for it is probably the best known of all Luiseño ethnographic information (Sparkman, 1908; Kroeber, 1925). Nevertheless, the distribution and seasonal availability of food and other resources are guiding considerations in a discussion of the rancheria. I have discovered fresh data concerning land ownership, harvesting, trespass, usufruct rights, and warfare. These yield new insights into intervillage relations as well as the character of smaller units of social organization. The new data suggest a differentiation between a village (war) chief and a religious chief. The latter was concerned with a set of institutionalized duties so comprehensive that he should be regarded as a priest, whereas the former exercised power in economic, political, and intervillage affairs (warfare).

Additional information on terminologies pertaining to the householder helps to differentiate him from the officials and other specialists. Not only do various leaders, village councils, and the social groups or individuals "owning" the land become clearer, but features of status come into play and dichotomous distributional activities appear. Within this framework it becomes possible to trace some of the social controls concerned with resources along with concomitant geographical, ecological, and demographic problems.

The topographical nature of the rancheria delineates some characteristic requirements of a relatively sedentary population. Larger areas would be difficult to defend in the fashion of the Luiseño; greater distances would require a more migratory population if the areas were to be efficiently exploited. The data do not support an argument in favor of a thinly spread, highly migratory, economically poor group.

A large and reasonably dependable seasonal crop, such as that of the live oak, makes a migratory existence both difficult and unnecessary. Like grain, acorns must be harvested in season and stored. The mere caching of food would not argue against a migratory economy, but the cache must be near water for the leaching of acorns and food preparation. (In the winter, immediately following the acorn harvest, there is little other vegetal food on the rancheria, save small and unimportant gleanings on the chaparral-covered hillsides.) Permanent sources of water in sufficient supply are found in only a few localities and therefore limit the choice of village sites.

Several other features favor the establishment of semipermanent villages. The best water sources in the sheltered valleys are also near the warmest general locations in the region. For example, Pauma, the village of the Paumaiyum (water carriers), was formerly located in a sheltered thermal band some distance above the colder valley floor of the San Luis Rey River. The people carried their water from the nearby tributary Pauma Creek, a matter of a few hundred feet. The thermal band in question is now occupied by citrus and avocado groves. In the particular instance of Pauma, the river valley and creek basin provided sites ideally suited for the early spring growth of bulbs, tubers, reeds, buds, berries,

and greens. These were readily exploited from the village site. As the summer and early autumn ripened the seeds and berries in the chaparral, the emphasis and direction of the gathering activities shifted. But the distances remained relatively the same. The more remote and inferior quantities of bulbs, berries, and other locally concentrated foods could be exploited by hunting parties, or were reserved for use during the acorn harvest, war, or famine. Hunting parties were also the mobile guard over the territory.

All these features are complementary. Acorns, as much as 50 per cent of the total food supply, were gathered in late autumn just before the onset of cold weather and the typical southern California rainy season. This food was stored in the village, near permanent water supplies, and in the warmest and most sheltered part of the rancheria. As the seasons progressed, various foods appeared

TABLE 4

FOOD SUPPLY PERCENTAGES—INLAND LUISEÑO

Food type	Percentage
Acorns	25–50
Seeds	15–25
Greens	10–15
Bulbs, roots, and fruits	10–15
Game	15–25
Fish and marine animals	0– 5

first in the swampy or moist parts of the stream bottom-lands close to the village. During the summer and early autumn, various foods became available in the chaparral on the steep hillsides above the village, and at no great distance from it. Only in late autumn did it become necessary for whole population movements over considerable distances, and this was largely confined to the harvesting and transportation of the acorn crop. This enterprise called for concerted efforts by the entire working population regardless of sex or age. Thus, from the seasonal and mountainous characteristics of the economy, it is readily understood how rancherias with vertical rather than horizontal physical arrangements came into being. In relation to the topography, the calendar and climate regulated the geographical and economic arrangements of the rancheria.

Except for the people along the coast, the economies of all rancherias were much the same. Differences in altitude and location of various resources might vary the exact dates upon which some particular food became available, and one of the more esteemed species of live oak might be scarce upon some particular rancheria. But with small exception, the similarity of the region throughout suggests that there was no major difference in the percentages of plant and animal foods consumed. Ignoring these minor differences and various temporary local crop failures, my Luiseño informant, Henry Rodriguez, after long and careful study and many lengthy consultations with the oldest among his people, prepared an estimate (table 4) of use-percentages for the inland rancherias.

It is difficult to form an estimate of use-percentage among the coastal rancherias, but, based on table 4, on reconstructions of the coastal flora and fauna, and on

an assumed orientation toward the sea and its supplies of food, the tentative estimates in table 5 seem reasonable.

Before the deforestation and clearing of the lowland canyons, some supplies of the more typical inland foods must have been available to the coastal dwellers. Certainly permanent supplies of fresh water were present. The coastal people probably fished from balsas (Holder, 1910:17) and subsisted in part on clams and other beach marine fauna.

Among the interior Luiseño, land use was patterned. Only a small amount of the total territory seems to have been left in disuse. Though areas such as rockslides and barren mudflows provided little food, they usually had mythological associations of frequent reference. Sheer rock faces and crags sometimes provided

TABLE 5

FOOD SUPPLY PERCENTAGES—COASTAL LUISEÑO

Food type	Percentage
Acorns	10–25
Seeds	5–10
Greens	5–10
Bulbs, roots, and fruits	10–15
Game	5–10
Fish and marine animals	50–60

an eagle eyrie from which young birds were gathered periodically to serve as victims in the eagle-killing ceremony. Considering all categories of use (historical, ceremonial, mythological, hunting and gathering of food and other supplies), those land areas regarded as worthless must not have amounted to more than 5 per cent of the total land in the region.

The Luiseño have a strong and well-developed sense of ownership. This is particularly remarkable in the nontangible properties such as individually or familially owned songs, magic formulae, and ceremonial forms. These nontangible properties are invariably old Luiseño and are surrounded with elaborate moral, ethical, and supernatural sanctions. In the area of ownership of material cultural items and land, some characteristics of Spanish-Mexican and Anglo-American values can be seen. Nevertheless, although value orientation toward some specific details may vary from the old Luiseño, the general pattern of early Luiseño value systems can be clearly distinguished. It would be technically untrue to say the old Luiseño value orientation toward material things parallels that toward nontangible property. The reason is that the Luiseño did not discriminate between the two categories. The attitudes were practically the same toward both tangible and nontangible properties, and were so strong as to suggest cupidity well-larded with supernaturalism. For example, some items were so highly prized that upon the death of the owner the property was burned or destroyed. This restored it to the deceased and avoided punitive action by his ghost (White, 1953:569).

There are at least four classes of ownership concepts:

1) the collective ownership of the rancheria;

2) specific areas used by the population as a whole;
3) properties and resources exploited by groups of relatives;
4) individual possessions.

The first of these makes distinctions between rancherias. The whole area of the rancheria along with its economic and religious resources was specified by the expression tch'o'num tcho'mi, meaning approximately "all ours." It denotes both possessiveness and in-group collective ownership. The term also implies those organized institutions by means of which the rancheria was defended by arms and witchcraft from all strangers.

The second class of ownership concepts refers to certain large territories collectively owned and used by the entire population of the rancheria under a system of management and control by a chief. The Luiseño called these territories tchon tcho'mi. One such Pauma rancheria territory containing oak trees was called Ashonax. The term stresses the idea of collective use of specific districts rather than possessiveness applied to the rancheria itself. The chief who supervised the gathering and distribution of vegetal resources from the tchon tcho'mi and who also made war was called the *tchumu' tushnakut.* These details help clarify some of Boscana's (1933:43) statements:

> The captain [chief] was authorized to decide upon all differences occurring between his *rancheria* and the neighboring towns, to declare war ... the hunting of game, and the collecting of grain. ... They had a *pul* ... who knew ... the time to celebrate the feasts ... In the same manner, was made known the time to collect grain, and to hunt; but he who advised the captain, was one originally endowed with the power of providing their game, herbs, etc. ... On such occasions, all turned out in quest of food—men, women, boys and girls. ... the greater part of their acquisitions was deposited with the captain, who took care of the same for the feast. ... In their ordinary excursions for game, the captain was obliged to hunt for his own subsistence, and although he frequently received a portion of the finds of others, such gifts were not obligatory.

The captain could be deposed for misappropriation of supplies. The autumnal collection of the acorn harvest was accomplished in the same manner described by Fr. Boscana for feasts, but the nuts were distributed to the populace over a longer period of time. The aforesaid "pul" responsible for increase of "game, herbs, etc." held his ability as a property belonging to the rancheria as a whole and could not under pain of supernatural sanctions fail to exercise his function. Since his was one of several such sets of powers and specializations, this form of ownership of nontangible property is almost identical to that of the tchon tcho'mi. Hunting parties, it should be noted, confined their activities to the rancheria, but without regard to the various divisions and subdivisions of territory or ownership.

The tchon tcho'mi (collectively owned areas) were not exclusively exploited for vegetal foods. For example, Tomka', a Pauma-owned district below Pala on the San Luis Rey River, is said to have been Pauma's only source of good arrow stone, and was considered a tchon tcho'mi. It is also said to have served as a way station for the people of Pauma during their periodic visits to the ocean for clams, fish, and other marine life. Supporting this last point is the fact that the site contains a much higher percentage of crustacean shell (presumably dropped or discarded on the homeward trip) than does Pauma itself (D. L. True, personal communication). Parenthetically, Wissler and Steffens (personal communication) obtained a similar story of periodic visits to the ocean from Diegueño inform-

ants at Mesa Grande, and Harrington (1933:113) has described the route taken by the people of Temescal Canyon through San Juan Capistrano to the beach. The route taken by the Pauma people is conjectural, but they probably carefully avoided contact with the people of the rancherias upon which they presumably trespassed. It is claimed—although the location is now unknown—that the people of Pauma owned a tchon tcho'mi on the ocean shore.

The third class of ownership concepts refers to certain limited areas, each called a *tungva,* translated by informants as "garden." There are two varieties of tungva: (1) plots used by and generally recognized as belonging to a particular family group, and (2) specialized tungva. The latter "garden" involved usufruct rights belonging to some individual engaged in witchcraft. What was gathered might be some medicinal plant, or even some variety of rock crystal peculiar to the region (Heizer and Treganza, 1940:332). The specialized tungva might be created or pass out of existence, might coincide with, overlap, or be contained within any other recognized land use area, but since the substances gathered were specialized and excluded food, no conflict of interests occurred. This type of tungva was inherited by the individual to whom the medicine man passed his special knowledge.

The plots used by a particular family group usually contained various floral features, including oak trees, and were used largely by wives and unmarried daughters. These subsistence tungva seem to have been inherited patrilineally and used patrilocally. The possessive sense of the term tungva seems to have been extended to include the possessors in the term *tunglam* (*tunglŭm*) which Kroeber (1925:686) found to be applied to the family groups or "clans." The extent to which the tchon tcho'mi collectively owned areas were divided into tungva is unknown.

The expression *no ki' no tungva* translates roughly as "my household and its personally used 'gardens'." *No ekh* means "my land." *No ki' no awĭsh* is both more general and more possessive. Depending upon context this expression translates variously as "my-household-my-living," "my-household-my-being," "my-household/house-my-existence." It can refer to economic well-being, and variations appear in expressions of greeting such as "are you well?" Ki', meaning household (or, loosely, house), seems to combine the sense of physical location and material culture with social grouping such as is found in the British expression, "The House of Windsor." Awish, on the other hand seems to contain the same stem as is found in *awlkŭt,* any female who "marries-out," and *k'awlkŭtŭm,* collectively all females who have so married. It is almost certain that the Luiseño were at least bilateral, if not bilineal, in their manner of reckoning kinship, and the expression no ki' no awish is a strong indication that the female principle entered into their thinking on the subject.

Associated with the tungva level of ownership concepts are a number of items having to do with householding. The house, called the *kitcha,* and its appurtenances are under the control of a male head called the *kikŭt.* The term kikut is also applied to any person living in the house by persons not belonging to the particular group—presumably as an honorific mode of address. Currently, *kiktŭm* (plural) is the term for nuclear family. Groups of closely related *kikŭtŭm* (also plural) probably established their homes fairly close to each other out of consider-

ation for the patrilocal rule and also for the sharing of certain fixed facilities such as bedrock mortars. The patrilocal rule and clustering is by no means obvious in Boscana's writings (1934:35):

> Although the town or rancheria was built without order or symmetry, since everyone placed his house where was most convenient for him, nevertheless the house of the chief got to be located at about the middle of the town, and adjacent to the house they built the *Vanquex* . . .

The "Vanquex" is the wamkish, a community-owned ceremonial enclosure (White, 1953:572). Besides this structure, however, there were a number of implements worked into the nearby outcropping boulders. These are *ila,* smooth bedrock metates; *ilapal,* bedrock mortar with shallow offset to one side (for temporary storage of seeds, acorns or condiments during pulverizing for food preparation); *topal,* bedrock or so-called "portable" mortar; *waxmelĭsh,* shallow bedrock basin for drying acorns and seeds preparatory to grinding (and covered with a basket when in use); *tota patchhamĭsh,* large basin and adjacent smoothed areas perhaps for soaking and dressing skins, reeds, and other basketry materials; and *lawalawax,* pitted boulder for sharpening wooden and bone points. This information, gathered in conjunction with Meighan's archaeological expedition at Maulpa, yields some insights into the old social organization.

The pitted boulder functioned something like a pencil sharpener and was free to be used by anyone, particularly male, who had a wooden arrow point to manufacture. Apparently the tota patchhamish, a large basin for treating hides and basketry materials, was also community owned. But the number and nature of the bedrock mortars and metates suggest a form of ownership more like that of the tungva. Boscana implies that the house was occupied primarily by the nuclear family, and the size, as limited by reed and brush construction, would tend to confirm this view, yet the number of bedrock mortars is less than if each nuclear household had possessed one exclusively. In the light of the intensity of ownership and usufruct concepts among the Luiseño, the question arises as to what kinship and other social organizational principles produced such a result.

An immediate answer lies in the fact that these Indians practiced both the levirate and sororal polygyny; thus, sisters who were married to brothers, and two or more sisters married to the same man, could use the same family-owned permanent food preparation implements without frictions arising from ownership values. But other principles also apply. The Luiseño were patrilocal and patrilineal. Hence (contrary to Boscana, see above) the construction of the town, however much without apparent "order or symmetry" and no matter how much "everyone placed his house where was most convenient to him," must have contained clusters of closely related families.

An additional question now arises. Did these clusters make for the extended family? If so, is this the meaning of the term kikutum, a group of closely related families, as contrasted to kiktum, the nuclear family? There is evidence to support an affirmative view. For example, Gifford's (1922:60–61) uncertain entity "clan" might represent the nearest English equivalent to the kikutum. Further, certain other data indicate that a girl "marrying-in" is in fact becoming a member of a group in which her mother's mother, *tu'* (and mother's father, *kwa'*), are to be

found. Since the relationship between tu' and the female ego marrying-in is recognized (in spite of the fact that at the birth of the girl the maternal grandfather, kwa', had "given-her-up," that is, had ceremonially removed her from his patrilineage), the social distance between females must have been quite close. Thus, several features are at work to reinforce simple patrilocality and patrilineality in the formation of the kikutum, and to support the view that this entity is indeed the extended family. The manner in which the in-marrying females were related to each other tended to eliminate problems arising from ownership concepts and use-rules such as those applied to the bedrock mortars and metates.

The fourth class of ownership concepts refers to personally owned property. Material possessions include most objects of personal manufacture, and probably some goods acquired by trading. Among personal possessions are items such as the bow and arrow, fishhooks (often made of a fire-softened and shaped cactus needle barbed in the familiar manner by several small cuts near the point with a stone knife, and attached to a leader bound to the shank with a bit of bitumen), nets, rabbit sticks, clothing (if any), articles of personal adornment, insignia of rank, and all implements involved in the personal pursuit of witchcraft. Although any personal property could be given away or traded by a living owner nearly all such treasured objects were burned upon the death of the owner. The penalty for failure to restore personal property to the deceased by burning is the continued presence of an unhappy ghost. Currently, this burning is symbolically performed in a rite called the clothes-burning ceremony or *tchoiyĭsh* (White, 1953:569).

Punishment for violation of any of the four types of property ownership was prompt. It could take either a corporeal or a supernatural form. The rules were generally observed as moral obligations, but enforcement was swift and vigorous where necessary. An unhappy ghost wandering about demanding its property was so greatly feared that gifts were generally thrown into the funeral fire for good measure. Although the arduous rituals for sending the ghost away were recognized as property belonging to the particular group responsible for their performance (probably the moiety), and although the knowledge and paraphernalia for the performance were retained and transmitted lineally in the families of the responsible officials, exercise of the duties and rituals by their "owner" could not be refused.

Violation of usufruct rights at the "garden" and collective tchon tcho'mi levels was handled by special ceremonies. Disputes over the tungva involving two or more heads of households were settled by a special ceremony called the *tchelahĭsh* (White, 1957:6). This ceremony involved public accusation, confession, and debate. It could involve nonmaterial possessions as well as real estate, and the amicable settlement of differences was assured under penalty of supernatural sanction. Little is known about the forms of ceremonial action for violations at the level of the tchon tcho'mi, collectively owned gathering areas, but difficulties seem to have been settled by the ceremonial cycle called the *notahĭsh*. This cycle, involving virtually all persons in the rancheria, was also required if any group failed to meet its ceremonial obligations. This level of ceremony and ritual with its associated nonmaterial possessions seems to involve moieties, each with a set of officials headed by a *not*^{h}, or religious chief.

Examination of the implications of ownership concepts and usufruct rules and rights at the level of interrancheria relationships brings many new insights into Luiseño social organization. For instance, the settlement of differences between rancherias took the form of war, the outcome of which was celebration of a ceremony (*maxhahĭsh*) for the restoration of peace. Although interrancheria rivalries undoubtedly existed as a permanent state of affairs (witch doctors with the proper powers continually took magical precautions to prevent trespass and destruction or theft of food), it seems doubtful that warfare erupted without some cause that was felt to be crucial to rancheria well-being. A major cause of war undoubtedly was trespass and unauthorized appropriation of foods. It should be pointed out in this connection that witchcraft played a large role in interrancheria relations, and espionage is said to have been practiced almost continuously. Death rather than injury to opponents was desired, and to this end it is said that detachable stone points were always mounted on the arrows so that they could not be removed from the wound. Wooden arrow points were reserved for hunting, presumably because supplies of good arrow stone were short.

Such a state of affairs is in excellent agreement with high population estimates. Under normal conditions, the population would tend to expand until it was equal to its food resources. Overexpansion would tend to make one rancheria population dangerous to another. The food quest might then include pilfering from the neighbors, that is, trespass. Furthermore, the overpopulated rancheria would be formidable in warfare. This latter factor may account for the fragile alliances sometimes arranged between some rancherias when warring with another. The killing or permanent maiming of as many opponents as possible thus became a very practical item of rancheria security. A further consequence of this state of affairs is the development of virtual rancheria endogamy. On several grounds it now becomes believable when informants insist that women marrying-in from other rancherias were regarded with suspicion, and instances cited where such women served as spies during hostilities with the rancherias of their origin. It should also be noted that such an in-marrying female had no female kin within her husband's group, and thus the way was open for many frictions to arise, particularly over the use of bedrock mortars and metates.

Still other implications are involved. It is known that there were occasional partial failures of the acorn crop. These were often local, due to variations in climate, insects, birds, rodents, and the like. For example, it is said that a local thunderstorm could injure acorn blossoms in one grove while leaving those in a neighboring area unharmed. An unseasonal frost could similarly affect the groves. For large populations, even mild crop failures were disastrous unless it proved possible to get permission to use food surpluses of a neighboring rancheria—if such surpluses existed. Under these circumstances warfare becomes an agency of ecology, and the Luiseño social organization should be expected to have permanent machinery for this agency. The combined office of war chief and grove manager (*tchumu' tushnakut*), an assistant (*tushnakut pŏngawĭsh*), various other officials with warfare specialties, a war council (*puplŭm*), and a society of warriors (*pumelŭm*), are among such developments. Although most such institutions have long since faded, there remain some data that make understanding of this part of Luiseño life and social organization clearer.

Both Sparkman (1908:190) and Strong (1929:279) mention the use of sorcery and arms to enforce stringent trespass rules. For example, Strong (1929:284–285), in recording a story that he says "seems to be a combination of migration legend and general Luiseño creation myth," includes this significant fragment in the introduction:

When the kēenīc people [same as Kengichum, "ground squirrels"] came to the site of Pauma another family the kalaks [the Kalaks are now an important family at Rincon] were living there, so the keenic people hid and watched them. Finally the kalaks saw them and came up and talked to them. The keenic people asked if they might stay there also for there were many acorns. They had to do this, for in the old days each family (clan) had a territory marked by rocks and they killed all trespassers . . .

Whether the Kalaks were ever an integral part of Pauma rancheria is open to question. But the emphasis on acorns in the Luiseño economy, a clear-cut concern for territoriality, the principle of trespass rules, a suggestion of competition for food, and the role of the village as a semipermanent dwelling site are all either stated or implied in the story.

The furious nature of war is cited in the Tac manuscript recently found in Rome and published by Hewes and Hewes (1952:7):

Before going to war they used to paint themselves in order to be terrible to the enemy, and they would surprise the enemy either when he was sleeping or when the men were leaving the house, the women remaining alone; and they would kill the women, old people and children. This done, they burned the camp fleeing to their homes. . . . The life of that time was very miserable because there was always strife.

The young Luiseño further reported that the traditional enemy were the Diegueño, but this was more than likely due to the location of his natal village than to any preferred enemy among the rancherias.

Through the eyes of a priest, Boscana, warfare was seen somewhat differently (1933:69):

War was never waged by them for conquest, but for revenge, and in many cases for some affront given to their ancestors, which had remained unavenged. Their quarrels and disputes arose from trivial motives for their wealth was trifling . . . When . . . a chief neglected to return the customary present . . . [or] if an Indian of one place stole anything from one of another place . . . it was sufficient among them to cause a war.

Aside from Boscana's value judgments, the information complements that of Tac and Strong. The priest adds quarrels, disputes, affronts, revenge, and failure to reciprocate in the ceremonial giving of gifts to theft as causes of war, and there is little reason to doubt that these grievances were present. But underlying all of these was the grim possibility of starvation, especially on the part of the inland rancherias.

As to the procedures used at the beginning or resumption of warfare, Boscana adds (1933:43):

In the case of a declaration of war, he [the chief] convoked the *puplem* and explained his intentions. A consultation was then held, to decide whether they alone could carry on the warfare without the assistance of the neighboring tribes . . .

This consultation included not only an examination of food resources and man-

power, but also of witchcraft powers that could be brought to bear. Each specialist in the council of puplem reported on his capabilities and upon the most likely form of counterwitchcraft. If all necessary ingredients for success were not present or could not be procured, warfare was likely to be deferred. A major exception to this consultation procedure was the spontaneous outbreak of hostilities due to the discovery of trespass and violation of usufruct rights. An important story of an eighteenth century war with Pechanga has survived at Pauma. Briefly, the war is described as follows by Rejinaldo Pachito and Max Peters.

An important part of the Pechanga people's Palomar Mountain acorn crop failed because (it is thought) of local thunderstorms while the trees were in blossom. Since nearby areas belonging to the Pauma people had an unusually good crop, someone was sent to request gathering privileges. At Pauma village the assistant war chief (tushnakut pongawish) granted permission, and Pechanga accordingly set a picking crew into the Pauma-owned grove called Shronga. News of the negotiations had not reached a Pauma group working at nearby Ashonax, however, and the "trespassers" were attacked. Pechanga suffered severe casualties including the killing of a fifteen-year-old boy who had been training as a highly specialized *totowĭsh* dancer. The Pauma "sharpshooter," named Tukwut Piksul (Lion's "Tail"), accomplished this. He ignored the efforts of the boy's father to explain the situation. A state of war existed.

The next battle of this war was fought near Pauma village. Not far away at a place called Unila (near the junction of Pauma Creek and the San Luis Rey River) a part of the population had taken refuge inside a large Opuntia cactus "fortress," while a roving detachment kept up a series of movements designed to protect the village and possibly to ambush the Pechanga forces. Very early one morning the crying of an infant belonging to one of the Pauma women exposed their position, and Pechanga attacked at once. In the confusion the "sharpshooter" could not find his magic arrows and began a search for them. Someone was sent to the "fortress" for reinforcements, and in the meantime the Pechanga detachment concentrated its fire upon a Pauma boy of about fifteen who was also in training as a totowish dancer. The boy's mother got in the line of fire and was killed. Just at this point the "sharpshooter" found his arrows and shot them in the four cardinal directions and up and down. This worked witchcraft of some sort, and the Pechanga force fell down paralyzed just as the Unila reinforcements arrived. Before any of the Pechanga people were killed, however, an important old man (*pula,* medicine man), called a truce (*kukĭsh*) in the hope that an act of clemency might eliminate the youthful totowish dancer (his son) as a specific target. The Pechanga people recovered from their paralysis and were allowed to return home.

The next engagement took place at Tomka', some distance down the San Luis Rey River. The "sharpshooter" and a Pauma detachment had gone there to procure special stone to manufacture more arrows. The outcropping, however, was in an exposed position so they were seen. A Pechanga woman married to someone at Pala immediately reported the activities of the group to Pechanga, and a detachment was sent to Tomka'. The Pechangaiyum crept to within a fairly short range without being detected. Since it was raining, the Pauma "sharpshooter's" sinew became wet and useless. As soon as he stepped into a house to change the sinew,

the Pechanga warriors attacked. During this battle, which Pauma lost, Tukwut Piksul, the "sharpshooter," was struck in the back of the neck with the butt end of an arrow and injured (by sorcery) in such a way that his head began to bob up and down uncontrollably. This eventually "took him to his death."

The final battle took place near Pechanga. Pauma had acquired allies, and the battle plan seems to have involved the double procedure of the Pauma forces besieging the Pechanga cactus retreat while the allies pursued Pechanga's roving war party. Soon the allies tired, however, and departed, leaving Pauma with its depleted forces to carry on the struggle alone. The arrow-shooting procedure of producing paralysis was used by Pechanga, and the Pauma forces were all rendered incapable of movement. At this point the Pauma war chief (Takowshish) attempted to call a truce, but was refused. Wakaterat, the Pechanga war chief, known to be a killer, made preparations to shoot them all to death. But, knowing that this Wakaterat was reputed to have been sired by an unhuman and inhumane spirit, and thus to be incapable of mercy, the Pauma chief publicly accused him of it. At this the Pechanga chief "put up his arrows" to prove that his human parentage was not truly in question, and the Pauma people were allowed to retire. The latter, however, had been so weakened in the various engagements that it was decided to sue for peace. A messenger was sent to Pechanga to carry the news and to make arrangements for a meeting of the war chiefs. The Pauma chief and his council then went to Pechanga, pipes were ceremonially smoked, exchanged, and smoked again, while the chiefs discussed details of the forthcoming maxhahish ceremony.

According to arrangement, the Pauma people went to Pechanga on the appointed day and assembled in the wamkish (religious structure). There they were feasted by the hosts, and in the evening began to sing songs of hate called *nokwanĭsh alumĭsh,* or *nochĭsh* ("nasty names"). The war chief, Takowshish, of Pauma accompanied his singers, keeping time with his turtle rattle, and the Pechanga people stood quietly until all was finished. Certain obscene dances called *tchelopĭsh* were also performed at this time. When all was finished, and every evil or insulting song completed, the Pauma war chief took his turtle rattle into which all of the hatred and aggression had been "concentrated," pounded it into pieces, and buried it in the Pechanga wamkish. Later the maxhahish ceremony was repeated, but with the roles reversed: The Pechanga people performed and the Pauma people were the hosts.

When all was concluded, not only had peace been restored, but "alliance" had been established. It is understood that this so-called alliance opened the way for marriages to take place between residents of the two rancherias. Such marriages, however, were fragile, a fact that opens the way to an important question. In the face of famine threatened by the failure of Pechanga's acorn crop on Palomar Mountain, did not such marriages merely represent the means by which "war reparations" were levied upon the vanquished? It could constitute an effective way of reducing the number of mouths to be fed at Pechanga while at the same time increasing temporarily the population of Pauma. In the year it took for the food crisis to pass would not frictions and animosities among the females at Pauma lead to the ejection or departure of Pechanga women?

Parenthetically, it is interesting that the disposition of children from such marriages depended upon both patrilineality and certain magical determinations made at birth. The father's father (*ka'*) could claim the child as being of his own lineage, whereupon it would be raised by the mature females in his extended family, or the magical determinations could show the child to be alien, whereupon it would accompany its mother back to Pechanga. This same principle of magical determinations made at birth is responsible for the reputation of Wakaterat, the war chief of Pechanga who was accused of having been sired by a spirit, and it also enters into the circumstances surrounding the founding of Rejinaldo Pachito's line of religious chiefs. It will be recalled that Sheiyutl, founder of the line, was raised under peculiar circumstances suggesting that his paternity was in question. His marriage to the daughter of the old chief, not^{h}, also suggests that Sheiyutl had inherited very great powers. The Pachito (Soktchum) line traces its powers from this progenitor.

It is worth noting that Pechanga-Pauma war has been remembered in very great detail. In contrast, a later war between Pauma and Pakwi (?) is scarcely remembered at all. Even the name of the rancheria is uncertain. In the former, Pauma was defeated; in the latter, Pauma was wholly victorious.

The story of the Pechanga-Pauma war is particularly instructive in regard to certain offices, powers, and duties. The specialist roles played by the totowish dancer and the "sharpshooter" are important. The ability of the old pula to call a truce is (in agreement with Boscana's statement above) illustrative of the powers exercised by the rancheria council and its membership. The fact that the assistant war chief possessed the authority to permit Pechanga to enter the grove at Shronga confirms the powers of the war chief to manage the communally owned groves. The problem of paternity, whether biological or sociological, is brought forth. The role of the female acting as a spy when married outside her own rancheria is illustrated. The emphasis on, and believed consequences of, witchcraft are eloquently portrayed. Local failure of the acorn crop and the stress on trespass rules are demonstrated. Above all, certain hitherto confusing elements of Luiseño social structure are shown concretely.

By careful and lengthy investigations I have uncovered in the modern Luiseño social pattern fragments of the old secret war society, the pumelum. Similarly, much abbreviated and vitiated elements of the war council (pupulum) have been found. War specialists, as such, have not been identified. Parenthetically, forest and brush-land fire fighting may constitute a modern surrogate for warfare. The remnants of the secret war society form the nucleus of a fire brigade, and all other pursuits are eagerly abandoned in event of fire. Better pay and superior working conditions can hardly be used as arguments to explain the observed attitudes toward battling a furious California brush fire. Nor do these explain the resentment and envy expressed when Zuni, Navaho, or Apache fire-fighting groups are imported.

However this may be, a very important contribution made by the Pechanga-Pauma war story is the set of implications surrounding the war chief and his assistant. Since the title of the assistant, tushnakut pongawish, means generally "little chief," a superordinate-subordinate relationship between the war chief and

his assistant is established. This agrees with early writings on the Juaneño-Luiseño which almost invariably refer to the chief in the singular. In one statement Boscana (1933:41) even went so far as to describe the form of government of these Indians as "monarchial." Furthermore, a power pyramid of officials engaged in food increase, grove management, and warfare would tend to operate efficiently only with a single individual at the apex.

Difficulties arise, however, when the modern office of "chief" is examined. This office not only possesses no such powers—even in vitiated form—but most of the data strongly suggest that the modern "chief" enjoys as his province of powers only those pertaining to what might be termed the rites of passage. Above all, the information suggests that the modern chiefs are paired in a moiety arrangement which interlocks with the kinship system, and were so paired in the past. (In power and prestige they are considered equal.) Furthermore, subordinate to the modern chiefs are additional officials, also paired in the moiety arrangement. Clearly, rather than being a power pyramid of officials such as seems to have existed in the war and economics pattern, the modern structure is a parallelogram. The problem of untangling and clarifying this situation has much to do with the reconstruction of Luiseño social organization as a whole. Hence, even though evidence in some areas falls short of being completely satisfying, various concatenations of details and events prompt the acceptance of the apparent existence of both pyramid and parallelogram structures at the pre-Spanish horizon. Among the details and events which point to this view appear: (1) The late-eighteenth-century Pauma medicine man, Awkuta Poklao, a maker of nontypical tripod pots, (2) Meighan's archaeological expedition at Maulpa during which such a pot came to light, and (3) the ethnographical and archaeological materials collected at Pauma, both in conjunction with the "dig," and with Poklao's activities in the Pechanga-Pauma war described above.

Sometime during the early part of the twentieth century an area in the thermal band near Old Pauma village site was planted with citrus trees. During this operation, Awkuta Poklao's individual house site was disturbed, and a number of tripod pots or sherds of tripods came to light and to the attention of the Indians. (It was frequently the habit of powerful medicine men to establish solitary shelters some distance from the village proper in order to practice their magical arts in privacy.) The people of Pauma at that time recognized the peculiar pottery as being some sort of magical agency. They identified (by inquiry among the old people) the individual responsible for its manufacture, and, as far as could be determined, the use and effectiveness of such a pot. In his independent archaeological survey of the region, D. L. True also examined the site and retrieved sherds of an anomalous type which, after the collection of the above information, were reëxamined and conceded to resemble pot legs, and so forth. Mr. True had not discussed his finds with the Indians.

The information concerning the pot came to light after such a vessel was found in a crevice between some high outcropping boulders at the site of Maulpa (a part of the Kuka complex). Pachito (religious chief at Pauma and informant) protested that in spite of its appearance, the vessel was not the work of a child, and that its purpose was genocide. In use, the pot was put in a high place and filled

with "horrible" materials that generated a poisonous magical effluvium. Like heavy gas, this effluvium then flowed down over the surrounding site of Maulpa and exterminated all human life within its reach. Although he showed confirmative conviction, as an informant Pachito was much too conservative to state positively that the pot was responsible for the abandonment of Maulpa, or that Awkuta Poklao was the manufacturer of that particular tripod pot.

Yet there are bits of evidence—some purely negative—that Poklao may indeed have been responsible for the pot, whatever its putative effectiveness. For example, up to the date of the find, Mr. True, in spite of the intensiveness and extensiveness of his archaeological survey, could recall no instance in which sherds and "potlegs" similar to those found upon the site of Poklao's house had been discovered elsewhere. It does not seem that the making of tripod pottery has ever been a characteristic of the Juaneño-Luiseño. Moreover, pottery making was the work of women; Poklao's is the only instance known in which a man made pottery.

What has all this to do with chieftainships and social structure? Again, some of the evidence is negative, but the approach is through dating. On the basis of surface finds, Meighan was able to assign a terminal date of between 1780 and 1820 to Maulpa. By the earlier date San Juan Capistrano was an operating institution, complete with some Spanish soldiers and several Mexican artisans who served as instructors to the indigenes (Engelhardt, 1922:244). This could have been the source of Poklao's inspiration for the form of his genocidal pot. It has been pointed out that witchcraft played a strong role in warfare. The new cultural forms to be found at the mission must have appeared competitively attractive to an inland medicine man who worked up the courage to "spy" upon the mission, for such new forms would undoubtedly have seemed to contain great sorcery.

But why otherwise select the earlier mission and an earlier dating rather than San Luis Rey which began operations in 1798? For the answer to this, we must turn to details found in Pachito's chiefly lineage. Grandfather Jose Pachito (Kroeber, 1906: Old Pachito—informant) seems to have died sometime during the first decade of the twentieth century at over ninety years of age. This would place his birth around 1810–1815. Jose's predecessor (and father) adopted the name "Antonio" when as an "old man" he was baptized at Mission San Luis Ray. Antonio is said to have assisted in the construction of the mission buildings and, incidentally, to have been inducted by the local Luiseño into the mani rites (which involve the swallowing of toloache, a narcotic infusion of Datura *meteloides,* and which was then spreading into Luiseño territory).

Now, this same Antonio was a lad of thirteen years when the Pechanga-Pauma war was fought, and the same Awkuta Poklao, at that time an "old man," was making his "horrible" pots. One such pot was used as a container in which it is said a mixture of pulped deer liver and rattlesnake venom was prepared for the poisoning of arrows. If we arbitrarily date the war at 1785, then Antonio would have been twenty-eight years old in 1800, when the San Luis Rey Mission buildings were being erected, and he would have been only thirty-eight to forty-three years old when his son, Jose Pachito, was born. Thus, the details confirm each other. Further, the Spanish peace that followed the founding of San Luis Rey, and particularly of the Assistencia San Antonio de Pala in 1816, discourages the

adoption of the decade 1810–1820 as the period of the Pechanga-Pauma war and of the "debaucle" at Maulpa. With Antonio only thirteen years old at the time of the war he could hardly have been an "old man" ten years or so earlier at the building of San Luis Rey.

All this has been introduced into the discussion to give a sense of the validity of some of the early mission ethnological materials, and to present one additional set of features bearing upon whether the Luiseño institutional arrangements involved both a pyramid of war officials headed by one paramount chief, and a rectangular organization of paired officials under the supervision of paired religious chiefs. Under close questioning Pachito vigorously denied that either Antonio or *his* father was the war chief named Takowshish of Pauma at the time of the Pechanga-Pauma war; nor did either of them bear the title or rank of assistant war chief. This is reaffirmed by the fact that Pachito was taught (by his grandfather) the names of all eight predecessor religious chiefs of his patrilineage, and although he can no longer recall the names of the first four, he is certain that Takowshish was never one of them. This can only mean that Antonio, who was number five of the line, and *his* father, who was number four, both of whom had chiefly rank, were religious chiefs, not war chiefs. Conversely, the office of paramount war chief did exist, but headed a different institutional structure.

It has been shown that strong reasons exist for thinking that the pre-Spanish populations of the Juaneño-Luiseño were large, and that they occupied autonomous hunting-gathering areas called rancherias. Ecologically, the population filled its niche to the limits established by optimal conditions. The rancherias were regulated in location, area, and population by distance, topographical features, and the flora and fauna natural to each relatively balanced territory. Periodically, climate and other natural agencies led to low food supplies. This led in turn to disturbances among the population, and warfare among the rancherias. The adjustments that evolved form a pattern that lends insights into the nature of Luiseño social organization.

Trespass rules and usufruct rights are associated with strong concepts of ownership. Within the rancheria, problems arising from these are partly accommodated by certain kinship organizational principles, and by an institutionalized system of crop management under the control of a paramount chief. This same chief and a group of subordinate officials formed the leadership in warfare between the rancherias.

Difficulties arise when comparing the powers of the war chief of the early mission times and the modern Luiseño chief. Although the former seems clearly to have headed a pyramidal organization, the latter is found only in the moieties. It has been shown that some justification exists for the view that both systems once existed together, and that almost all the institutionalized war organization has disappeared, leaving only remnants of the religious system headed by the present religious chiefs. This problem will be examined in detail in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV

RELIGION AND ITS ROLE

THAT RELIGION frequently shows great resistance to change and is deeply involved in the social structure as well as the psychological patterns of a culture has been repeatedly demonstrated in anthropology. This is also true for the Luiseño. A rich body of the central characteristics of the old native religion has persisted in spite of missionary influence for nearly two centuries.

Many features of the old Luiseño culture have been preserved, such as the names and uses of food plants, hunting techniques, geographical locations, and use of stone implements. But an outline of the old indigenous social organization has proved difficult to trace. The probable reason is that the modern Luiseño has not generally thought of his social organization as a matter apart from his religion. Any concerted effort to extract from informants data upon social organization, past or present, immediately becomes intricately enmeshed in problems of theology.

Where Luiseño tenacity in the maintenance of religion and religious organization has succeeded, some portion of the larger forms of social organization may be detected. These appear to involve moieties with dichotomous sets of religious officials and reciprocal ceremonial and economic arrangements. Indirectly there are also implications of moiety exogamy, village endogamy, and other important features that in practice had almost disappeared a full century ago.

Personal character studies made in the light of cosmological details reveal a complex structuring of society and the environment, preoccupation with supernatural adjustments between the two, and a rather Malthusian view of population density and the food supply. All these considered in terms of structurally ordered items of fragmentary information lead to the view that a separate nondichotomous "secular" organization of officials once also existed simultaneously with that devoted exclusively to religion. The disappearance of this secular group may be largely attributed to missionary practices, and is probably responsible for the sharp differences to be found in a comparison of the works of Fr. Boscana and modern scholars. Without the hypothesis of a nondichotomous group of "secular" officials (whose duties contained more emphasis upon economic and political than religious controls), any attempt to resolve the differences between scholars separated by a full century is extremely difficult, if not impossible. The information elicited in recent field work tends to confirm both early and late views.

That both the early and late studies of the Luiseño agree with a general reconstructable pattern is not immediately obvious. This lack is brought about through two basic characteristics of Luiseño religion: intricacy of religious structure, and secrecy. This is not to imply that in all instances secrecy results from a deliberate conspiracy of silence or misdirection, although it cannot be claimed that the Indians have *not* taken full advantage of the confusion existing upon the part of their protagonists. The secrecy issues from causes far deeper than any superficial evasions. It lies in the nature of the religious concepts, and the inadequate vehicles of "translation" conventionally used to convey Luiseño thought into English or Spanish. Fuller understanding has become possible only since the imminent extinction of his religious organization motivated religious chief (not[h]) Rejinaldo

Pachito to make his knowledge a matter of history. The Luiseño community as a whole by no means unanimously approves his decision, but the rank-ordering system of the society is such that those who disapprove have no veto power.

As will become apparent in this discussion, comprehension of the Luiseño religious philosophy depends upon the acumen of the learner and the methods of instruction. The latter is not only systematic, but requires that comprehension be demonstrated by fairly accurate interpretations of interrelationships among the various clues given, and rapid adjustment made to the subtleties of corrective procedures. No one is permitted information beyond his *demonstrated* capabilities.

A preset philosophical background works to great disadvantage in interpreting Indian thought and habit patterns. Not only did it lead to an unfavorable description of Juaneño-Luiseño character upon Boscana's (1933:81) part, but seems to be responsible for a curious error among the missionaries as a group. Failure to interpret the Luiseño religious system correctly led to confusion about the social system and features that were an integral part of it. Apparently the Indian "secular" leadership was confused with the religious chieftainships so that attempts to eradicate the former missed the contemplated objective of destroying the latter (cf. Jeffreys, 1956: 721–731). Some of this confusion is expressed in Boscana's view of the character of these Indians (1933:81).

> I presume that there may be some persons who will say, notwithstanding these [religious] accounts, that they are not satisfactory evidences of a total want of faith and belief for rare occurrences happen everywhere ... This I concede, but exceptions are few. These accounts generally conform to each other in substance, and he who has perused them with attention, or is familiar with the character of these Indians, knowing that when they appear the most intelligent and entitled to the greatest confidence, they are the least to be trusted, he will I say, agree with me generally regarding their belief. As all their operations are accompanied by strategems and dissimulation, they easily gain our confidence and at every pass we are deluded.

The Luiseño were indeed people of strategems and dissimulation, especially when crowded together into missionary camps regardless of rank or rancheria. Further, the acceptance of a new religion and ethic did not require them to abandon the old. For the Luiseño, "religions" seem to occupy logic-tight compartments, a feature that accommodated their acceptance of the Chingishnish cult at about the same time as Christianity (cf. DuBois, 1908:76). The former has characteristics that suggest sources in one of the world's great religions, yet seems to have propagated quite independently of Christianity (White, 1957:20).

Secrecy, strategem, and dissimulation are bound up with the concept that religious knowledge, formula, and ceremony possess power and can be properly and safely exercised only by experts. Further, the psychological characteristic that compartmentalizes religions or features of religion does not contradict Boscana's observations concerning the Luiseño character. When dealing with Christian matters, behavior and ethics were no doubt channeled into the Christian mold. Otherwise, however, the Indian behaved in a prescribed manner quite alien to Boscana's comprehension or expectations. This plurality of behavioral systems is clearly reflected among the Luiseño today, and is implicit in a clarification of many points contributed by Pachito. Once when confronted by an apparent fundamental conflict between points of religious philosophy, he explained: "But that is

another religion," whereupon he proceeded to make clear that each religion must be understood concretely and explicitly in its own terms. They must not be confused or syncretized.

But in this study we are concerned with Luiseño character only as its various aspects become implicit in religion and ecological fundamentals. The old basic patterns of religious thought and their ability to reveal details of the Luiseño social organization are stressed.

The native Luiseño religion contains a cosmogony (cf. Kroeber, 1925:677) that in its many parts delineates a set of concepts and precepts that are complex, moralistic, and largely consistent. Song was a Luiseño substitute for written history and laws; ceremony was its graphic reënactment. In large part, song and ceremony were devoted to selected cosmological subjects. Under these conditions, social organization and its controls were, to the Indian understanding, subject to the cosmogony. Luiseño life was mostly organized about it.

In some of its major features, the cosmogony describes occurrences and conditions resulting from human social and moral problems. Woven into the fabric of the tales is a set of human (and animal) characteristics dealing with sexual avidity, envy, insult and vengeance, as well as love and affection, loyalty, devotion to duty, and a rather fatalistic attitude toward the inevitability of misfortune.

The cosmogony is a tragedy that forms a primary theme of sadness and regret, hunger, and turmoil in Luiseño life, and provides a recurring set of subjects for the Luiseño forms of epic and lyric expression. At the same time it provides a self-validating explanation for unmoral and unwilling but necessary activities, and a rationalization for the unhappy state of affairs. Although it cannot be proved now, it seems likely that in pre-Spanish times nearly all the cosmogony was expressed musically, sometimes as esoteric ritual, sometimes as entertainment.

Luiseño music is far more complex in many of its characteristics than the casual ear might suppose. The ability to appreciate some of the subtle nuances of what otherwise might be mistaken for a monotonous pentatonic scale is not easy to acquire, and does not qualify one to appreciate the subtlety of the verse. The latter has been described by a young Indian who has spent years learning the language, and additional years collecting and seriously studying the music, as presenting an extremely difficult task. The verse pattern has a form unlike anything in the western-European world. The verses are hymns of a sort, but they may be sung only by those who inherit them and are instructed in their rendition or application, or those to whom special collection privileges are accorded—and this last only recently. The only times a song, usually sung only by qualified persons from a particular family, may be sung by other special individuals, is in commemoration of the "possessor" after his death. Compare Boscana on this subject (1934:5–6):

> Since these Indians did not use writings, letters, or any characters, nor do they use them, all their knowledge is by tradition, which they preserve in songs for the dances which they held at their great feasts. But since these songs have their form or are in a language distinct from that which is spoken at the present time, no one, except those mentioned above [officials], understands the meaning of the song and dance; the others sing and dance but without knowing either what they are saying or what they are doing. I imagine that such songs are in a primitive language, and are not used or sung except in their feasts. . . . They also have common songs and dances in their own

language, which latter are sung and danced daily, and are understood by all, but these are nothing more than for the purpose of amusing themselves and idling about with one another.

A word-for-word translation of the songs yields gibberish. But to put the full meaning of a particular short song into English would require an essay. The subject matter is almost always cosmological; this is understood by the audience. The opening key expression alludes to a vast cosmological area of consideration—a limiting but extremely general statement containing all the implications, side issues, and so forth. The next expression or phrase imposes limits on the original statement but uses "loaded" words to bring forth new concepts in other dimensions. This continues until the end of the song when the new concepts have ballooned into a complex almost as great as the original key statement, and the original clue has been expanded until some incident, relating perhaps to the Earth Mother or Wiyot the culture hero, has been set forth. (There are considerable differences in information-content from rancheria to rancheria; each has a "history" of specific happenings enacted by Wiyot locally.)

These difficulties of translation are also found in the everyday spoken language, and make "translation" of terms by informants very precarious. The word "knowledge" is an example. It actually refers to ayelkwi, a mana-like power, the manifestations of which are only sometimes expressed as knowledge (cf. Kroeber, 1925: 679). Even in Luiseño, as Boscana (1934:6) well knew, songs differ considerably in difficulty. One class is generally understood by everybody; another only by officials and profound thinkers. Today, some of the sacred songs in ceremonies are not even understood by the singers. On the comprehension of religious matters by the population in general as contrasted to that of the officials, compare Boscana's (1934:5) key statement:

I confess that it is difficult to be able to penetrate their secrets, because the signification ... is not known to all of them. This is only for the chiefs and certain satraps, who performed the work of priests ... and when these taught it to their sons (and only to those who were to succeed them), it was always with the admonition that they should not divulge it ... [otherwise] they would have many misfortunes, and would die, etc., instilling into them much dread and fear; and for that reason so little is known about their affairs, since those few who know and understand keep it to themselves.

Both song and language intensify the differences of understanding and magnify differences in philosophical depth displayed by various elements in the population.

Ayelkwi, "knowledge-power," and the consequences of its misuse among the immediate population is partly responsible for the "dread and fear" of spreading understanding. The potential use of ayelkwi by someone from an enemy rancheria made its public sharing unthinkable; and these features combined to make the secrecy, from which Boscana and others have suffered, more a consequence of circumstances than a directed conspiratorial affair. Yet these same features led to a rank-ordering of the society, the proliferation and specialization of officials, and an intensification of the causes of war. They also account for those aspects of character such as strategem and dissimulation that disturbed Boscana so greatly. Further, since in Indian eyes the missionaries were themselves dispensers of potent ayelkwi (in the form of religious formulae, skills, crafts, and so forth), the Luiseño leaders made every effort to "easily gain our confidence. . . ." Acquisition

of that ayelkwi was crucial in the ecological picture. All this serves to set the stage for an examination of the cosmogony, ayelkwi, and religious organization.

Ayelkwi is the Luiseño version of that power often called mana elsewhere. The general rules for its application are as follows: (1) It must be used specifically and unvaryingly according to a set procedure, and (2) it must always be used upon an appropriate occasion. Failure to follow the rules results in the loss of essential control over the particular kind of ayelkwi in question; the consequences are grave: deaths, accidents, disease, and so forth. No one knows how many kinds of ayelkwi exist, nor has it been possible to acquire a native system for categorizing them. Nevertheless, four general types may be discerned: (1) "Common" knowledge is that cultural and physical nature common to the Luiseño as distinguished from all other creatures and their respective forms of "common" knowledge; (2) "innate" ayelkwi is the differential powers with which individuals are born and that marks some of them as unusual and powerful persons; (3) "residual" ayelkwi comprises virtually all the unknown and unusual features of the Luiseño environment—a potentially procurable residuum of powers "thrown away" by Wiyot, the Luiseño culture hero; (4) "formulated" ayelkwi is represented by ritual forms and procedures considered to have been promulgated in decisions made either in cosmogonic times or later. All types of ayelkwi in possession of a Luiseño must be treated according to the general rules; hence, aberrant behavior upon the part of individuals is expected if not encouraged under some circumstances. But by the same token, ayelkwi-laden information is transmitted only very reluctantly. Inappropriate application on the part of a novice may bring disaster to the teacher; injudicious teaching may bring consequences upon one's own people in the form of sorcery, warfare, destruction of food crops, and so on.

There are several extant versions of the cosmogony, most of which are garbled. This is especially true of Boscana's earlier manuscript (the "Robinson" edition republished in 1933, written about 1820); the variant version prepared by Boscana in 1822, and published for the first time by Harrington (1934), is quite different and conforms much more closely with information collected since the turn of the twentieth century. The causes of garbling are relatively easy to understand. They result from (1) informants of lesser rank who do not actually know the full content and proper order of events; (2) the tendency of informants to follow some particular Indian theme after the fashion of the religious songs rather than a chronological and linear historical manner of presentation; (3) the use of two or more informants from different villages; (4) difficulties arising from sheer size and complexity of detail; (5) linguistic and philosophical problems; (6) the absolute loss of knowledge following the breakup of the culture; and (7) the fact that power may inhere in the content and be elicited in the telling of information.

Since a full study of the cosmogony would require a lengthy examination of all these features, a condensed, foreshortened version of it offered by Pachito will be discussed here. It is abbreviated, but contains the core of the materials to be considered.

Concerning the general nature of the cosmogony, Kroeber (1925:677) has this to say:

First, the concept of prime origins by birth, instead of a process of making, is more thoroughly worked out than by perhaps any other American tribe except possibly some of the Pueblos. Secondly, there is a remarkable attempt at abstract conceptualizing, which, though it falls short of success, leaves an impression of boldness and of a rude but vast grandeur of thought. The result is that the beginning of the Liuseno genesis reads far more, in spirit at least, like the opening of a Polynesian cosmogonic chant than like an American Indian tradition of the world origin.

It is difficult to avoid adopting a position even stronger than Kroeber's, especially in regard to his second point. With the discovery of ayelkwi as a systematic means of relating all parts and events of Luiseño existence, "rudeness" of concept is difficult to accept. Further, there arises a question of how far "short of success" Luiseño attempts at abstract conceptualizing fall.

Specialization by an officialdom in the presence of intense competition provides conditions for abstract thought. This is especially true in the presence of a thesis like ayelkwi, when coupled with some "leisure." (Officials were "paid" for their work in performing ceremonies, were accorded frequent "gifts" by members of the community, and possessed several wives—some of whom may have been "transvestites" (*cuŭt*)—to gather and process food [Boscana, 1934:27].) Moreover, important possessors of major ayelkwi usually established individual personal workshops at some distance from the village where various special powers could be exercised in secret and frightful new forms be completed in private.

The major elements of the cosmogony are as follows: (1) genesis and the nature of things, (2) the Wiyot epic, and (3) addenda. The last is concerned mostly with a "god," Chingishnish, and the cult associated with him (see chap. i), and is properly not a part of the cosmogony; Luiseño religion is additive but not syncretistic. The concept of mana-like ayelkwi (knowledge-power) permeates the cosmogony, and the language, and no element may be considered except in these terms. Chingishnish may be passed over here. He has become merely the spirit personification of the functioning of ayelkwi; his approval or disapproval is an expression of whether the ayelkwi in any event functioned properly or miscarried.

The Earth Mother, Tomaiyowit (or -wut), in long succession gave birth to the prototypes of all things (cf. DuBois, 1908, and Kroeber, 1925). These *ka^{h}melŭm,* ancient "people," include animals, such as Bear, Rabbit, Deer, Wood Rat, and Rattlesnake; birds, especially Eagle and Hummingbird; Indians; *Tamyush* (certain stone bowls used for ceremony), *Wiyalŭm* (also called *not^{h}*-stones—small "effigy" heads imbued with power); plant life of all varieties, and so forth. Wiyot, the culture hero, was the last of these births. Among these births was also one who seems to have been called *Tovĭsh* (spirit ?). All these beings lived happily together, playing, reproducing themselves without limit in an indefinitely expanding living space, subsisting on an unlimited supply of clay, and thoroughly enjoying themselves in an Eden-like existence. All, that is, except Tovish. He seemed strange, and when the others noticed it and asked him about it—his form of play included unpleasantries—he hung his head and began to cry. Here is the first in a long series of tragedies. Tovish, or *towĭsh* (?), could not act in any other manner; it was his nature. So the others drove him away. In Christian times this entity seems to have been identified as the Devil, but some confusion exists in terminology and

concept. Whether Tovish and towish truly equate is conjectural. Since the latter also refers to soul or ghost of the deceased, a rather different idea from that of a personified evil spirit, some question exists. Both can be dangerous, but certainly no Luiseño would confuse one with the other, if he had the means of differentiating.

Each of the ka^{h}melum was unique by birth; each was endowed with unique powers and abilities. Wiyot, the last born, was also the greatest in power and knowledge. Upon him devolved the knowledge of how to make clay nourishing and how to make the living space expand indefinitely to accommodate an increasing population. It is said that *"he knew everything."* Because of this, he became the chief of the "people," whom he led and instructed. (Seeming inconsistencies in this part of the story may involve level rather than contradiction; they suggest that Wiyot was possibly a real person, conceivably an ailing chieftain who led some elements of the Uto-Aztecan migration into the area.) The Eden-like existence came to an end when a "woman," Frog, slowly killed Wiyot through witchcraft (cf. Reid, 1926:36). During this process, he traveled from place to place. Each rancheria seems to have a story of how he was helped there. At Pauma, while dying, he named the seasons, thus generating the calendar. On the third day after his death, he rose again in the form of Moila, the moon.

The death of Wiyot brought catastrophe. Clay was no longer nourishing. Living space no longer expanded. Wiyot had "thrown away" this knowledge-power along with most of the rest of his ayelkwi without having imparted it to anyone. This brought about a residuum of "knowledge" lying about in the environment which can be acquired by any competent person—that is, "residual" ayelkwi. Hunger brought about "cannibalism" among the people; the symbolic act of eating a piece of human flesh from the deceased by an official called the *Eno* and/or *Tacue* (Boscana, 1934:47) is apparently related to this circumstance. Eno is identical with Ano, coyote; Tacue is the same as *Takwĭsh,* ball lightning. Both are eaters of human flesh, but the latter seems not properly a part of the cosmogony (cf. Kroeber, 1925:680). Coyote was the first eater; it was he who ate the heart of the dead Wiyot. As Wiyot died, so everybody was required to die; his resurrection as the moon implies resurrection of other "people" as stars. Overcrowding brought the necessity of death as the price for having offspring.

Eagle is a special "person" who escaped this fate. Yet he "gave up" his children, all of whom die or are eaten by other "people" as the price of his perpetual youth. There was a cycle of ceremonies concerned with Eagle (cf. Boscana, 1934:39–42). Even his name, Ashwŭt, suggests fertility. *Ash* probably signified puberty or first menses among young women (Kroeber, 1925:673); *-wŭt* in nouns generally seems to mean "imbued with," hence, "capable of giving the life principle." Ceremonies involving Eagle and eagle feathers concern fertility and longevity, for example the girl's puberty ceremony contained a foot race said to have determined greater longevity among the successively fleeter of foot. The meaning of the symbol painted on a large boulder at the terminus of the race was in each instance known only by the individual girl, but possibly was representative of some form of bird, animal, or other ayelkwi object with which she identified.

The crises of overpopulation, restricted living space, diet and food supply, and

death brought on by the murder of Wiyot, all involved ayelkwi. A Great Conclave of the "people" was called to solve these problems through discussion and a power-struggle process. It was "decided" that Wiyot was to be cremated, an act that was successful except for Coyote's eating of the heart. Cremation by the Luiseño was continued until the padres put a stop to it. These power "decisions" of the Conclave became binding throughout nature, and since ritual was evolved there, it constitutes a form of ayelkwi as effective and unalterable as any other form in nature. Thus, ritual and ceremony may be labeled "formulated" ayelkwi.

The living-space problem was partly solved by adopting arrangements like those found today: Gophers live underground, birds fly in the air, fish swim the waters, and so forth. Death and resurrection was another way out. Cannibalism, however, was one of the most important solutions.

Each of the ka^{h}melum had been born with unique powers, and many of them had acquired additional ayelkwi from Wiyot. At the Great Conclave (*ka^{h}melŭm pŭm yunach*), after it was decided that the people would have to eat each other, questions arose as to the hierarchical arrangement of such eating. The present arrangements concerning who is the eater and who the eaten were worked out after the discussion and power struggles. The outcome largely fixed the intricate relationships existing today among "people." The term "people," as stated earlier, includes a wide range of flora, fauna, and even minerals.

The ecological relationships observable within the environment clearly do not exist upon a one-to-one basis. This is reflected in the cosmological stories concerning the hierarchical organization of nature. The eater is not necessarily directly responsible for having cosmologically overcome the eaten. For example, Deer is a principal food animal for the Indians, but humans are not directly responsible for the plight of Deer. Deer Fly is one of the "people" who, through the Great Conclave, accomplished it. "Naming" things apparently constituted one form of sorcery, because this is the means used by Deer Fly in the cosmological power struggle. Each organ of Deer was named and in each instance Deer "knew" (ayelkwi) about it, except for the gall bladder, and in this area of ayelkwi Deer was at the mercy of those who did "know." "Naming" it therefore defeated Deer, and to this day the deer fly will lead a Luiseño hunter to his quarry.

The hierarchy in nature established by the cosmology is not a simple linear affair with each creature allotted a single position. The forms of "cannibalism" are not so arranged, nor are other characteristics of the "life-forms" involved. While it is true that, for the Luiseño, Eagle, Coyote, Deer, Bear, and others occupy places of high emphasis in nature, their relative hierarchical positions lie in different dimensions. For the Luiseño, all "life-forms" in the total environment belong to a structured existence of which the Indian himself is an element. His cosmogony provides the general outlines and rationale of the system. It is an elaborately tragic pattern in which every kind of creature has a social organization according to its nature, and these are interrelated in a complex manner so that they form a single total social organizational structure. The hierarchical arrangements by "species" are based upon "innate" ayelkwi according to prototype and to solutions to the various crises worked out in the Great Conclave of the people. Understanding such a system, the individual Luiseño may not always "know" the

precise reasons why a hummingbird is seen to eat only blossom nectar and the human finds the lizard a tabooed food, but he has a generalized rationale for it.

All the intricate ecological phenomena of nature thus become a matter for intensive observation upon the part of the Indians. The behavior of every "living" thing depends upon its individualistic personal "knowledge," as well as its hierarchical characteristics. The most acute observation of every detail becomes necessary if one is to have sufficient food in the face of the internecine warfare existing throughout nature—nobody wants to be eaten; everybody strains his utmost to avoid personal catastrophe in a cannibalistic existence. Death is resented; achieving extreme age is a mark of great personal power. It is clear that simple anthropomorphism is transcended in this Luiseño explanation of his *weltanschauung,* even though an unusual form of "ethnocentrism" intervenes. Yet how much more imaginatively, elaborately, and comprehensively can a theory of ecology be apprehended?

Although the cosmogony provides something of a master plan for an understanding of the nature of things and is replete with examples, it does not directly deal with the philosophy underlying individualism and individual diversity or aberration extending into postcosmogonic times. The nature of ayelkwi is implicit rather than explicit in the cosmogony.

The idea of ayelkwi is not greatly different from that of mana, orenda, manitou (cf. Kroeber, 1925: 679). The Luiseño render this concept into English with the term "knowledge," although "knowledge-power" would approach it more closely. It is omnipresent, imperishable, and immutable. It is not corporeal, but is somehow involved in the nature of all things. Every detail of existence and event in nature, past, present or future, corresponds to an expression of ayelkwi in some form. It is present in the animate and inanimate, in spirit and secular being, in ceremony and habitual act. Ayelkwi is causal, and establishes both a firm basis for precedent and a reason for the unexpected. In the one sense it provides the forms and meanings of social organization, and in the other a rationale for the unpredictable. It is seen or otherwise apprehended in all natural phenomena as well as in human personality and behavior. It may "flow" with or without diminution from one character or event to another (cf. Harrington, 1933:161). There is an infinity of types of ayelkwi. Above all, it is dangerous and difficult to manage.

Although ayelkwi (knowledge-power) is in some sense basically the same in all instances (power), it may appear to be fundamentally different in intensity and type of manifestation (knowledge). All things that manifest or are suspected to possess ayelkwi are considered "persons." Among them are certain shaped or incised stones called not[h] (religious chief, i.e., "repository of great ayelkwi"), various small stone bowls called tamyush, "statues"—outcropping boulders with shapes endowing them with legend—all species of birds, animals, insects, plants, spirits, the stars, planets, moon, and humans. All these things are "persons." But all members of the various categories of persons are not clearly, specifically, and immutably members of their own form category. For example, various mysterious lights seen at night (possibly ball lightning which occurs in the vicinity, St. Elmo's Fire, or phosphorescent emanations from bacterial decay in swampy areas, or from fungus) cannot always be clearly defined as one "person" or another.

Such a classification, if it is ever made, must depend upon an understanding of the ultimate character of the ayelkwi possessed and manifested. The entity exhibiting the ayelkwi in question may be a spirit manifesting human as well as spirit powers, or vice versa. Which one he ultimately turns out to be is less important than the nature and meaning of the ayelkwi he possesses and exhibits.

In a sense, the categorization in the instance in question is academic, for transmorphism among "species" or categories of being is conceptually common. Here transmorphism is used in a broad and peculiar manner. The senses cannot be believed. That perceived has no necessary or immediate relationship to conceptual imperatives, whatever these may be. Wiyot, the culture hero, became the moon; the spirits of the dead form the Milky Way; Eagle (except for the young) is immortal so that no matter how often he is killed, nevertheless he is still alive and exists only as a single pair. This applies no matter how many eyries may be seen to be inhabited or the "simultaneity" with which more than two eagles may be observed (the power of his *wanawŭt*—a kind of magic cloak—is the instrument of his ayelkwi). Deer may turn into a seductive woman; the aunt of Nahatchish (praying mantis), a great chief in legend, is the mother of the spirit Takwĭsh (cf. Harrington, 1933:180 ff.); some pula (witch doctors) could turn themselves into bear. In every instance, the identification or lack of it depends upon the characteristics of the ayelkwi involved. Although such a state of affairs makes clear the reasons for Fr. Boscana's (1934:58, 1933:84) confusion between whether something was classified as animate or inanimate, it also suggests that ayelkwi itself possesses some sort of a classification system.

The ambiguity of classification of "beings" or "persons" discussed above does not necessarily extend itself to all members of any particular "species." Clearly Deer is not confused with Hummingbird, nor Stone with Oak. But if a deer possessed the same ayelkwi as Hummingbird, he could assume and exercise the powers and characteristics of a hummingbird in a manner that would be entirely confusing to anyone except another possessing the same powers or some sort of counterayelkwi. Hummingbird's ayelkwi possessed by a deer would permit the deer to appear as a hummingbird at will. Thus, while ayelkwi is immutable, perception of "species" is not. Since ayelkwi can "flow," it is possible for an individual in one "species" to come to possess and to "know" that ayelkwi peculiar to another "person" or "species." From all this it becomes clear that not only are there many kinds of ayelkwi, but that individuals differ from one another by virtue of this fact. Apparently there are quantitative and qualitative differences in the forms of "innate" ayelkwi involved. This distinguishes pulum from the common "people," no matter what the "species."

As in the cosmogony, each child born is regarded as unique. Even today, the potentialities of each child are considered at some length during his earliest years. The uniqueness of each member of the society applies even though the person is an integral part of the whole. The innate humanness of each Indian is recognized, and his acquisition of common ayelkwi (the canons of ordinary, everyday behavior) is accepted as being relatively mundane. Nevertheless, it is also a matter of much concern that any particular birth might bring forth an individual with peculiar powers. Formerly this could often be directly determined and appropriate

steps taken to "take out" the strange powers, should they be adjudged dangerous (cf. Harrington, 1933:161). Obviously, the concept of flow of ayelkwi is present whatever its source or type. Thus ayelkwi is not distributed uniformly among "species," nor among individuals within any species. Hence children are given great care and consideration, and trivialities such as legitimacy and primogeniture have little bearing.

The principle of innate ayelkwi enters kinship considerations in a dual manner. The bestowal of viability, of human-life ayelkwi, seems to be the function of the female. The degree of differentiation of this life-ayelkwi among "species" is not clear. The male feature seems to be the bestowal of some particular and specific form of innate ayelkwi. This determines the patrilineage. Such is the principle involved in the case of Wakaterat of Pechanga, and also of Sheiyutl, the founder of Pachito's religious chiefly line. Sheiyutl was tormented by the other children of Pauma to the point of having an eye destroyed, and his mother was unsuccessful in having the chief rectify matters. This extraordinary situation suggests that Sheiyutl had no other representatives of his patrilineage at Pauma (nor presumably elsewhere). Nor had the child been accepted by his mother's consanguineal relatives, either male or female. Further, it is to be remembered that parallel cousins are termed siblings. The mother and child retired from the village and lived alone until the boy reached maturity. When the mother died, the young man returned to the village as a superlatively powerful person and subsequently married the daughter of a religious chief. The male offspring of this marriage was the first chief of the Pachito line.

The possibility that a female, while gathering food, might be impregnated by a spirit or some powerful "foreign" pula from another rancheria was considered a constant danger. Boscana describes this as follows (1933:48):

> In their excursions for the collecting of seeds, or for other purposes should they [young women] unfortunately meet with one of the sorcerers ... they were to comply with any desire which he might express without manifesting the least reluctance on their part.

Elsewhere he adds (1934:53):

> And if the Indians, when going from one place to another see or imagine something extraordinary, they say that that is the soul of some dead person and they hold it a bad omen, fearing some misfortune, for they are of the belief that if a dead person shows himself to someone, it is to do injury to him, and particularly to the women, and there are some imposters who pass themselves off as these ghosts, in order thus to attain their desires.

The *wakenĭsh* (girl's puberty ceremony) was designed in part to prevent such mesalliances. The exact nature of offspring could not always be certain. This led to a ceremonial or ritual form of "putting" and "taking." Its object was to "take out of" the child any exotic male principle, and "put into" him that of his sociological father or sponsor. In this way, the male lineage could usually be made determinative in spite of any biological involvements. But, it is said, the ayelkwi form within the child sometimes proved too powerful to be "taken," or the proper procedure for "taking" was not known. In this event, the child, if male, might found a new lineage in the manner just reviewed for Sheiyutl.

For the female child, the male principle seems to have been less important. Em-

phasis was upon her ability as a giver of the life principle. She does not seem to have endowed her children with the male principle she herself inherited from her father except, perhaps, in special cases. Her children, through a ceremony called the *scholahĭsh,* were generally "confirmed" to the lineage of her husband. Whether this involved "taking" and "putting" depended upon the nature of the circumstances. In the event that an important patrilineage was in danger of becoming extinct, the patrilineage of the mother's father could be "confirmed," and "taking" and "putting" be performed as desired. According to Boscana (1934:31) this presumably was a practice in the instance of some chiefly lineages:

> In the succession of these chieftainships, women also entered, when males were lacking. She could marry whoever [*sic*] she pleased, though he were not of the race or lineage of chiefs; but the husband, be who he might, though he were the son of another chief, was never recognized as such nor did he have command, but they only recognized the woman. But she did not govern or perform the functions of chief, but the government was exercised by another, an uncle or a grandfather, the nearest of blood. But the first male whom she bore, immediately was declared chief ...

In the cases of Wakaterat of Pechanga, and of Sheiyutl, it seems that the "putting" and "taking" either was not performed, or was unsuccessful. The former may have usurped the chiefly rank position; the latter became the transmitter of great ayelkwi and the founder of a new patrilineage. The principle of inheritance of differential ayelkwi through family lines—usually male in the case of offices—is conducive to the establishment of a nobility. But there are also reasons for believing that this principle was involved in the selection of the cuut (cf. Boscana, 1934: 27), sex inverts, or transvestites. There is a rumor to the effect that the Cahuilla used to select male children for survival according to penis size. The Luiseño were richer and may have relegated their "weaker" male youngsters to the status of cuut. This selection may have been regional, for Torquemada (cf. Harrington, 1933:112) mentions the "robusticity" of the "Canalino" (Channel of Santa Barbara). At any rate, this agrees with the concept of innate ayelkwi and with the factual materials available upon the subject.

For pulum, ayelkwi conferred high status. But it was also a frightful force with which to reckon. It is here that the "knowledge" interpretation of the term begins to contrast sharply with the "power" meaning. To acquire ayelkwi was to be duty bound to "know" its characteristics and all formulae for its exact and specific application if the power were not to run wild and cause incalculable harm to both the novice and his kin and village as well. Put another way, there are two primary points concerning ayelkwi that must be remembered by all Luiseño: (1) ayelkwi is extremely dangerous, and (2) ayelkwi must be used at times and places in exact accord with its nature, and without fail, regardless of the anticipated social consequences. Misuse certainly brings drouth, famine, flood, disease, death, and other disasters. Therefore, any ignorant social disapproval must be disregarded or met with courageous equanimity. These points serve both to provide supernatural sanctions for the social order in general, and to excuse certain "excesses" upon the part of those possessing high rank.

Why should ayelkwi confer high status? First, the vicissitudes of an environment in which starvation, famine, disease, death, and so on, were not uncommon, led to a development and refinement of magic arts designed to be preventive, and

possessors of these arts were bound to be looked up to. For example, success in the food quest was dependent upon "knowledge," hence, any superior ability concerning increase or procurement of food made for high status. This led to the cultural habit of maintaining an extremely sensitive and penetrating observance of detailed occurrences within the immediate natural and cultural milieu by emphasizing attention to details concerned primarily with the rancheria and its population. Further, the attitude of acute watchfulness led directly toward the acquisition of "knowledge" concerning occurrences of a regular character in nature and magnified concern over irregular happenings. This tended to reinforce the philosophy of ayelkwi, and to stimulate an all-out effort to acquire it.

A second reason why ayelkwi conferred high status is found in the defense required by the rancherias. Any food shortage on a nearby rancheria would encourage raiding and warfare from that quarter. Ayelkwi was used in both defensive and offensive warfare. Failure to mount a strong front of highly skilled pulum as the first line of defense against failure of the food supply and disaster in warfare would lead to catastrophe; but incorrect pursuit of, and fumbling attempts to use, ayelkwi were similarly perilous. These features agree well with the hypotheses of population pressure and the limiting geographical nature of the rancheria discussed earlier. Thus, it seems that the philosophy of ayelkwi tends to create at least three classes of male persons within the Luiseño community—the pulum, the rank and file, and the cuut.

There were many grades of pulum, based upon the kind of ayelkwi mastered and probably upon the forms of innate ayelkwi inherited lineally. At the present, Pachito insists that the terms pulum and pupulum are identical in meaning and usage. The latter, however, is a reduplicated form *pu(l)-pul-um, suggesting the superlative. Pupulum may have designated the permanent hereditary officials who formed the core of the war council, and who exercised the traditional formal ritualistic ayelkwi (formulated), as contrasted to upstarts (pulum) who acquired some type of residual ayelkwi. The term seems to have applied also as the name of the council.

Parallel to this conception is the term pumelum, applied to the membership of the secret war society. It is fairly certain that with the probable exception of the cuut, "transvestites" (ordinarily the Luiseño males wore no clothing at all), the entire male population of the rancheria was organized into a permanent secret war society. Boys who were not yet seven were sometimes initiated, depending upon the ayelkwi faculties demonstrated by the child, and possibly upon the desire of the parent to insure inheritance of rank and office (cf. Boscana, 1934:16 and 31). Upon admission, the candidate became *pumel*, plural *pumelŭm*. This plural form seems to be a diminutive *pul-mel-(a)-um. In order of declining rank, the statuses thus were: Pupulum, pulum, and pumelum.

During early mission times the secret society may have been divided according to moiety, for it had at least one paired official rank, the *paha'ŭm*, disciplinarians, with duties confined exclusively to the ceremonies of the society. On this subject, Tac (1952:16) says:

> Thus they are in the house [adjacent to the wamkish, sacred enclosure] when immediately two men go out, each one carrying two wooden swords and crying out [a footnote says in part: ...

leaving the house they cry out, meaning "make way" ...] without saying any word, and after stopping before the place where they dance, they look at the sky for some time. The people are silent, and they turn and then the dancers go out. These two men are called by us *Pajaom,* meaning crimson snakes. These do not bite but lash out at those who come near them.

All paired formal religious officials were, of course, members of the secret society, and all functioned to some degree, but probably not always in an official capacity. The society seems to have possessed a considerable number of special unpaired officials.

This pairing of paha'um mentioned by Tac (cited above) may have resulted from various problems associated with the traditional activities of the war societies, the assumption of the Chingishnish cult by them, and a large, ill-amalgamated population at the mission. To the extent that similar moiety designations may have applied throughout the region, this pairing may also signify that the inflated number of warriors were reclassified into the natural divisions for disciplinary purposes. The old intervillage warfare patterns and rivalries were thus partly controlled, and the paired paha'um could, in an orderly manner, exercise specialized powers associated with the Chingishnish cult. Supernatural sanctions could enforce proper population behavior, meeting the letter if not the spirit of the imposed Spanish peace.

Knowing something about the philosophy of ayelkwi, the disruption of Luiseño society through the uprooting of villages, and the impact of European diseases, it is clear that the combined pumelum societies must have exercised, to the full, every method of warfare that remained available to them. After all applications of native ayelkwi had failed, various forms of foreign ayelkwi were adopted and practiced in the guise of what we call the Chingishnish cult. The purposes were to rectify the disasters to the population, and very likely constituted an early nativistic movement designed to drive out the Spanish invaders themselves. Tac's comment that "after stopping before the place where they dance, they look at the sky for some time" is very provocative, especially when it is recalled that the stars are the ghosts of departed ancestors who presumably retain all their great, ancient ayelkwi powers unimpaired.

Some general characteristics of ayelkwi have been enumerated and discussed above: Ayelkwi is indestructible, immutable, is found in all things, may flow, is dangerous. Further, the requirement that ayelkwi must always be used in exact accord with its nature, and without fail should circumstances demand it, is a cornerstone of the philosophy. It has been shown that ayelkwi is responsible for the nature of all things, and since it can flow, things are not always what they seem. In addition, "living" forms or "species" are in some fashion hierarchically ordered according to the power they possess. Forms close together on the ayelkwi scale have the potentiality of acquiring the powers of adjacent forms more readily and hence with greater frequency than forms widely separated. For example, a man might more readily acquire the ability to transform himself into a bear than, say, a rabbit, for of all "species," Bear is most like man. These characteristics of ayelkwi and the hierarchical ordering of nature are implicit in the Luiseño cosmogony, although they are not explicitly stated, nor readily understood.

Common ayelkwi accounts for that similarity in behavior and culture common

to the various members of any particular "species." Innate ayelkwi is responsible for inborn similarities among various members of a particular "species," but is also responsible for differences in appearance, intelligence, personality, and the like, both among individuals and lineages. Residual ayelkwi constitutes the unknowns of the environment and is potentially acquirable by an individual in any "species" whose innate ayelkwi fits him for the acquisition. All three varieties have important bearing upon status and role as well as on the larger issue of the nature of the society and culture. But it is in a study of the function of formulated ayelkwi against the background of the other three that the characteristics of Luiseño social organization become clearer.

Formulated knowledge is always the exclusive "possession" of the official upon whom proper exercise of ritual is incumbent. In this sense, formulated knowledge (ritual tradition) is similar to residual ayelkwi; it must always be employed precisely where and when required. But beyond this basic similarity the parallel begins to break down. Residual ayelkwi accrues to individuals primarily, and to the particular lineage only incidentally. It may disappear upon the death of its immediate possessor, or be transmitted to any person at all who shows the innate capacity to exercise it. Since residual ayelkwi is subject to immediate use in warfare and the food quest, and is consequently the means by which the individual may change his status, it is avidly sought. Hence, residual ayelkwi is responsible for the rapid diffusion of some traits among the Luiseño.

Formulated knowledge, on the other hand, is as rigidly prescribed as religious conservatism can make it. In the main, it constitutes the means by which relations between the living and the dead are regulated, deals with the rites of passage, and establishes social controls among the Luiseño as well as the broader society of all the "species" who have important bearing upon the lives of the Indians.

A partial list of religious officials is as follows:

1) *Not^{h}:* religious chief; supervises work of others.
2) *Pal pahikŭt:* formerly *Taxvo,* "eater."
3) *Pohikŭt:* special "blower."
4) *Kut porikŭt:* poker of the fire.

Nowadays the pal pahikut drinks a small quantity of water in which the clothes of the deceased are symbolically washed during the mortuary clothes-burning ceremony. Formerly, this official seems to have been called the Taxvo, or Eno-Tacue, and actually ate a small portion of the flesh of the deceased in presumed emulation of a similar act upon the part of Coyote. The Pohikut performs a special service designed to drive towish from the scene of a ceremony. The service is made up of a series of exclamations: Hei! Hei! Hei! and other "gruntings" and "blowings." The other officials join in at suitable intervals to assist the pohikut in ridding the vicinity of evil spirits and ghosts. The kut porikut uses a long pole to poke at the incinerating clothes of the deceased in the mortuary ceremonies. It is said to be symbolic of the procedure in which the heart of Wiyot was punched full of holes to hasten its cremation before Coyote's act of cannibalism. It is possible that kut porikut at one time performed the actual cremations. But it is the not^{h}, serving as *pumutchvi* (point through which the power of all assistants and participating observers pours), who, when "blowing," actually causes the ghost to

depart. These gestures and sounds are conceived as causing the ghost to ascend to the Milky Way, where it becomes a star—the size depending upon its earthly importance.

It is noteworthy that each of these officials was the head of a patrilineage and transmitted his ayelkwi powers, office, and functions, to his selected lineal heir. The council of pupulum reviewed the selection of the heir insofar as the powers of the collective membership permitted, and "elected" him, probably by mutual consent. This came about because exercise of office and powers was considered indispensable to the well-being of the rancheria, and irresponsibility could not be tolerated.

All religious officials are paired in a reciprocating moiety system, but moieties become most evident in the relationships of the notum, paired religious chiefs. The lesser religious official, although technically paired with his equivalent in each of the moieties, does not so associate himself officially, nor does he function independently in his formulated religious activities. All such relationships and activities are under the supervision of the respective not^{h}, who alone maintains a personal and institutionalized formal relationship with his opposite number. This relationship is called *no pet,* or not^{h}-"road." The notum between themselves make all arrangements relating to the religious activities of their respective moieties. Since this involves the rites of passage, and particularly the scholahish-pumutchvi relationships mentioned above, there is a clear implication that kinship structural features are associated with the moieties. Although the rancheria was endogamous, the moieties were exogamous.

From the economic point of view, the moieties performed important functions in regulating food distribution. All performing religious officials currently are accorded special "gifts" or "payments" by the particular family group in the opposite moiety for whom the performance is executed. Even more important is the fact that the bereaved (in mortuary rites) must prepare feasts for all people at a ceremony, and largess is freely distributed in return for the help assumed to come from attendance. Further, the ceremonies were normally celebrated for three successive days, and the feasting continued during that time. In addition to the "payments" to officials, and food for the rest of the population, other stocks of food were set aside in prominent display for later distribution to the membership of the officiating moiety.

Although lavish, and perhaps containing overtones of invidious display, these ceremonial feastings were not the economic parallel of the potlatch. Without doubt great merit was accorded those who provided generously, and stimulus was provided for an equal effort in reciprocation, but the economic function was more concerned with widespread and relatively equal distribution of all food stocks. The same principle appeared at different levels of behavior. For example, it was taboo for a hunter to eat any flesh of a deer he might bag. It had to be brought to the village for distribution. The emphasis here is both upon virtuosity in the procurement of food, and upon ensuring its equitable distribution throughout the population. All this is in keeping with high population levels and occasional catastrophic partial failure of the food crops.

Where ceremonial functions provided an otherwise undistributed income of

food and gifts from the opposite moiety, the officials of the recipient moiety distributed the goods under supervision of the religious chief. The principal persons received more, but the remainder was distributed equally to the entire membership of the receiving moiety. There was much emphasis upon the proper distribution of such income, and extra amounts for officials were usually given to them directly by the paying moiety during the performing of the ceremonies. Inequitable division, if serious, was likely to bring execution (currently ostracism) of the responsible person—a feature which speaks loudly for the economic function of the institution, and the occasional dire want with which particularly the mortuary ceremonies must have been accompanied. Death from food shortage would bring redistribution of the remaining stocks, with the additional provision that those with great ayelkwi would be given the highest survival potential. Since raids and warfare were likely if food shortage were widespread, it would be precisely the persons of great ayelkwi who would be needed most to fight, offensively or defensively. At various times, the young were harangued to "be kind to the old people," and that generation most able to hunt and gather food was encouraged to present the important persons with gratuities of food or trinkets. The status structure and teaching strictures must also have enhanced the desire of young males to strive for approval from and acceptance by the older, powerful persons.

From an economic point of view, the reciprocal wealth distribution system—other than the differential survival potential accorded important persons—must have tended to insure a fairly even division of food, regardless of the quantities available, for the number of ceremonies was large.

A partial list of intermoiety ceremonies follows:

1) *Tchoiyĭsh:* mortuary, clothes-burning.
2) *Tochĭnĭsh:* mortuary, image-burning.
3) *Tuvĭsh:* birth, death.
4) *Wakenĭsh:* female puberty.
5) *Pewelĭsh:* marriage.
6) *Netĭsh:* conception.
7) *Tchelahĭsh:* peace among individuals.
8) *Notahĭsh:* peace between the moieties.

Most of these ceremonies have been described at length elsewhere (Kroeber, 1925; Boscana, 1933, 1934; White, 1953, 1957). To reproduce them here in entirety would serve no useful purpose in this discussion. Nevertheless, a brief review of some of them will bring out some elements of Luiseño thought-processes involving ayelkwi, status, principles of reciprocation, and economic consequences of high-frequency ceremonial activity.

The tchoiyish and tochinish appear to be remnant ceremonies in which surviving elements have been combined, and substitutions made for suppressed rituals. Rituals may be suppressed when inadequate ayelkwi controls intervene, or even when modern economic conditions make them impracticable (cf. White, 1957:7).

The tuvish, and the lost ritualistic forms concerned with the wakenish, pewelish, and netish, reflect an extremely important pair of ceremonial statuses of the religious chief, which appear critical to analysis of the kinship system. Immediately upon a birth or death affecting some female "married out" of his group, he brings

gifts and either "welcomes" the newborn, or "consoles" the spirit of the deceased. In the "welcoming" procedure, the scholahish, the religious chief, as the surrogate for the mother's father (kwa'), "confirms" the child to the lineage of its father; the "putting" and "taking" of innate ayelkwi may take place in this ceremony or as soon afterward as is practicable. The "consolation" of the ghost introduces the mortuary ceremonies, and the religious chief assumes the status of pumutchvi, meaning point. As the moiety leader he must assume the role of vessel into which the concentrated power of his entire group is focussed, and which is redirected and released in a grand blast in order to banish the ghost. "Point" also has a military connotation in the modern sense: A squad of men on patrol establishes one of its members as a point, the theory being that he will be the first to draw fire so the main body will be warned of the presence of the enemy. As pumutchvi, the religious chief bears a similar relationship to the ghost.

The tchelahish ceremony (White, 1957:6) is a formalized means of reducing tensions among individuals and groups, especially where the risk of internecine sorcery is high. It is a ritualistic system of public accusation and defense, and is especially effective in cases involving property, trespass and usufruct rights, and even nontangible assets where individuals and family groups become embroiled. In the atmosphere of semiparanoid suspicion to which the Luiseño were sometimes subjected, the tchelahish was an excellent means of exploding groundless fears as well as settling and adjusting real offenses.

The notahish ceremonial cycle must have perished by perhaps 1825 or earlier, at a time when the moieties themselves were becoming blurred in institutional definition and jurisdiction. Nevertheless, religious chief Rejinaldo Pachito believes that the notahish performed much the same function as the tchelahish, apparently in the event of deep intermoiety animosities. The notahish was a curious event: Every religious ceremony in the entire repertory had to be performed in proper order and without stop for the full three-day period. If at the conclusion the breach between moieties were not healed, then the whole had to be repeated. But—and this may have been the catch—at the close of the ceremonial cycle by one moiety, the whole notahish cycle was then reciprocally performed by the opposite moiety. The economic repercussions of the total event must have been enormous; among other things, it would impose immense sanctions upon hoarders of food. In the months that followed Pauma's defeat by Pechanga (*ca.* 1785), conditions arose at Pauma which must have brought about a notahish. Members of the defeated population turned upon each other perhaps physically as well as through witchcraft. The extent to which Pechanga extorted food from the defeated village can only be speculated upon. This in turn leads to the suspicion that the tripod pot found by Meighan at Maulpa (discussed in chap. iii) may indeed have been made by Pauma's Awkuta Poklao, as his method of punishing the defecting allies who sealed Pauma's defeat.

The cycle of religious ceremonies epitomized by the notahish, and dealt with exclusively by an officialdom organized along moiety lines, does not exhaust a survey of Luiseño ceremony. An entirely different cycle existed, involving the paramount war chief, the rancheria council of pupulum, and the secret war society (organized as a power pyramid), and there seems to be no evidence that these were truly the province of the religious officialdom. The religious cycles bear a

strong stamp of kinship involvement with emphasis upon female intervention; the warfare power-pyramid, on the other hand, seems to be primarily a male affair. The list of ceremonies is impressive. Some of these rituals or surrogates for them still exist in shadowy form as the exclusive prerogatives of the war society:

1) *Mani:* Datura *meteloides* infusions drunk (also called toloache).
2) *Antĭsh:* ant ordeal of puberty.
3) *Notush:* pole climbing (Kroeber, 1925:676).
4) *Meiyĭsh:* hunting purification.
5) *Totowĭsh:* male eagle feather dance.
6) *Pames:* (paenish?): eagle killing (Boscana, 1934:39) (possibly female).
7) *Aputs:* fertility dance (Boscana, 1934:41) (also possibly female).
8) *Heiyĭsh:* moon racing (fertility ?).
9) ? : fire dance.
10) *Yunĭsh makakhĭsh:* mortuary "feather-burying" (male initiate).
11) *Scheiyĭsh makakhĭsh:* initiation of males into the pumelum society.
12) *Scheiyĭsh noti:* investiture of religious chief.
13) *Scheiyĭsh tushnakutĭsh:* investiture of war chief.
14) *Maxhahĭsh:* peace between villages after warfare.

The roles played by various officials and specialists in most of these ceremonies is not clear, but much time and effort was spent on them. Perhaps the report (below) of Boscana is exaggerated due to the crowding together at the mission of many rancheria populations and an extremely high death rate, but the large number of ceremonies alone would insure a fairly high frequency of performance. Boscana (1933:57) writes: "Such was the delight with which they took part in their festivities, that they often continued dancing day and night and sometimes entire weeks ... Hardly a day passed without some portion of it being devoted to this insipid and monotonous ceremony."

Religiously and economically, the system of reciprocity is a strong argument for the former existence of moieties. Kinship terminologies and such items as the number of bedrock mortars also contribute to this view. But the decimation and dislocation of the rancheria populations during and following the mission period have led to the modern "party," a religious institution that confuses the problem. The religious chiefs who head the parties still maintain their not^{h}-roads in spite of the fact that the religious groups are made up of families and various leaderless elements, and may be scattered over all the local reservations. The present pattern based upon the residence of the religious chief is as follows:

Pauma Reservation		*Rincon Reservation*
Anoyum Party	⟷	Ivium Party
Tovomaiyum Party	⟷	Hulimaiyum Party

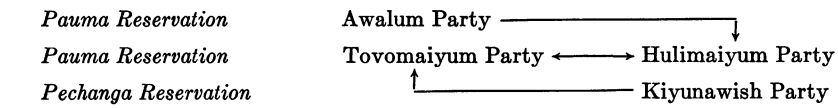
As land units, the reservations have little to do with the old rancherias, and dislocation has so disestablished many of the former patrilocal family groupings that any symmetry in this not^{h}-road arrangement is coincidental. The present alignment is recent: The Anoyum chief moved to Pauma because his wife owned property there; Hulimaiyum located at Rincon partly because the female kin through

whom the chieftainship passed was at Rincon. Reservation laws and property inheritance clearly provide modern disturbing influences to the old pattern. The original arrangement seems to have been as follows:

Pauma Rancheria Tovomaiyum Moiety ⟷ Hulimaiyum Moiety

Kuka Rancheria Anoyum Moiety ⟷ Ivium Moiety

The recent past provided a much more confusing not^{h}- road pattern than the present reservation system does. This structure at Pauma had the following form (the arrows show the direction of the flow of wealth):



This improbable arrangement, containing two "one-way" not^{h}-roads is, in view of the wealth-reciprocation requirements studied above, astonishing. The flow of wealth from the Awalum and Kiyunawish parties was never reciprocated, whereas that between Tovomaiyum and Hulimaiyum was fully reciprocated. Such a situation could not have been tolerated under aboriginal conditions.

Investigation of this problem revealed the following facts: (1) The Kiyunawish party (kiyunahoic) of Pechanga is described by Gifford (1918:208) as an "upstart" affair; Pachito says that although he cannot remember the exact year, Francisco Rodriguez of Pechanga approached him for the purpose of establishing the "one-way" not^{h}-road (*so pulïk pet*). Pachito's Tovomaiyum party membership approved. According to Pachito, all religious chieftaincies at Pechanga had become vacant; failure to deal exactingly with dangerous ayelkwi was responsible for this. Then, sometime before 1918 (Gifford's date), two "old women" "dreamed" about how to correct the situation, and prevailed upon Rodriguez to assume the rank and duties of not^{h}. Since the not^{h}-road (old moiety arrangement) was essential to reëstablishment of the religious post, Pachito was approached. But Pachito, as religious chief of the Tovomaiyum party, already reciprocated with the chief of the Hulimaiyum in the ancient and undisturbed manner. The solution to the problem was the "one-way" not^{h}-road. (2) The Awalum party had moved to Pauma many years earlier (from the mission, it is said) and had similarly established a one-way road with Hulimaiyum. This could not be disestablished in favor of the Kiyunawish party, and, besides, Awalum was already in difficulties with ayelkwi controls. A few years later, because of a series of disasters that befell his party, the Awalum chief ceased all attempts to perform his duties, and the party merged with the Tovomaiyum under the chieftainship of Pachito.

The dual nature of aylkwi shows clearly in the modern not^{h}-road ceremonial pattern, as do contrasts in attention to property, rank, and status. The necessity for maintaining ceremonies, especially those pertaining to the dead, is pressing. The ghost, deprived of both life and property, remains dangerous, and must be driven away. On the other hand, improper execution of ritual brings great misfortune due to the effects of misdirected formulated ayelkwi inhering in the ritual. These vectors tend simultaneously to destroy religious leadership and to perpetuate it, and are reflected in events at Pauma and Pechanga in which nonreciprocal

not^{h}-roads came into being or disappeared. When successful control of ritual can be propagated (sometimes with the substitution of surrogates for lost "knowledge" [White, 1957:7]) there is strong incentive for perpetuation of the system. So strong is the need for the proper manipulation of ayelkwi in the placation and driving away of the ghost (and in such things as public health and intergroup peace) that even the powerful economic values involved in the reciprocation system can be overridden in the formation of the one-way road.

Not only does the formation of a one-way road establish superordinate-subordinate relationships between the respective notum (the old established one is superior both in rank and status), but it similarly affects each of the groups so linked. Even if economic reciprocation would not have made the one-way road virtually impossible in pre-Spanish times, the rank and status effects would have done so. The evidence shows that kinship and intermarriage between the groups headed by the two notum were involved, and while higher status on the part of one not^{h} might become possible, difference in rank could hardly be tolerated. Status might affect the lineage, but not the moiety. After all, it was for the membership of the *opposite* moiety that the reciprocal notum performed their exorcisms and other ritual acts, and this in turn benefited the "married-out" members of each not^{h}'s own moiety. Status and rank for the paired notum thus were virtually identical for all matters of formulated knowledge (ceremony and ritual). Only in the area of residual ayelkwi could one come to have higher status than the other. Even so, this would be a matter of type (of ayelkwi) rather than an absolute vertical status phenomenon.

The status and rank features along with the dual nature of ayelkwi in the not^{h}-road ceremonial pattern provide powerful deterrents toward the fission of any religious group. Ayelkwi is responsible both for rank and status and is dangerous as well. Thus it is very closely guarded. Nevertheless, dislocation and fission are known to have occurred, presumably because of a food shortage, and a one-way not^{h}-road came into being at La Jolla as a result. Strong (1929:280) described the fission of the Wassuk-Awaiu family, and used the *nota* (fem.) of the latter as informant. The presence of a one-way road in this instance is detected through the definition of the term pumutchvi. It has been described above as meaning "point." But Strong's informant defined it as meaning "rear-end" (i.e., opposite to "point"). By this she meant that although she had arranged a one-way not^{h}-road, she had been assigned a position of little importance. She could not perform any of the primary duties for the chief to whom she was appended, but was "hired" only to attend to minor matters such as singing "after-midnight" songs following the ceremonies proper. The same definition of pumutchvi and the same kind of duties were assigned to the chiefs of the Awalum (Pauma) and the Kiyunawish (Pechanga). All not^{h}-roads and practicing religious chiefs at La Jolla have become extinct.

As will be explored in the next chapter, the pumutchvi-scholahish relationships were much too important to be relegated to an inferior position by any kinship group. The scholahish through the process of "taking" and "putting" actually regulated the kinship status of the newborn. Thus, in view of the economic considerations, ayelkwi hazards, and kinship practices, it is hard to see how inferior

religious chieftainships and splinter groups could long have endured in aboriginal times. Nor is it easy to see under the circumstances how the reciprocal not^{h}-road could be representative of any form of social organization other than moieties.

Other evidence in support of the moiety system exists, such as the informant (raised among the Cupeño where moieties still exist) who could "hear" the Coyote in Pachito's important clothes-burning song, *Wiyot Puka'wi^{h}whoi.* (The old moieties may have been named Wildcat and Coyote respectively.) A second clue lies in Boscana's mention of the term "Eyoton" (1933:28) as the name of the "second (war) chief." Phonetically, the modern term is *iyaiyote.* Elsewhere (1933:28) Boscana designated this official as Eno (Ano), that is, Coyote. Pachito agrees with this designation for the assistant war chief at the time of the Pechanga-Pauma war, but thinks that the individual belonged to a different lineage from the ancestor who was the Tovomaiyum religious chief at that time. Still a third faint hint of the Wildcat-Coyote moiety designation is found in the name Anoyum for one of the religious parties at Rincon.

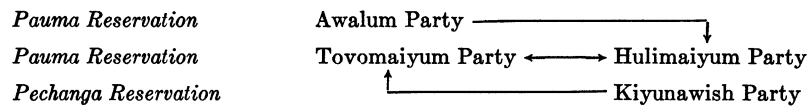
With these details in mind, an experiment was performed on Pachito. A diagram tabulating groups by village and moiety was prepared as follows:

	Moiety I	*Moiety II*
Kuka	Ivium	Anoyum
Pauma	Tovomaiyum	Hulimaiyum, Awalum

Without preparatory discussion, this arrangement was shown to the informant, who was asked whether the items had been put in the "right" places. Without delay or hesitation, he corrected it to read:

	Moiety I	*Moiety II*
Kuka	Ivium	Anoyum
Pauma	Hulimaiyum	Tovomaiyum, Awalum

This has the signal effect of placing the Tovomaiyum in the same moiety grouping generally as the Anoyum, in conformance with the clues discussed above. But it does still more. To return to the Pauma situation diagramed above:



It will be observed that the Awalum one-way not^{h}-road was arranged with the Hulimaiyum religious chief, and that when it was discontinued the Awalum people joined the Tovomaiyum. This fits all the specifications involving the refugee condition of the Awalum, the question of moiety, and of not^{h}-road alignment. By the same token, the Kiyunawish party of Pechanga is probably Wildcat, and in the event of another failure of their religious leadership might be expected to join either the Hulimaiyum of Pauma, or the Ivium of Rincon.

This clarification of the moiety arrangements at Pauma opens the way for an examination of kinship involvements reflected in kinship terminologies. We now have an estimate of (1) the nature of the rancheria along with its probable rule of endogamy, (2) the reciprocal character of the economy as shown through cere-

monial activity, and (3) the likelihood of the religious party being composed of fragments of old exogamous moieties. We also have (4) an insight into the functional meaning of the scholahish and pumutchvi ceremonial statuses.

These and other important features give sufficient insight for major decisions regarding criteria of kinship organization. Without this, even though some kinship terminologies already strongly suggest the nature of the kinship structure, the manner in which that structure integrates with the overall social structure cannot be satisfactorily analyzed.

Chapter V

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The social organization of the Luiseño, although a subject of repeated research, has suffered so much breakdown and disorder that in the recent past reconstruction has been difficult and success qualified. This study is intended only to modify and extend previous efforts. Its findings must be similarly qualified.

Dislocations and decimation of the population have been major contributing factors to the breakdown and disorder. Further, changes in the marriage rules—not necessarily the elimination of old rules, but the adoption of Christian practices in addition—have been accompanied by disturbances in the kinship structure. Today, virtually none of the young people understands the system, and they sometimes become resentful when parents intervene in the dating procedures. The old people themselves seem confused at times and, when it becomes apparent that two young people are interested in each other, often hold a conference to try to work out the degree of relationship between them. The frequency with which incest taboos are invoked in any potential romance so discourages the young people that now general "tribal" exogamy is practiced.

Nor is marriage the only social organizational characteristic about which the young people are kept in ignorance. Ayelkwi seems to inhere in all levels of social structure, and to know and understand it is to struggle for and study every fragment of information—which has added greatly to the difficulties of every investigator who has worked in Luiseño territory.

In 1925 (p. 616) Kroeber complained that the proper opportunity for mapping the Juaneño-Luiseño territory had passed away some fifty years earlier. The same is true for the old social organization. Nevertheless, fragments of information are still to be found which, if fitted together, form fairly convincing outlines.

The information correlated and organized into patterns in earlier chapters obviously contains more inferences than have been thus far examined. Furthermore, there is additional data upon social organization to be worked into the exposition. In this chapter, we shall be concerned with the manner in which the various structures fit together to form a model. Particular emphasis will be placed upon kinship organization.

Although no positive claims of definitiveness nor complete accuracy can be lodged, the techniques of model construction in themselves add some strength to the legitimacy of the findings in that the information and inferences must fit together in a naturalistic manner and with almost no exceptions. This particular model, I believe, should command some confidence due to the large variety of materials worked into it, and to the fashion in which the details confirm and conform to each other. There are diachronic tests as well as synchronous data built into it, and most of the published materials, where accurate, conform, even though many of them have not been introduced into this text.

Fairly early in the field-work program, it was discovered that Luiseño social organization contained a rather large number of specialized patrilineal offices and officials. The published literature tended to confirm this view. Later, it became uncomfortably clear that to accommodate such elaboration of offices, some changes

had to be made in population estimates. It is difficult to see how so many offices could be vested in migratory groups numbering only twenty or thirty persons (an impression gathered at the outset of field work) unless the few adult males each occupied several offices. If such were true, however, what possible justification could there be for proliferation of separate and powerful offices? Examination of the modern configurations showed that each office is held by a separate individual wherever possible. Duplications are rare; offices generally fall vacant when the prospective office-holder shows lack of competence. This was eventually discovered to be a matter of ayelkwi, and the offices and office-holders to be closely associated with patrilineages. The field data showed that certain forms of ayelkwi are inherited, transmitted through the patrilineages under religious sanctions, and expressed socially as important offices, each held separately from the others. These discoveries confirmed the need for reëvaluating the population estimates made by Kroeber (1925:883).

The study of demography involved ecology and the assumption that a species tends to fill its ecological niche completely according to its food supply. If this were true of the Juaneño-Luiseño, then evidence of population pressure might still be available. Although the reservations and old villages have been examined by most modern investigators, the old Spanish writers referred to the rancheria as a territorial and population unit. Early field observations such as the noting of dialect differences between groups of people so close geographically as Kuka and Pauma, the presence of important cosmogonic variants based upon village locales, and continued pronounced sociocentric orientation among various groups originating in Ngorivo, La Jolla, Kuka, Pauma, and so forth (in spite of intermarriage, reservation organizations, and other structural disturbances), shortly brought the rancheria into sharp focus as the largest original demographic and geographical unit of Luiseño social organization. It also forms the basic aboriginal unit of ecology. The persistence of sociocentric orientation toward the old rancheria opened the way for mapping and on-the-ground observation of flora and fauna of the region. This combined with descriptions of the terrain culled from early observers led to a reconstruction of the food yielding potentialities of the average rancheria.

Taking Fr. Mariner's head count (Engelhardt, 1921:4) of the nearby Diegueñan community of Samptay Luscat as a reasonably general indication of relative size, it became clear that the average rancheria could support some two hundred persons. Then with as many as perhaps sixty adult males per rancheria, the difficulty presented by a large number of special officials is eliminated. The vulnerability of native Indian populations to decimation upon exposure to diseases imported by Europeans, and the consequent requirement for large population reserves for the continued operations of the missions as military supply depots, form an independent approach toward validation of the general accuracy of the demographic studies.

Not only did the rugged mountains and riverine nature of the terrain lend itself to general isolation of the rancherias, but it limited the amount of land a village group could exploit efficiently. This in turn limited the size of the group living on the land. The major food product, acorns, required storage and had to be guarded

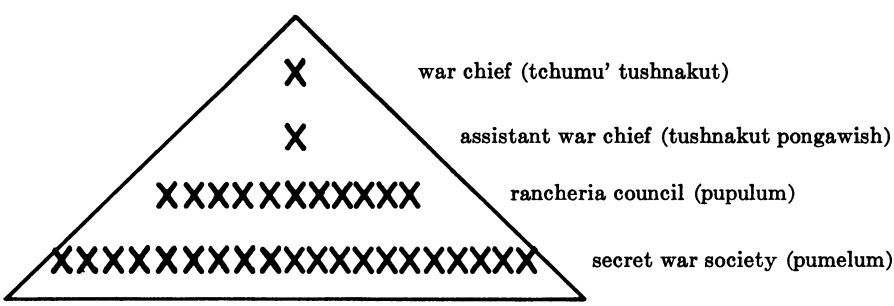
from animals or thieves. This, and the limited sources of fresh water, caused the population to be rather sedentary.

The rule that a species tends to fill its ecological niche completely implies both that, when the niche is filled, population pressures will be felt, and that phenomena will then be encountered that restrain further population expansion. For the Luiseño, two of the phenomena which served these functions were famine and warfare. Variable rainfall led to occasional partial acorn crop failures, famine, and food raids. Legends still exist of at least two wars fought by Pauma for these reasons.

Where a population is sedentary and there is competition for food, ownership patterns and trespass rules come into being. The Luiseño have both. Further, they have a cosmogony that reflects a Malthusian view of the world, and ceremonial patterns that contain economic features nicely designed to ensure widespread and relatively even distribution of food stocks among members of any particular rancheria; the exceptions were old people and officials who generally received a little more in the form of gratuities or "payment" for services. This preferential position in relation to food distribution undoubtedly had much to do with the number of existing offices and the care with which inheritance of office was reserved to the lineages. The food quest and problems of inheritance and distribution also intimately involved the whole kinship system.

Various materials have been advanced to indicate the pre-Spanish and early mission existence of a paramount war chief who possessed power over interrancheria affairs, and influence in grove management. There are reasons for believing that it was this particular official who met and arranged affairs with the Spanish, and further reasons for believing that in accord with church policy (Jeffreys, 1956:724; Tac, 1952:13) effort was made to discredit and eventually destroy the office. Although the institution seems to have lingered well beyond the secularization of the missions, there are today no *hereditary* paramount war chiefs active in Luiseño society. The office has lost both its economic and warfare powers.

The war chief and his pyramidal war structure should be differentiated from the religious chiefs and their moiety organizations. The war chief was head of the village council of pupulum, and the leader of the war society pumelum. Diagrammatically the structure appears thus:



Elements of the pumelum society, the pupulum council, and even a shadow war chief are still to be found performing some of their special ceremonies at Rincon Reservation (cf. White, 1957:10).

Among pupulum and pulum forming the war council were:

1) *Atewla:* messenger.
2) *Hukŭt:* "sharpshooter."
3) *Monanikŭt:* pula who "points" game.
4) *?:* leader of the rabbit hunt.
5) *Paha':* disciplinarian.
6) *Totowĭsh dancer:* eagle feather dancer.
7) *Tchelopĭsh dancer:* "hand-warming," hopping dancer.
8) *?:* Other assorted prognosticators, land protectors, astrologers, game- and crop-increase pulum, doctors, pot makers, singers, and sorcerers.

The importance of the offices differed. In council, each was heard only insofar as his specialty applied to the problem under consideration. The religious officials all belonged to the war council also, for it included every man of appropriate rank; during hostilities deaths occurred, and the religious officials were then immediately preoccupied with funerary ceremonies rather than hostilities.

In general, the pupulum council was made up of old men. The younger warriors comprised the main body of pumelum. These young men were sponsored by the older ones under circumstances that could (and currently does) override kinship considerations. Ayelkwi controls, both in food quest and warfare, were of paramount importance, and sponsorship involved conveying ayelkwi powers to younger men upon the basis of capability. Among the more important lineages, this probably took the form of father-to-son inheritance, particularly where the power was of the formulated variety. But considerable residual ayelkwi was conveyed on merit alone. I have been able to discover no indication of the avunculate (sponsorship by mother's brother) in action in the pumelum society, either in modern or early mission times.

Although during early mission times moiety divisions may at one time have extended to the warrior society (the paha'um seem to have been paired; gaming implies at least two competing sides; the notahish ceremony may have included competitive sports) there is little evidence of such today. There are several reasons for this: (1) The rancheria endogamy and moiety exogamy marriage pattern was destroyed in favor of both rancheria exogamy and moiety exogamy as a result of bunching populations at the missions and imposition of Spanish-Christian taboos upon cross-cousin marriage; (2) having adopted the Chingishnish cult, the warrior societies, in the face of epidemic diseases among populations at the missions, merged structurally and turned their attentions toward an enormous effort at "correcting" the misapplication of ayelkwi spreading over the land in the visible form of deaths from disease, a nativistic effort that also included the hope of driving out the Spanish. Other than the effects of these major occurrences upon the kinship system and moiety organization, the warrior societies will not be considered further here except to append a note concerning the role of woman in war.

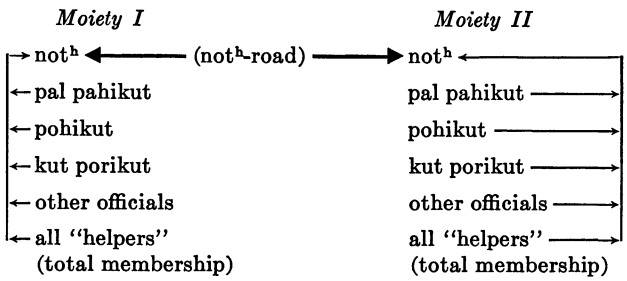
The females served the warrior society in two very useful capacities: (1) They

prepared and carried food, and (2) they sang powerful hate-laden war songs (nokwanish alumish), a token form of which may, in principle, be observed in the singing support given the men in today's pion games. According to Mark Golsh and other informants, the last singing of the nokwanish alumish songs occurred around 1907 between the women of Pala and Pauma. Government agents interceded to stop the hostilities.

The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to structural problems concerning the moieties and lineages, and the manner in which kinship terminologies come to bear upon the social organization in general. There will be strong emphasis upon inheritance of offices and land, and on two extremely important ceremonial statuses mentioned earlier (chap. iv) the scholahish and pumutchvi.

The moiety institution becomes immediately apparent only through the not^{h}-road and the problems surrounding it. By examination of the recent history of surviving not^{h}-roads it appears that splinter group affiliations and secondary "one-way" roads would have been impossible in pre-Spanish times. First, subordination of one religious chief to another would have been impossible, not only because of envy, but because of a far more serious problem—that of competence in ceremonial affairs. Ceremonial reciprocation requires that the *opposite* religious chief be thoroughly efficient in such matters as disposing of ghosts, or any other reciprocal activity in which ayelkwi is used. Second, moiety reciprocation constituted a major basis of economic activity within the rancheria. A very high frequency of ceremonies and the celebration of each for three days in most instances would have tended to level and equalize the consumption of foodstuffs throughout the population generally. A one-way road with a one-way flow of food distribution clearly would have been impossible. Neither religious machinery nor economic surplus existed to experiment with unorthodox ceremonial behavior before the enforced massing of many rancheria populations together at the missions. The subsequent reduction of their numbers and inability to return to their ancient home sites produced amalgamations and abortive attempts to gain results remembered from pre-Spanish days.

The parallelogram of religious officials and moiety members appears thus:



The not^{h}-road shown by the arrow connecting the chiefs is an arrangement centering the powers of office in the chiefs and chiefs only. Although the lesser officials are paired, they cannot officially act coöperatively except through the respective chiefs. This is shown by the vertical line and connecting arrows. But this arrangement of lines and arrows has another important significance. When

the religious chief is serving in his official capacity as pumutchvi, point, ayelkwi power is conceived as pouring through the channels shown into and through the chief. By his direction ("pointing") the power is brought to bear on the ghost of the deceased from the opposite moiety, thus forcing it to depart. Each of the officials shown in the diagram represents the head of a patrilineage.

It was the practice of the important lineage leaders to memorize and maintain lists of their predecessors very much as if each were a "royal" lineage. The one produced below is that of not^{h} Pachito. Although the name of the progenitor, Sheiyutl, is remembered, those of the first four notum of the line have been forgotten. In the following list, Luiseño grandfather terms provided by Kroeber (1917:348–352) are placed before the appropriate generation marked in the usual manner, f_1, f_2, f_3, and so forth.

The Soktchum (Pachito) Patrilineal Lineage

Generation	Sheiyutl (progenitor)
f_1	— ? (first chief of the line).
f_2—FaFaFaFaFaFa—Taula	— ? (second chief of the line).
f_3— FaFaFaFaFa—Yuto	— ? (third chief of the line).
f_4— FaFaFaFa—Shosha	— ? (not^{h} during Pauma-Pechanga war).
f_5— FaFaFa—Piwi	— Antonio (first Christian Soktchum).
f_6— FaFa—Ka'	— Jose (Kroeber's "old Pachito").
f_7— Fa—Na	— Selso.
f_8— Ego	— Rejinaldo (present not^{h}).

Doubts may be raised about the significance of these grandfather terms in the more remote generations. But the Luiseño kinship system does place great emphasis upon relative age and generation, and further, if the names of grandfathers actually are remembered for as many as eight or nine generations, should it be surprising that terms exist by which they can be labeled? However this may be, it appears that some of the grandfather terms may have served purposes other than that of identifying antecedant patrilineal members. The current name of the patrilineage is the *piwi.* Parenthetically, it also appears to contain the same stem, *pi-*, as *pewo,* husband, and *peiwuktŭm,* referring to persons who are married.

Further, it is probable that the grandfather term *shosha* applies similarly to the moiety. Names for moieties and the rancheria as a whole are uncertain, and perhaps can never be determined exactly from the remnants of Luiseño culture. However, after long consultations with virtually all the old Luiseño people now living, Pachito was able to provide two terms of considerable interest. These are *nolamai* and the grandfather term *shosha.* Both are known to refer to groups of people socially organized, with the nolamai a larger group than the shosha. Other than providing these bare facts, Pachito could only comment: "Whatever you are able to make out of them will probably be right, for there is nobody living today who can say you are not right."

A persuasive clue leading to the view that the grandfather term shosha is indeed the referent for the moiety is found in the ceremonial-status "scholahish," described in chapter iv. If the difference in phonetic values between the stem sh-

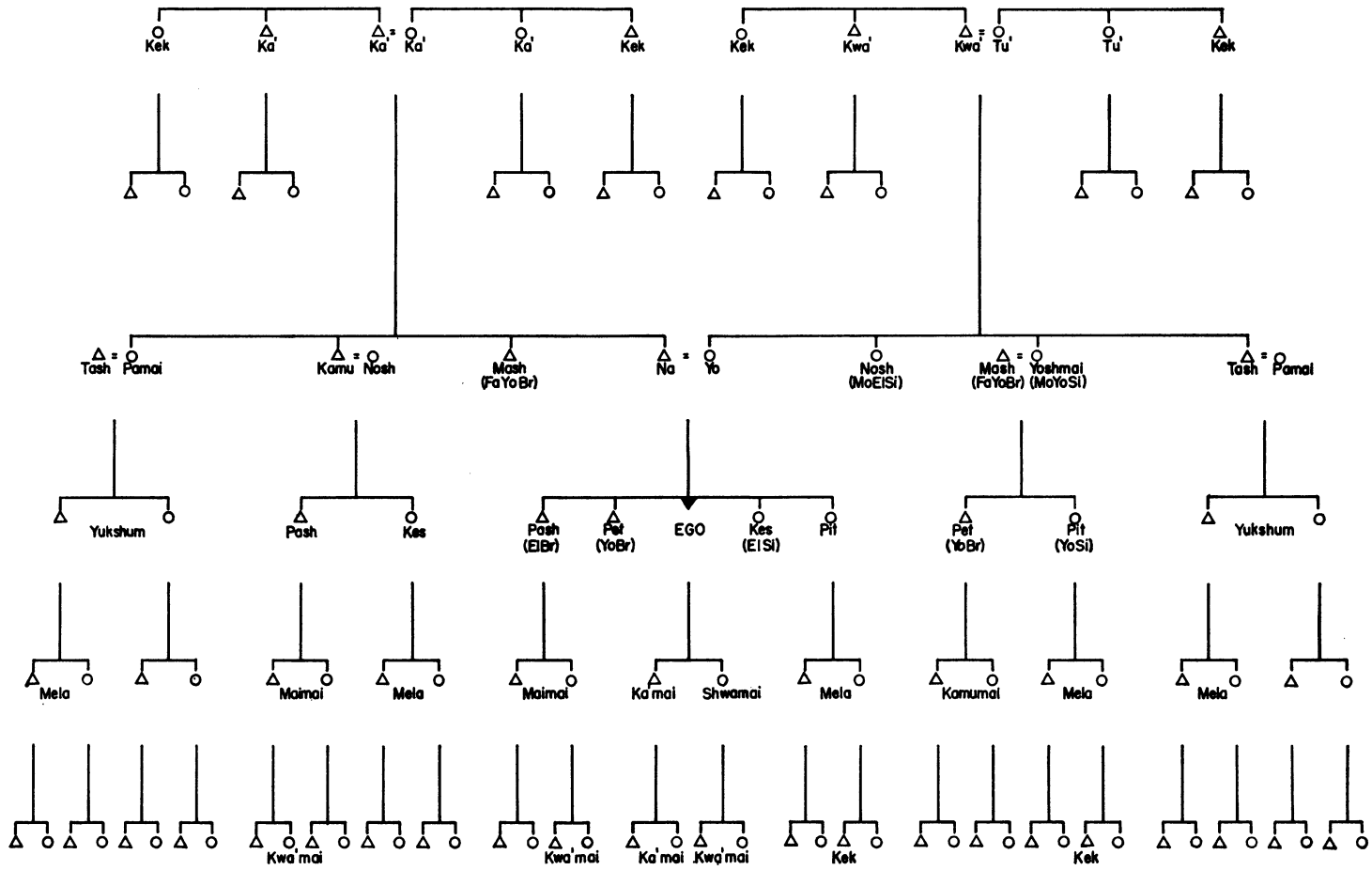


Fig. 2. Luiseño Kinship.

in shosha and the sch- "heard" in scholahish is not distinctive, then the stems *sh- or *sho- may be identical. In this event, the not^h, head of the moiety (shosha), is also called shosha, putative great-great-grandfather who performs the scholahish ceremonial duties.

The details of the scholahish function conform to this construction. Young females "marry out" of the group and move physically (patrilocal residence) to the homes of their spouses. When a young married couple have a child, the not^h of the young mother's moiety must perform a scholahish ceremonial visit. The shosha (ceremonial great-great-grandfather) serves as surrogate for the infant's mother's father (kwa'), and welcomes the newborn ego into the world. The not^h "confirms" the child to the householding group, particularly the patrilineage, and apparently to the moiety. (Here, the modern party has so obfuscated the pattern that uncertainty exists.) Under some conditions, arrangements are made to "take" and "put" ayelkwi so that the child's powers conform to those of the sociological father. Thus, the scholahish (which also involves certain ceremonial funeral duties) is the ceremonial act of the "great-great-grandfather," regardless of the actual age or kinship affiliations of the officiating chief. The grandfather term—in accordance with Luiseño attitudes and manners—is an expression of great politeness and deference, and to have the term shosha apply both to the religious head of a social unit and to the unit itself conforms to pattern.

The details concerning the term nolamai are somewhat parallel. Nolamai is probably a diminutive form based upon the stem no'-. The diminutive suffix, -mai, may either reflect the view of the speaker or refer to the fact that the unit is made up of the total of its (smaller) constituent parts. The stem *no'- is probably identical with that in *no'* (head), in this instance perhaps the war chief. Since the nolamai as a specific socially organized population unit is larger than the shosha, and the latter appears to be the term for moiety, then the various details come into consonance. Nolamai should be the term used to refer to the corporate population of the rancheria as a whole. Again, the connotation of the term stands in agreement with this view. No' contains an invidious sense when applied to interrancheria affairs.

It is of particular importance to note that this reconstruction parallels the data on land ownership discussed in chapter iii. The nolamai corporate population of the rancheria exercises ownership over the tch'o'num tcho'mi collective territory of the rancheria. The moiety shosha correspond in magnitude to the tchon tcho'mi collective gathering areas, but whether the latter were actually divided according to moiety is uncertain. The piwi lineage formed the centrum around which the kikutum, extended families, were patrilocally clustered, and formed the basis of ownership of the tungva, "gardens."

According to Kroeber (1917: 348–352), Luiseño kinship terminologies show "a dominant inclination toward exact reciprocity," that is, pairs of terms tend to indicate equal relational distances, for instance, grandfather—grandson (ka'—ka'mai). The -mai is the diminutive ending. Kroeber continues: ". . . the tendency affects practically all terms of the grandparents, uncle, parent-in-law, brother-in-law, and cousin classes." Some in-law terms are "descriptive and have no class terms," others are "self-contradictory phrases of transparent meaning as the obvious result of the reciprocal influence." (See table 6.)

TABLE 6

LUISEÑO (SHOSHONEAN LINGUISTIC STOCK) KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Term	2nd ascending	1st ascending	Ego	1st descending	2nd descending
Ka' Ka'mai (—mai is diminutive)	FaFa FaMo FaFaBr FaMoSi	HuFa (ChFaFa)		SoWi WoSoWi BrSoWi WoSiSoWi	 SoCh BrSoCh WoSiSoCh
Kwa' Kwa'mai	MoFa MoFaBr				 DaCh BrDaCh
Tu' Tu'-mai	MoMo MoMoSi				 WoDaCh WoSiDaCh
Kek	FaMoBr MoMoBr FaFaSi MoFaSi			BrChSp WoSiChSp	SiChCh WoBrChCh
Na' Yo'		Fa Mo			
Kamu Kamu-mai		FaElBr FaElXCo (male)		 YoBrCh Yo(male)XCoCh	
Mash Mai-mai		FaYoBr "stepfather" FaYoXCo (male)		 ELBrCh "stepchild" El(male)XCoCh	
Nosh Nosh-mai		MoElSi FaElBrWi MoElXCo (female)		 WoYoSiCh HuYoBrCh WoYo(female)XCoCh	

		FaYoBrWi MoYoXCo(female)			
Kuli-mai				WoElSiCh Wo "stepchild" WoEl(female)XCoCh HuElBrCh	
Tash		MoBr FaSiHu MoXCo(male)			
Mela				SiCh (female)XCoCh WiBrCh	
Pa-mai		FaSi Fa(female)XCo MoBrWi			
Ali-mai				WoBrCh HuSiCh Wo(male)XCoCh	
Pash Kes Pet Pit			ElBr ElSi YoBr YoSi		
Kung Pewo (mate) Shnga-ki (from Sunga-l, woman) To'ma (Tu'mai?) Aki			Hu Hu Wi Wi "co-wife" (ElSi or YoSi)		
Yukshum			XCo(male and female)		
Ka-mai Shwa-mai				So Da	
Kwa'pa-na Tu'pa-na Ka'shangal Na-hwa Tolma Mes pa-na		WiFa WiMo HuMo	 ChSpFa ChSpMo WoBrWi HuSi (all other Br-Si in-law) relationships.)	DaHu (DaChFa) WoDaHu (DaChFa) ChSp(?)	

The kinship terminologies collected by Kroeber (1917:348–352) and Gifford (1918:60–61) and combined in table 6 indicate a structure that, according to the following definition, Murdock (1952:237) classifies as Dakota:

> The Dakota type of social structure includes, by definition, all patrilineal societies with Iroquois cousin terms. In addition, it is widely characterized by . . . a family organization of either the independent polygynous or the patrilocal extended type . . . by the patrilineal extension of incest taboos, and by . . . bifurcate merging terms for aunts and nieces . . .

The Luiseño seem to conform in most respects to this definition, particularly in regard to the bifurcate merging terms for aunts and siblings (see table 6 and fig. 2). Murdock (1952:142) has prepared the following arrangement to show what he means by "bifurcate merging."

Mo—MoSi, FaSi
Mo—FaBrWi, MoBrWi
Si—FaBrDa, FaSiDa
Si—MoSiDa, MoBrDa
Da—BrDa, SiDa
Da—WiSiDa, WiBrDa

The abbreviations used are simple: Mo is mother, Wi is wife, Fa and Br are father and brother respectively, Si and Da are, of course, sister and daughter. The dash indicates that the kinship terms are the same, the comma differentiates them. For example, in the expression "Mo—MoSi, FaSi," the corresponding Luiseño kin terms are yo—yo-sh-mai (the stems are identical, and the diminutive form of the later corresponds to the Luiseño emphasis upon relative age). The term pamai, FaSi, is altogether different from that for Mo.

In expanding this tabular system to accommodate Luiseño relative ages, it should be noted that distinctions are made according to the relative ages of the parent's siblings. Parallel cousins are MoSiDa and FaBrDa, terminologically classified as siblings.

Yo (Mo)	—Nosh (MoElSi),	Pamai (FaSi)
Yo (Mo)	—Yoshmai (MoYoSi),	Pamai (FaSi)
Kes (ElSi)	—Kes (FaElBrDa),	Yukshum (FaSiDa)
Kes (ElSi)	—Kes (MoElSiDa),	Yukshum (MoBrDa)
Pit (YoSi)	—Pit (FaYoBrDa),	Yukshum (FaSiDa)
Pit (YoSi)	—Pit (MoYoSiDa),	Yukshum (MoBrDa)
Shwamai (Da)	—Maimai (ElBrDa),	Mela (SiDa)
Shwamai (Da)	—Kamumai (YoBrDa),	Mela (SiDa)
Shwamai (Da)	—Maimai (WiElSiDa),	Mela (WiBrDa)
Shwamai (Da)	—Kamumai (WiYoSiDa),	Mela (WiBrDa)

Again, according to Kroeber, Luiseño kinship terminologies show "a dominant inclination toward exact reciprocity," that is, pairs of terms tend to indicate equal relational distances. For example, the influence of relative ages of parent's siblings in the above bifurcate merging system establishes the following equal relational distances in terms of address:

Kamu (FaElBr)—Kamumai (YoBrDa)

Mash (FaYoBr)—Maimai (ElBrDa)

This means that for ego, kamu is father's elder brother, and is so addressed. He, in reciprocation, addresses ego with the diminutive of the same term, kamumai. Although this destroys the immediacy with which the bifurcate merging character of the kinship system is apprehended, it does not change that character.

The reciprocal terms used by aunts and nieces also make the bifurcate merging system difficult to apprehend:

Nosh (MoElSi)—Noshmai (YoSiDa)

Yoshmai (MoYoSi)—Kulimai (ElSiDa)

Here, what we are seeing are some of the effects of relative age, the levirate, sororal polygyny, and patrilocal residence among other things. Ego calls MoYoSi yoshmai, apparently implying that this woman is already co-wife with mother or will become so, a probability also reflected in the fact that alternatively yoshmai means stepmother. Reciprocally, MoYoSi uses the term kulimai, which seems to derive from Kung, husband, actual or putative. Kulimai might translate something like "husband's little one." Patrilocal residence keeps all these people in the same living group until sisters and daughters marry-out.

The importance of residence as a determinant of kinship terminologies is further exemplified in what would at first appear to be contradiction in the terminological system. We find that not only does the following grouping assume cross-cousin marriage, but that patrilocality in the event of "illegitimacy" comes to bear.

Nosh—MoElSi—FaElBrWi, but also MoElXCo (female)

Yoshmai—MoYoSi—FaYoBrWi, but also MoYoXCo (female)

Kamu—FaElBr, but also FaElXCo (male)

Mash—FaYoBr, but also FaYoXCo (male)

In the event of cross-cousin marriage selectively by relative age, nosh could indeed be both MoElSi and FaElBrWi. The same applies to the other uncle and aunt terms. But to identify nosh with mother's elder cross cousin (female) would seem to identify her with pamai, father's sister (see fig. 2). Similarly, to identify kamu, father's elder brother, with father's elder cross cousin (male) would also identify him with mother's brother, tash. Referring back to earlier chapters, we find that, on occasion, a child was born to an unmarried woman under conditions that left it without an established patrilineage. The terminological disconformities above suggest a condition observable on the reservations today. In the absence of a sociological father, the mother usually lives with her consanguineal relatives. Terminologically, this means that the child would address his mother's elder brother as kamu (otherwise FaElBr), and the wife of this kamu as nosh, just as if he were to take his mother's father's lineage as his own. The same terminological disconformities may be observed for mother's younger siblings and their spouses.

The Luiseño have Iroquois-type cousin terminologies. Murdock's definition (1952:223) is as follows: "*Iroquois*—FaSiDa and MoBrDa called by the same terms but terminologically differentiated from parallel cousins as well as from sisters; parallel cousins commonly but not always classified with sisters." It has already been shown that FaSiDa and MoBrDa are called by the same term, yuk-

shum. Further, no terminological distinction is made between cross cousins on the basis of sex; both are called yukshum. Even without the terminological evidence found in the aunt, uncle, and niece reciprocal terms, preferential cross-cousin marriage is suggested by the forms identifying parallel cousins as siblings and differentiating cross cousins from parallel cousins. This is particularly applicable when viewed in reference to the nature of the householding groups.

Groups of patrilineally related males usually lived in a single cluster, and females either married-out or married-in, changing their residence to that of their husbands. The levirate and sororal polygyny were practiced. Thus parallel cousins were within the same patrilocal residence groups, and often within the same family. By the same token, cross uncles and aunts and cross cousins all lived in a cluster separated from a group of parallel cousins both by lineage and by physical as well as social distance. Lineage, physical and social distance, and terminological distinction all suggest that at one time cross cousins were marriageable, even though today they are not. The very mention of such an idea now brings vigorous protest, but this may represent one or both of the following possibilities: (1) An extensive proliferation of lineages in pre-Spanish times permitting wider selection of mates; (2) adoption of the Christian incest taboo relating to any kind of cousin marriage. The latter is almost certainly the primary cause. In the course of field work it did prove possible to get some information about one informant who had been born into a sororally polygynous household; another informant told me that he had married his cross cousin and that cross-cousin marriage had been common in the old days.

The following construct shows terminologies according to a male ego. The males are direct descendants or antecedants in the patrilineage, the females linked to them by the symbol = are their respective spouses. Residence is of course patrilocal, and the aunt, uncle, niece, sibling, and other relationships have been omitted.

Second ascending	(FaFa)	┌	Ka' = Ka'	(FaMo)
First ascending	(Fa)	│	Na' = Yo	(Mo)
Ego		—	Ego ♂ = To'ma	(Wi)
First descending	(So)	│	Ka'mai = Ka'	(SoWi)
Second descending	(SoSo)	└	Ka'mai = Ka'	(SoSoWi)

Terminologically, this shows the patrilineage clearly. It should be noted emphatically, however, that all terms are those used by male ego. Here there is no differentiation by sex between the grandparents. Set forth by the long bracket is the fact that grandfather and grandson always call each other reciprocally, ka'. Ego is called this by his FaFa and FaMo. With ego's own son, ka'mai, the term of address is also one of reference as in "Henry, the grandson of Jose." Thus, ego speaks of his own son as the grandson of ego's father. In the second descending generation ego calls his grandson ka'mai, and is reciprocally referred to as ka'. The parental generation is the only one in the construct that does not show the use of a grandparental term, and this is because kamu, father's elder brother, is not shown. In the ego generation, the term to'ma is an orthographically inaccurate rendering of tu'mai, the diminutive reciprocal term for tu', mother's mother. This is also easily confused with tolma, sister-in-law.

When we examine a similar construct in which ego is female, we get a very different set of terminologies, although reciprocation is preserved. Residence is patrilocal, and the patrilineage shows clearly with the interesting addition that kwa', MoFa, proves to be in the same lineage as the husband. In this ideal situation, the manner of alignment of the matrilineal moiety begins to show through.

Second ascending	(MoMo) (MoMoSi)	Tu' = Kwa'	(MoFa) (MoFaBr)
First ascending	(HuMo)	Ka'shngal = Ka'	(HuFa) (ChFaFa)
Ego		Ego ♀ = Kung	(Hu)
First descending	(SoWi)	Ka' = Ka'mai	(So)
Second descending	(DaDa)	Tu'mai = Ka'mai	(SoSo)

In this arrangement all females shown have married-in. Daughters, nieces, and aunts are omitted for the sake of simplification. Here, although not so labeled, the female ego would be called tu'mai by her mother's mother (or MoMoSi), and reciprocally would call that individual tu' as shown; similarly, the female ego would be called tu' by her daughter's daughter, and would reciprocate with tu'mai. Of incidental interest is the fact that precisely the same respective terminological relationships exist between the women whom female ego calls ka'shngal and ka' respectively—the elder is called tu' (MoMo) by the younger.

In examination of the seeming matrilineal aspects of grandfather terms earlier in this chapter, it appeared that the Luiseño place considerable emphasis upon the ascending generations. This view is reinforced by the extension of this principle to the ego generation; elder brother (sister) is terminologically differentiated from younger brother (sister) in accord with *parent's* relative ages. In quite another context, it was pointed out earlier that the rancheria council constitutes a gerontocracy of males. The question now arises as to how the same principle applies to a putative gerontocracy of females.

In the above construct, the emphasis upon age and ascending generations is clearly present. But how does this influence the social organization? Field observations indicate clearly that the Luiseño female is generally an aggressive individualist who has never conceived the idea of assuming a status inferior to that of men. In fact, in some respects it would seem to be the other way around. This applies to all age groups, and under conditions that suggest that the society in general is well adjusted to this form of female behavior.

There are other bits of information that point to the antiquity of great female influence in the social organization. For example, it has been pointed out that two "old women" were responsible for the renaissance of the upstart religious party of Francisco Rodriguez at Pechanga. These women "dreamed" and thus "discovered" all necessary ayelkwi powers and ceremonial forms. It was they who prevailed upon Rodriguez to assume the office of religious chief. The important feature here is that although a male assumed the office in conformance with the usual pattern, it was the old women who organized and endowed it with the necessary powers.

Pechanga is not the only place where such events occurred. In the recent past, a similar but abortive attempt at much the same thing seems to have happened

at La Jolla. As there was no qualified male to assume the office, one of the older females attempted on several occasions to exercise ayelkwi powers in preparation for assuming office herself. When each attempt was attended by grave miscarriages of ayelkwi (deaths, accidents, and so on), the efforts were abruptly ended.

A still different instance of the exercise of matrilineal controls may be observed at Rincon. There, two women, a grandmother and a wife, appear to control all but the ceremonial activities of the not^{h}, and are tireless in their efforts to acquire old ceremonial forms for his use and application. Although similar female activities in regard to the chiefly office did not appear openly at Pauma, there were, nevertheless, many references to such influence. For example, Pachito strongly implied that although the council of males favorably considered the establishment of a one-way road with Pechanga, it was the approval of the "old women" of Pauma that really opened the way for it. Furthermore, I was acutely aware throughout the latter part of the field work that not only were these old women frequently consulted by Pachito in search for information, but that he was also reporting to them and securing their approval of his activities.

Many other clues pointing to some form of matrilineal social controls could be cited, but unfortunately they all seem to be based upon emphasis or implication rather than upon a specific statement of kinship involvement. One of the better examples of this is found in Boscana (1934:57):

> Chief Oyaison *after the death of his wife,* seeing the multitude of people at his rancheria and that the seeds ... were not sufficient for supporting that multitude, separated ... many families (who) wished to follow him, *and with his oldest daughter, Coronne* they took trail in a southerly direction ... When all of them had already settled ... having built their houses and established their town, Chief Oyaison returned to his country of Sejat, *leaving with these new settlers as chieftainess his daughter Coronne.* (Italics supplied.)

In a rather ambiguous way Boscana contributes another challenging bit of information:

> ... after she (the mother) had brought forth and the baby had been cleaned off, they showed it to the people, and if it was a male the grandfathers named it ... and if it was a female the grandmothers named it; and it was always the name of themselves, of their parents, or of their ancestors ... (Boscana, 1934:26.)

In the light of the data already examined above, some implications of Boscana's contributions may be set forth. The evidence of female leadership, when combined with the reciprocal system of grandmother kinship terminologies tu'—tu'mai, the matrilineal aspect of the grandfather terminologies, various features of cross-cousin marriage, and the reciprocal characteristics of the scholahish and pumut-chvi ceremonial statuses—all these suggest that the moieties were matrilineal. The above-mentioned ceremonial showing and naming of the baby is clearly a part of the scholahish, the ceremonial grandfather visit. With Pachito's information that the child is "confirmed" to the lineage and "family" of its father, the expression in Boscana that the grandfathers named it, if male, after themselves, becomes clear. The mother's father (kwa'), or his surrogate, the not^{h}, makes the ceremonial visit to the home of the newborn, and in conjunction with the opposite not^{h} names the child after the father's father. This would greatly strengthen the nomenclature link, ka'—ka'mai, between the new ego and father's father. By parallel reasoning,

with matrilineal moieties the newborn female ego is named after mother's mother in conformance with the tu'—tu'mai nomenclature. Theoretically, after cross-cousin marriage, this girl will live in the household of her tu', mother's mother.

If this reasoning is correct, then the rule that the child, regardless of sex, is "confirmed" to the lineage and "family" of its father may be clarified. In view of the stress upon the grandfather and grandmother terminologies, it seems better to say: (1) The child inherits the lineage of its FaFa, ka', and (2) the child inherits the moiety of its MoMo, tu'. This agrees entirely with Pachito's information in that with cross-cousin marriage, father's father, ka', is (in the ideal situation) the sibling of mother's mother, tu', and thus both belong to the same moiety.

According to these rules, and using the generation and sex principles of terminological compilation in the constructs above, it now becomes possible to add these to moiety, lineage, and residence in a single table. Female ego is married-in. The symbols f_1, f_2, and so on, show generation. It would perhaps be more elegant to show HuFa as MoMoBrSo, and Hu as MoMoBrSoSo or MoBrSo. The latter could also be indicated as FaSiSo. (See tables 7 and 8.)

Among females in moiety I, residence group A (table 7), there appears a form of alternation by generation and sex that suggests possibilities not as yet explored. This sequence, *Mo*Mo—*Fa*Si—*Si* (Ego)—*So*Wi—*Da*Da, alternates according to sex of connecting relative as well as generation. The same alternation may be seen among females in moiety II, residence group B. This structuring seems to have some additional significance for the kinship system, but its exact nature cannot be deduced from the data on hand. Although it does not show in the table, this influence also affects the males. Pachito intimated to me that in kinship he is "much closer" to his grandfather (FaFa) than to his father. This seems to be due to the females through whom both are directly descended (and consequently to the reciprocal relationship existing between the respective females). The mothers of the two males would enjoy the relationship tu'—tu'mai to each other.

Other terms are in equivocal agreement with these features. Any female relative who marries out is termed awlkut; k'awlkutum includes all such females. But to specify that marriage has taken place requires the expression *k'awlkŭtŭm peiwŭktŭm*. (The pewelish is the marriage ceremony, and one name for husband is pewo; the stem seems to mean "mate.") Further, *amu k'awlkŭtŭm* refers to female kin from whom father is directly descended, that is, FaMo. This combination of stems (amu—ka'—awlkut) is of considerable speculative interest, since FaElBr is called kamu, apparently *ka'—amu. Here we have the grandfather term, ka', combined with the in-marrying female term. Unfortunately the exact values of the terms amu and awlkut are not clear.

In chapter ii the expression no ki' no awish was examined. This was translated as meaning "my-household-my-living," "my-household-my-being," "my-household/house-my-existence." The term awish which contains the various meanings "living," "being," or "existence," seems to contain the same stem found in awlkut, any female who marries-out, and k'awlkutum, collectively all females who have married-out. There is also a group of females in the first descending generation and thus referred to in the diminutive, ali-mai (probably *aw-li-mai), WoBrCh, and HuSiCh. Note that the speaker is female.

Tables 7 and 8 are similar. In the latter, however, kinship terms have been substituted, a not[h] as head of each moiety and surrogate kwa' (MoMo) is shown, and the important pumutchvi-scholahish relationships have been inserted in brackets. Ego in both instances is female because *in no other arrangement* can moiety, lineage, residence grouping, generation, sex, affinity, bifurcation, and merging, discussed earlier be shown in so simple a manner. In both tables all persons are married, including the female ego. For simplification, all unmarried persons and the corresponding terminologies have been eliminated except for the term yukshum in table 8, which has been substituted for FaSiDa and MoBrDa in table 7. The

TABLE 7

MATRILINEAL MOIETIES, PATRILINEAL LINEAGES, AND PATRILOCAL RESIDENCE

	Moiety I	Moiety II
	Residence Group A	
f_1	MoMo + MoMo Si	MoFa + MoFaBr
f_2	HuMo + FaSi	HuFa + HuFaBr
f_3	Ego + Si	Hu + HuBr
f_4	SoWi + BrDa	So + SiSo
f_5	DaDa + SiDaDa + SoSoWi	SoSo + SiSoSo
	Residence Group B	
f_1	FaFa + FaFaBr	FaMo + FaMoSi
f_2	Fa + FaBr	Mo + MoSi
f_3	Br	FaSiDa + MoBrDa
f_4	BrSo	Da + SiDa
f_5	BrSoSo	SoDa + SiSoDa

corresponding in-law forms would confuse rather than clarify the table. Before marriage, of course, female ego lived in and was raised by residence group B.

The matrilineal moieties are shown as vertical columns, and the patrilocal residence groups as horizontal panels. For the males no attempt is made to show more than the patrilineages in their respective residence groups (long brackets). Generation designation follows the system used in earlier descriptions. For example, Ego, a married woman, is found in moiety I, residence group A, and in generation f_3. By this token, she is married to Hu, f_3, in the same residence group but in moiety II; similarly, her brother is found in f_3, moiety I, residence group B. In other words, egocentrically, each numbered generation applies the same to all labeled relatives regardless of where found. Thus, in the f_1 generation are not only MoMo and MoMoSi, but MoFa, MoFaBr, FaFa, FaFaBr, FaMo, and FaMoSi.

The merging character of the terminologies is seen by comparing the two tables. For example, MoMo and MoMoSi in table 7 are represented by a single term, tu', in table 8. A great many instances of this merging may be seen in table 6. Bifurcation is shown by the differentiation made in the grandparents: Grandmother tu' (MoMo) is distinguished from grandmother ka' (FaMo); grandfather kwa' (MoFa) is labeled differently from grandfather ka' (FaFa).

As arranged in tables 7 and 8, the kinship terminologies yield a formation that looks astonishingly as if a section system were present, but this is because of simplification. Only two residence groups and patrilineages are shown, whereas the rancheria most likely contained several lineages and at least as many residence groups.

Although there are good reasons for supposing that some of the most important lineages may have practiced close intermarriage in the fashion described, large

TABLE 8

MATRILINEAL MOIETIES, PATRILINEAL LINEAGES, AND PATRILINEAL RESIDENCE WITH LUISEÑO KIN TERMS

Moiety I	Moiety II
Residence Group A	
	[Not^{h} II]
f_1 Tu'	Kwa'
f_2 Ka'shrngal	Ka'
f_3 *Ego*, Kes, Pit	Kung
f_4 Ka' [PI] [SI	[PI] [SI] Ka'mai
f_5 Tu'mai	Ka'mai
Residence Group B	
[Not^{h} I]	
f_1 Ka'	Ka'
f_2 Na (Kamu) (Mash)	Yo (Nosh) (Yoshmai)
f_3 Pash, Pet	Yukshum
f_4 Kamumai [PII] [SII]	[PII] [SII] Shwamai (Ka'mai)
f_5 Ka'mai	Ka'mai

populations and multiple lineages would tend to decrease the frequency of cross-cousin marriage. Thus the women marrying-in would have to rely more upon their moiety affiliation than upon the alternation by generation of consanguineal relationship. Again, this would tend to have a centrifugal effect during times of food shortage. Thus, it would appear that the important lineages had several distinct advantages in survival. Not only were they "paid" in food for ceremonial activities, but they were given frequent gifts of food and choice parts of a hunter's kill. They possessed superior innate ayelkwi allowing them to overawe the commoners, and retained a virtual monopoly of formulated ayelkwi necessary for the successful performance of ceremony. They were thus indispensable during famine and on the outbreak of its concomitant, war, both of which intensified the food quest and control over distribution. These advantages in survival would in turn strongly encourage close intermarriage of important lineages. This is implied in Boscana (1933:52): "In the year 1812 ... I married in *facie eclesia* [*sic*] a couple ... the girl was eight or nine months old, the boy two years when their parents contracted the agreement."

In regard to the reciprocal exercise of formulated ayelkwi between the moieties

and two of the principal lineages, table 8 shows (in long brackets) the patterns of scholahish and pumutchvi activities of the respective religious chiefs. For example, the group of females headed by tu' (MoMo) all receive the pumutchvi ceremonial activities [P] from the not^{h} at the head of moiety I, thus [PI]. Since the pumutchvi status of "point" described earlier is concerned with dispatching the ghost, this means that the ghost of each woman in moiety I, residence group A, will be so treated by the religious chief labeled "not^{h} I." The scholahish, [S], in the table, it will be recalled, is the chief's ceremonial visit. At the birth of a baby, he makes a ceremonial visit to the parents as surrogate for the kwa' (MoFa). During the visit he must perform various acts, among which are the welcoming of the new child into the family. (At the tuvish, which occurs immediately upon death, both the ghost and the family are consoled.) At the birth visit the child may be immediately "confirmed" into the family or, later, the process of "putting" and "taking" of innate ayelkwi may serve to adjust any power discrepancies observed in the child. Since it is the kwa' of the child or the substitute for this child's mother's father who must make the visit, the scholahish [SI] is performed by the chief of moiety I.

Excluding his own lineage group, the fact that the religious chief specialized as surrogate for the kwa' in all instances where the scholahish was performed suggests that the "taking" and "putting" procedures were ever an imminent problem. The procedures could be of great advantage when the lineage of the maternal grandfather was on the verge of extinction. With the consent of the paternal lineage's religious chief, the "taking" and "putting" might be used to perpetuate the failing lineage. This would be especially important to chiefly lineages, and can be inferred from Boscana's (1933:42) report:

> In the right of succession to the command, having no male descendant, the females also participated, and were permitted to marry with whomsoever they pleased, *even one not descended from the true line of captains* . . . The first male child they proclaimed captain as soon as born. . . . (Italics supplied because again close intermarriage of important lineages is implied.)

If the "take" and "put" procedure were unsuccessful (sometimes this could not be determined until the individual reached maturity), the whole question of moiety and lineage remained in doubt. The results could vary.

The appearance of a strange new lineage seems to have been largely confined to the births of male babies; the male principle in female babies was perhaps either absent (ayelkwi) or of little consequence. In the female, the matrimoiety principle was strong. The birth of a male child who exhibited great and strange innate ayelkwi must have presented a threat to the officiating lineages—the threat of eventual usurpation. On the other hand, such a situation might (should she be able to conquer her terror of towish and other frightful denizens of the countryside) tempt a female whose patrilineage was of no importance in the community to seek a mesalliance. To give birth to a powerful child would be to found a new patrilineage, and perhaps to revenge herself upon some important people of the community. Also, however, "putting" and "taking" could be used in an attempt to frustrate the appearance of a new lineage.

Thus far, the various arrangements have taken into account the not^{h} activities in his scholahish capacity. As pumutchvi ("point") in executing funeral cere-

monies, the reciprocation between the moieties is reinforced, and the involvements in the kinship system appear much more profound. One basic rule in the pumutchvi is that the not^{h}, leading his group, perform all funeral ceremonies for males who have died in the opposite moiety. In the first instance this would mean all males in each opposite lineage would be so served. By thus removing the ghosts, however, the not^{h} is serving as protector of the females from his own group who have married men in the opposite moiety. When these female gatherers "pay" for such services, they are actually rewarding their own male kin and their spouses. Looking at it the other way, the female spouses of the moiety in the pumutchvi posture are (1) being protected from the ghosts of men who are brothers, fathers, father's brothers, and father's fathers, and (2) being "paid" for "helping" by the spouses of these relatives. These features, plus the fact that the females exercise strong interest and influence in intermoiety affairs (on necessary occasion even assuming the mantle of nota), emphasize the matrilineal character of the moieties.

Unfortunately, the Luiseño do not seem to have entirely conformed to the pattern shown in table 8 even in pre-Spanish times. A mechanism was present by which lineages could be proliferated, and when the population was high they apparently did so. This tended to make it unnecessary that cross cousins be the children of both FaSi and MoBr married to each other. The trend would be in the direction of relationship through one or the other parent's cross siblings, but not both. Were there enough lineages, the relationship could be even more remote. If this were indeed the state of affairs, then a prohibition of cross-cousin marriage imposed by the mission fathers would formalize and add supernatural sanctions to an already partly standing situation. The greatest difficulties here would be met by those high-ranking lineages that tended to intermarry closely because of the ayelkwi involved. Proscription of cross-cousin marriage in this instance undermined the society's power system in accord with church policy (see Jeffreys, 1956) even though such a result may not have been anticipated by mission authorities.

Obviously, since occurrences have been noted, there were few taboos against interrancheria marriages. The objections to such unions were based on the food supply, warfare, ownership and inheritance concepts, and the internal familial environment. Now the church not only proscribed cross-cousin marriage, thus undermining the power system, but it also changed the entire basic nature of Indian subsistence. It largely freed the mission Indians from dependence upon the native food supply and regulated the distribution of food grown in its own fields (areas of lesser importance to the Indian economy). At the same time, the oak groves in the uplands were left relatively undisturbed and the acorn supply eventually became surplus food. This in turn made it quite easy for the authorities to impose the Spanish peace since the major cause of warfare, food shortage, had disappeared. Epidemics also rapidly thinned the populations, especially in the mission compounds. With the changes in residence, economy, and so forth, the reasons for rancheria endogamy were eliminated, and the proscription on cross-cousin marriage could be enforced through encouragement of interrancheria marriages, especially when the populations were under the eye of the priest.

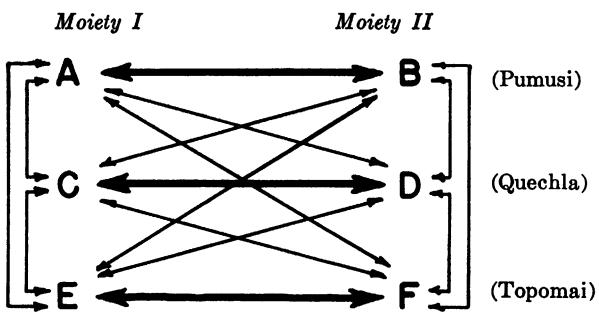
The elimination of rancheria endogamy and the mixing of populations at the mission stations introduced great structural changes. Since the principle of

rancheria endogamy had formerly been present, there are reasons for supposing that interrancheria moiety affiliations were weakly developed. The same names (Wildcat and Coyote) may have been carried from rancheria to rancheria, reflecting a much earlier general population division, but with the fission of the population into warring rancherias, and eventually into totally independent entities, any sense of consanguinity between the various populations based upon moiety membership must have become very dim. Thus, with the absence of intramoiety incest taboos when persons from different rancherias were involved, intramoiety interrancheria marriages must have taken place. For example, a Coyote male from Topomai rancheria could have married a Coyote female from Quechla, both of them living at San Luis Rey Mission.

Pachito has provided some terminology which conforms to this interpretation. *No neshkina* means "all my kin on both sides of the family." This implies only two "sides." But there is another very similar term, *no neshkinŭm* (pl.), which refers to what he calls the "third kin." As far as can be ascertained, the first instance refers to the normal intermoiety kinship pattern, explored above (in table 8), involving only a single rancheria with moiety exogamy and the normal not^{h}-road relationships. The "third kin" expression seems to refer to marriages outside of this moiety reciprocation system, limited only by the provision that the individuals originate in different rancherias and not be otherwise too closely related.

The consequences of interrancheria marriage must have been great, especially in regard to the not^{h}-road institution with its scholahish-pumutchvi relationships. At first, the various notum must have formed themselves into a constellation of interreciprocating sets. As long as their numbers were even, for instance two, four, or six, there would have been little difficulty with the scholahish-pumutchvi rituals and wealth reciprocation. Since the native food supply became surplus after the introduction of farming, the supply for ceremonial purposes would have been ample for even the high frequency of ceremonials noted by Boscana (1934:38). Such activity was heightened both by the crossing together of populations and a soaring death rate.

Based upon this analysis and upon what we know about the modern not^{h}-road organization at Pauma, we can now build a conjectural structural form showing what may have happened at Mission San Luis Rey about A.D. 1800. After assembling several populations at the mission, those of Pumusi, Quechla, and Topomai, for example, adjustments in the not^{h}-road arrangements in conformance with a changed marriage pattern might appear as follows:

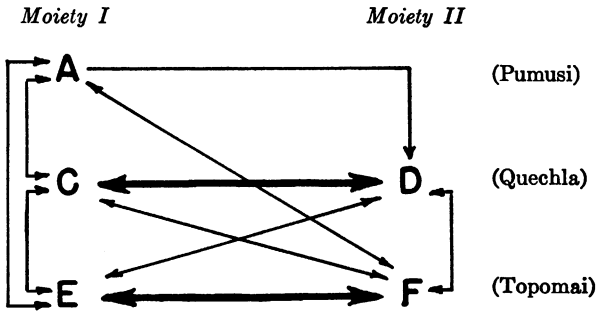


Three primary not^{h}-roads with origins in the three separate rancherias, Pumusi, Quechla, and Topomai, are shown above in the conventional manner (used in chap. iv). They are represented by the three heavy horizontal lines. The other twelve connecting arrows represent the secondary not^{h}-roads set up to take care of the scholahish-pumutchvi obligations obtaining under the new rules of marriage.

The major roads tended to become more tenuous with the proscription of cross-cousin marriage. Under conflicting religious sanctions, the additional reciprocal roads had to be arranged due to intermarriage among the rancherias. To have organized the secondary roads would have probably run counter to the traditional religious pattern and have imposed ayelkwi difficulties. Nevertheless, intermarriages would have required the scholahish-pumutchvi cycles without exception, and would have forced the various notum to find a way of accommodating the dangerous ayelkwi inhering in the situation. The solution may have been the formation of the relationships and wealth-reciprocation patterns indicated by the double-ended arrows in the diagram. Specifically, where individuals in groups A and E intermarried, for example, the religious chiefs heading groups A and E would have been forced to form the secondary not^{h}-road A ⟷ E shown. For the same reasons all twelve of the secondary roads would have been formed. If this analysis is correct, it can be readily seen that the moiety system almost disappeared within a generation or so.

At this juncture, another important set of phenomena begins to affect the situation. The death rate soared as a result of the accidental importation of epidemic diseases such as smallpox, measles, venereal diseases, tuberculosis, scarlet fever, and others. The net loss of population was catastrophic. But what would be the Indian view of these happenings? He would ascribe it to a miscarriage of old ayelkwi or the appearance of new ayelkwi. The immediate result would be the redoubling of religious activities in order to find corrective measures. At both San Luis Rey and San Juan Capistrano not only was Christianity accepted as "another religion" to be kept psychologically in a logic-tight compartment according to the rules of ayelkwi, but the cult of Chingishnish was also adopted (White, 1957:15). This was a primary consequence of missionization.

When, however, the destruction of the population continued, there were other results. Disease may have eliminated entire lineages so that some religious chieftainships became vacant. Other chieftainships were abandoned and the not^{h}-road dissolved due to the inability of the chief to control the ayelkwi stalking the land. The not^{h}-road constellation now begins to look like that early twentieth-century structure found at Pauma.



Here not^{h}-ship B has become vacant, and not^{h} A has formed a one-way road with D. Since the population B still requires the services of a religious chief, it has appended itself to group D. Because group D now no longer represents a moiety in the older sense of the term, it has become a "party" in the modern description of this grouping. Religious chief D will now perform all appropriate services for group A, but upon a one-way basis, since he already has a fully reciprocal relationship with chief C. The food surplus makes the one-way flow of wealth possible. The secondary relationships are maintained unimpaired.

After the missions were secularized, around 1834, and the populations dispersed, this trend accelerated with the groupings becoming smaller and more heterogenous. By the beginning of the twentieth century, with the surviving groups on the present small reservations, all surviving chieftainships had been brought together and probably had organized a complicated system almost defying analysis. It would have been made up of all three sets of not^{h}-road relationships: (1) The not^{h}-road proper, (2) the one-way road, and (3) the secondary roads. Under these circumstances, the marriage pattern must indeed have been complicated.

Some evidence for this particular reconstruction was uncovered in connection with the work of mapping Luiseño territory. Lists of village names from various sources were presented to an old pula in the hope that he could locate them. He did locate many of them, but all were local, and almost all had in his lifetime possessed at least one religious chief. It would appear that each such chief had named his new homesite on the reservation after his old rancheria. Another informant has furnished a confused description of a ceremonial "round-robin" dated about 1920, involving a half-dozen or more notum from La Jolla, Kuka, and Rincon. Since one of the religious chiefs participating is known to have headed a one-way not^{h}-road, the ceremonial activities that were celebrated successively in each of the religious enclosures suggest an organizational structure somewhat like that just described. Since not^{h}-road relationships were required for ceremonial activities, these chiefs must have formed the necessary alliances for the scholahish and pumutchvi ceremonial duties, however complex the organizational structure became.

The struggle with ayelkwi has continued to the present and is the major consideration underlying what has survived of Luiseño social organization. The not^{h}-roads are still based upon moiety considerations, and most of the Indian families regard themselves as belonging to some particular party. But party alliance is no longer exclusively based upon tradition and consanguinity. Since the Luiseño are now largely exogamous, a situation brought about by a double set of incest taboos and decimation of the population, the spouse adopts the party of the Luiseño mate—provided the couple does not elect to ignore the whole problem.

There is no question that the present analysis is incomplete. As has been shown, there is confusion about the old kinship structure among the Luiseño population, and with good historical reason. But careful scrutiny of the not^{h}-road relationships, native ecology, economic patterns, ownership concepts, religion, the pumelum secret societies, the institution of the war chief and council, moiety reciprocation, and changes brought about by the missions, has yielded a pattern that shows remarkable consistency. Much of the error that creeps into any analysis based upon

fragmentary information has, it is hoped, been avoided through close attention to the manner in which all parts fit into the various structures to form a model. Certainly this study illuminates many cryptic or confusing features of the earlier literature on the subject, and my major informants, Chief Rejinaldo Pachito, now in the eighth decade of his life, and Henry Rodriguez, in general concur with the principal structural findings.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX I: ORTHOGRAPHY

LUISEÑO SOUND values are shown by their nearest English equivalent (except for ', ^{h}, and x), or are spelled according to the conventions adopted by Kroeber (1925). Powell's use of "c" for /sh/ is not used except where unavoidable.

Very common usages include -ŭm, plural; -nga, locational ending; -mai, diminutive ending. Generally Luiseño terms are built up from stems and fixes. Linguistic analysis is outside the scope of this study except for discussions of meanings or, rarely, etymologies.

Letters are pronounced as listed below.

a .....as in father (or sometimes the obscure vowel).
e .....as in let.
i .....as in machine.
ĭ .....as in ill.
o .....as in oboe.
ŏ .....as in odd.
u .....as in use.
ŭ .....as in up.
' .....glottal stop.
x .....as in German ich.
^{h} .....unvoiced aspirate.
ng .....as in sing.

APPENDIX II: GLOSSARY

Amu: Antecedent in-marrying female relationship.
Ano (Eno): Coyote, "First Eater," ate Wiyot's heart.
Anoyum: Religious party at Pauma.
Ash-: Possible noun stem for fertility and female principle.
Ashwut: Eagle, symbol of immortality and fertility.
Ashonax: Pauma-owned gathering place, Palomar Mountain.
Ataxum: All "men," "people" (all "species" to include stones).
Awalum: Extinct religious group at Pauma.
Awkuta Poklao: Genocidal pot maker.
Awlkut, K'awlkutum: Female, females who marry-out.
Ayelkwi: "Knowledge-power." Similar to mana.
Ceremonies: See pp. 151, 153.
Chingishnish: Moralistic "god."
Chon-noua, *Cham no': False village, "our head," "our chief."
Cuut, yuliki: Transvestite.
Eno, Ano, Eyoton, Iyaiyote: Coyote, name of "second" chief.
Eno Tacue: Ball lightning, also "eater" of hearts.
Hulimaiyum: Religious party at Rincon.
Ila: Smooth bedrock metate.
Ilapal: Bedrock mortar with shallow offset.
Ivium: Religious party at Rincon.
Ka^{h}melum: "First people" in the cosmogony.
Ka^{h}melum pum yunach: Cosmological "Great Conclave" of the "first people."
Ki': Household, house.
Kiktum: Nuclear family.
Kikut: Householder, any dweller in the house.
Kikutum: Extended family.
Kinship terms: See table 6.
Kitcha: The house and its inhabitants.
Kiyunawish (Kiyunahoic): Religious party at Pechanga.
Kukish: Truce.
Lawalawax: Pitted boulder for sharpening wooden points.
Mani rites: Puberty ceremony with Datura *meteloides* infusion.
Maxhahish: Interrancheria peace ceremony.
Mocuache, Mugoxe *Mokwatchi: False village, referent to Praying Mantis.
Moila: The moon, resurrected Wiyot, culture hero.
Nacomeye, Naccome, Nacomaye: False rancheria, *No-kamela, nephew, or *No-kamai, grandson.
Nahatchish: Praying Mantis.
No': War chief, "head" of village.
No ekh: My land.
No ki'no awish: My-household-my-living (being) (existence).
No ki'no tungva: My household and its exploited "gardens."
Nokwanish alumish (nochish): Female war songs.

Nolamai: Putative term for rancheria population.
No neshkina: Kin on "both sides" of the family.
No neshkinum: "Third kin," interrancheria marriage indicated.
No pet: Not^{h}-road, moiety reciprocation system.
Nota: Female religious chief, also wife of not^{h}.
Not^{h}: Religious chief.
Notum: Paired religious chiefs.
Officials, names of: See pp. 149, 161, 162.
Ouiot: False Wiyot of Pubunga.
Paumaiyum: People of Pauma rancheria.
Pechangaiyum: People of Pechanga.
Peiwuktum: Mated, married.
Pewo: Mate, husband.
Piwi: Father's father's father; lineage.
Pul, pula: Witch doctor.
Pulum (plural): Witch doctors.
Pumelum: Secret war society, members of.
Pumutchvi: "Point," ceremonial status for exorcising ghosts.
Pupulum: Rancheria councilors, witch doctors.
Puyumkowitchum: Western people, Luiseño-Juaneño name for themselves.
Sheiyutl, Sheiyul: Progenitor of Pachito (Soktchum) lineage.
Scholahish: Ceremonial status welcoming child, consoling ghost.
Shosha: Grandfather term, inferred name for moiety.
Shronga: Pauma-owned gathering area, Palomar Mountain.
So pulik pet: One-way not^{h}-road, i.e., nonreciprocal.
Soktchum: "Scratched," Pachito's lineage name.
Sulpa: Pauma-owned gathering area.
Tacue, Takwish, Eno Tacue: Evil spirit, ball lightning.
Takowshish: Pauma war chief in early mission times.
Tamyush: Stone bowls used for ceremonies, considered persons.
Tcheiyat: Magical feather bunchlet.
Tchelopish: "Obscene" dance.
Tcheluk^{h}: To stop abruptly.
Tchon tcho'mi: Collectively "owned" rancheria territories.
Tch'o'num tcho'mi: Collectively "owned" rancheria.
Tchumu' tushnakut: War chief.
Tomaiyowut: Earth Mother.
Tomka': Pauma-owned gathering place on the San Luis Rey River.
Topal: Bedrock or "portable" mortar.
Tota patchhamish: Large basin for treating hides and basketry material.
Totowish: Eagle feather dance.
Tovish: Spirit? (Towish: Spirit? Ghost.)
Tovomaiyum: Religious party at Pauma.
Tukwut Piksul: (Lion's "Tail") Pauma "sharpshooter."
Tunglam, tunglum: Family groups or "clans" cf. tungva, "gardens."
Tungva: "Gardens," gathering areas.

Tushnakut pongawish: Assistant war chief.
Village names: See tables 1, 2, 3.
Waiyut: White.
Wakaterat: Pechanga war chief.
Wakenish: Girl's puberty ceremony.
Wamkish: (Vanquex) ceremonial enclosure.
Wanawut: A magic "cloak." Can be made of "anything."
Wavemai: Pauma-owned gathering area, Palomar Mountain.
Waxmelish: Shallow bedrock drying basin for acorns.
Wiwish: Acorn mush.
Wiyalum: Not^{h}-stones, small "effigy" heads imbued with power.
Wiyot: Culture hero.
Wiyot Puka'wi^{h}whoi: Pachito's power song for exorcising ghosts.
Yula: Human hair; has commemorative and spiritual significance.

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