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A NEW ORIGINAL VERSION OF BOSCANNA'S HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO INDIANS OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

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(WITH TWO PLATES)

When I first started to study the California Indians, I looked about to see what had been recorded concerning them in early times, that is, during the period of Spanish occupation. I found that only one account of California Indians, or indeed of Indians of the Southwest, worthy of being called an ethnological treatise had survived from that period, namely Father Jerónimo Boscana's "Chinigchinich", which tells in several penetrating but all too short chapters of the life of the Indians of the San Juan Capistrano Mission on the coast of southern California. There was comparatively rich Spanish archival material to be found, consisting of chronicles of voyages and land expeditions, church records, etc., but no other good description of a tribe and its customs, although certain writings on Lower California Indians constituted the nearest second to the Boscana. And the Boscana treatise was accessible only in a rather inadequate English translation published by Alfred Robinson as an appendix to his *Life in California*.¹ Persistent attempts made in this country and abroad toward locating the all-important Spanish original all resulted in failure. It was therefore a gala day in my life, unparalleled by any other, when I recently discovered the long lost Boscana original.

The manuscript proves to be even more valuable than was expected, since it is an 1822 variant version of the Historical Account that Robinson translated, each version containing certain important data that the other omits. It consists of 58 octavo pages written in a rather neat

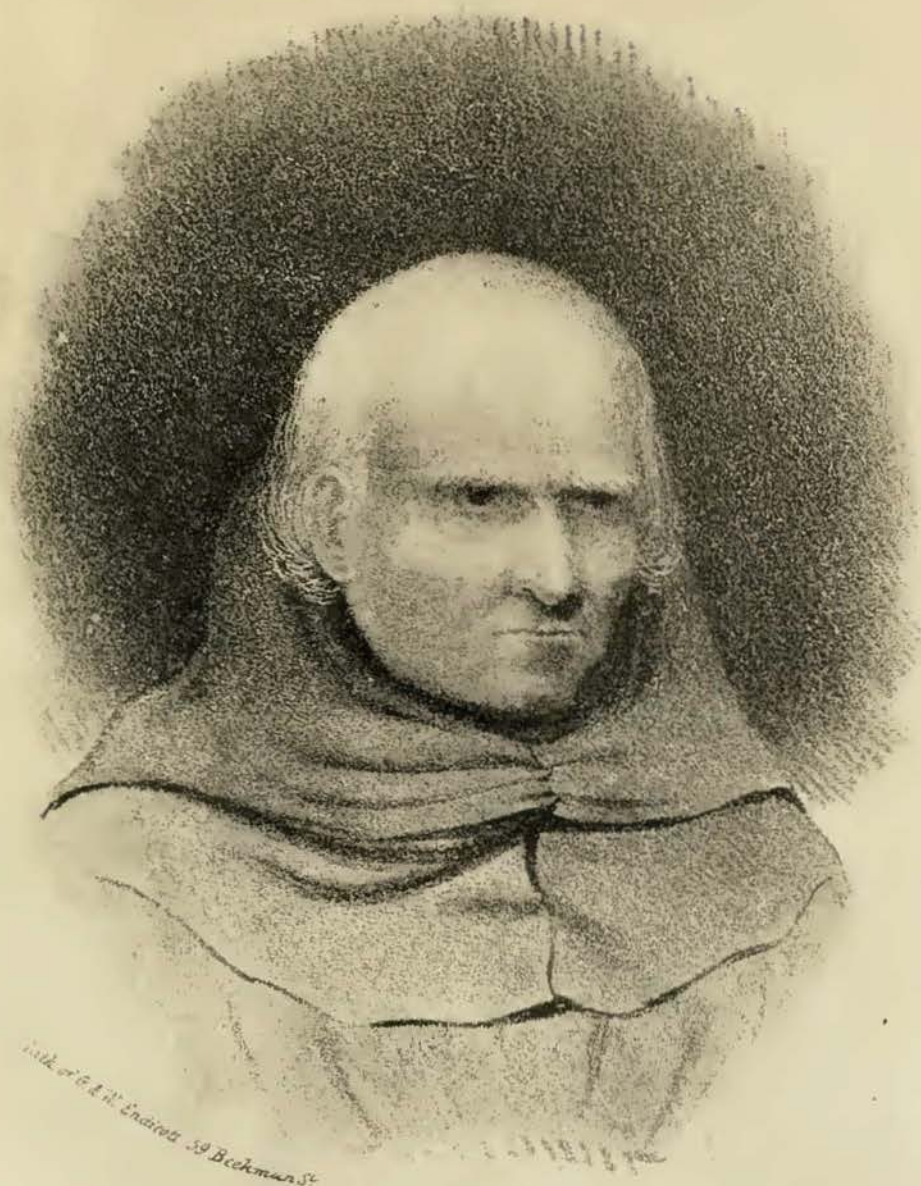
¹Chinigchinich: a historical account of the origin, customs, and traditions of the Indians at the missionary establishment of St. Juan Capistrano, Alta California; called the Acagchemem nation . . . , by the Reverend Father Friar Geronimo Boscana . . . New York, 1846. For a reprint of this work see Boscana, Gerónimo, 1776-1831, *Chinigchinich* (Chi-ni'ch-nich), a revised and annotated version of Alfred Robinson's translation of Father Gerónimo Boscana's historical account, edited by Phil Townsend Hanna, annotations by John P. Harrington, foreword by Frederick Webb Hodge, Santa Ana, Calif., 1933.

hand, the hand already familiar to me through working with the church records at San Juan Capistrano. An introduction, written in very fervent tone, is followed by 15 chapters devoted respectively to the subjects of origin, creation tradition, history of the traditional leaders Quiot and Chinigchinix, instruction of children, marriage, general manner of life, chieftainship, description of the native temples, feasts and dances, calendar, extravagancies, burials and funerals, beliefs of immortality, origin of the inhabitants of San Juan Capistrano Mission, and list with etymologies of 15 rancherias inhabited by these Indians. A halftone reproduction of page 1 of the manuscript is shown in plate 1 (frontispiece).

Boscana was born May 23, 1776, at the country town of Llumayor on the island of Mallorca off the coast of eastern Spain. His native tongue was, of course, the Catalanian language, very different from Spanish. He was ordained at a Franciscan college at Palma, capital of the island, and was sent as a missionary to Mexico, and thence to Alta California, now the California of Americans. He was missionary at San Juan Capistrano from 1812 to 1826, a period of 14 years, and died, still a middle-aged man, at the nearby mission of San Gabriel, Calif., in 1831. The only picture of Father Boscana known to be extant is the reproduction of what was evidently a pencil drawing published in Robinson's book, here republished as plate 2. It shows the father in the latter years of his life, probably when he was stationed at San Gabriel.

The San Juan Capistrano Indians which the Historical Account describes are a northwestern subdivision of the so-called Payomkawish or San Luiseño Indians of San Luis Rey Mission, who occupy the San Luis Rey River drainage in northern San Diego County, Calif., and adjacent regions. The dialect which they speak belongs to the great Aztecan family of languages.

The religion of the Indians described by Boscana centers about the revelations of a prophet named Chinigchinix, as it is spelled in this version, the x being pronounced as in Catalanian, that is, equal to English sh. The prophet was known by three sacred names: Saor, meaning common person, noninitiate; Tobet, medicine man, initiate; and Quoar, a name too sacred to pronounce aloud. These three names apply to three successive periods in the prophet's revelatory life. The prophet was born at the rancheria of Pubu in Los Angeles County, Calif., only a couple of miles inland from Alamitos Bay, there accomplished his principal teaching, and when he died, was from there merely translated to the heaven of the stars, leaving no earthly bodily remains. From above and everywhere he watches our deeds and



FATHER GERONIMO BOSCANO.
MISSIONARY AT ST. JUAN CAPISTRANO.

ONLY EXTANT PICTURE OF REV. JERONIMO BOSCANO, REPRODUCED FROM
LITHOGRAPH FRONTISPICE IN ALFRED ROBINSON, LIFE
IN CALIFORNIA, NEW YORK, 1846



thoughts, and sends poisonous medicine animals, known as Chinigchinix animals, also calamities and death, to punish those who mock his dances and disobey his commandments. So much does this deity prophet command our central attention throughout the essay that Robinson calls his translation outright: Chinigchinich.

A very literal and careful translation of the newly found manuscript, following all the minutiae of its style, is here presented. Exhaustive notes have been prepared and will constitute a separate publication.





VIVA JESUS.

A historical account of the belief, usages, customs, and extravagancies of the Indians of this Mission of San Juan Capistrano, called the Acágchemem tribe.

INTRODUCTION

My having resolved to write this history, fabulous in itself, or in its subject matter, but true as far as these Indians are concerned, has been primarily with the aim of being able to fulfill to some degree my duties as Apostolic Missionary, having their fulfillment ever present and near at hand, as well as also of leaving to those who come after me instruction and lights in order that they may be guided without such labor as it has cost me, trying in every way, using all possible means, to gain knowledge of the belief, usages, and customs which these natives had in their gentile state. And by the mercy of God, through labor and cunning during a period of more than ten years [marginal annotation: from 1812 to 1822], I have been able to investigate to a moral certainty everything that is related in the present book.

Since I am of the persuasion that if we are ignorant of the belief held by the Indians, of their usages and customs, it is very difficult to take them out of the error in which they live and to give them to understand the true religion, and to teach them the true way to their salvation. I confess that it is difficult to be able to penetrate their secrets, because the signification of their usages and customs is not known to all of them. This [signification] is only for the chiefs and certain satraps, who performed the work of priests, and [certain] criers, and when these taught it to their sons (and that only to those who were to succeed them), it was always with the admonition that they should not divulge it to anyone, for if they told or divulged it, 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.

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, 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 they preserve them in their feasts, and these songs and dances contain all their religion, usages and customs, and for this reason these songs 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.

What I have said above seems to me sufficient for understanding the purpose which has led me to write this little work about the belief, usages and customs of these Indians, and if it may seem to some that my bravery has been great, attributing it to arrogance and presumption, since I am a pigmy beside my brethren, they being more illustrious and of greater experience, let it be borne in mind that I have not written it to show myself to be anything more than what I am, but that my purpose is that I may free from delusion those who have confided to me their errors, as well as that certain ones may be incited to make public the secrets of the Indians which they have encountered, with the result that with information on record as regards their belief, usages and customs, they can be told what they may follow and what they should put aside; and for this reason I hope that he who reads this composition may be pleased to see such information, and if he should find anything which may disagree with the truth which I have proposed to set forth, or any defect to correct, I shall give boundless thanks to him who may show it to me, so that the error may be perceived and corrected. And withal I am beseeching God that he grant us his holy grace and benediction. Amen.

CHAPTER I

FROM WHAT RACE OF PEOPLE MAY THESE INDIANS COME?

[1.] Since no information is found as to where these people of California may have come from, neither the natives of this Mission nor of the rest of the country being able to give an account of their origin or race, not even having it by tradition, it is necessary [for us] to walk blindly, traveling to and fro with closed eyes after the truth, and perchance not knocking at her door for a long interval, or perhaps departing further from the truth—inasmuch as this chapter is all by way of conjecture, if I err in this undertaking, it is not through will and caprice, but because of not being able to discover the light in a place so dark, going along groping blindly.

2. Without pausing over what the authors relate as to whether they are descended from Jews, as some think, or from Carthaginians or Phenicians, as others think, I for my part, without involving myself in times so remote, shall give attention to the kinds of people who came to settle the Mexican kingdom.

3. The kinds of people who settled the Mexican kingdom, according to what Fr. Torquemada tells us in his *Monarquia Indiana* [marginal annotation: book 1, chapter 14], were four, he says, namely: Tultecas, Chichimecas, Aculnas, and Mexicans. Among these above mentioned different kinds of people, it is my feeling that the Indians of California here are of the Chichimeca race, because they are similar [to them] in every respect, according to what the above mentioned Torquemada relates to us [marginal annotation: same book, chapter 15], when he says: that toward the regions of the north (away from the City of Mexico, and at a great distance) there were certain provinces, the principal city of which was called Amaqueme, and the inhabitants Chichimecas, people naked of clothes, fierce of appearance, and great warriors, their arms bows and arrows, their ordinary subsistence is game and wild fruits, and their habitation in cavernous places or straw huts, for since the principal exercise of their life was hunting, they did not amuse themselves with building palaces.

4. Although the said Chichimecas lived in towns or rancherias, they had very few police, for they did not recognize any king or lord, but let themselves be governed by a chief, though not by one greater, as we

shall see in the proper place, or by one more esteemed, than any other man of those of the rancheria, with the result that in treatment and life all were equal.

5. This name Chichimeca means sucker or one who nurses, and since the principal and usual food of these was animals which they hunted, the meat of which they ate raw, and since they first sucked the blood of the animal, from this they got the name Chichimeca. Perhaps among themselves they may have had another distinct name which I do not know. These Chichimeca people did not live stationary at a single place, but from time to time moved from one place to another. They were ignorant of medicine for curing their diseases, and they did not bury the dead, but burned them. They did not use many idolatries, or venerate many Gods, and for this reason they did not have sacrifices.

6. Comparing then these Indians of California with the above mentioned Chichimecas, we find them absolutely similar: For their life was the same, because although they lived in towns and rancherias having a chief, which these [Indians] called *Not*, he was without police or laws, and to him they held very little obedience, as we shall see. Their dress was the natural one, which is to go about in their bare skins; their subsistence animals and wild seeds; their medicines almost none; and they also burned the dead. And in a word I find them similar in every way; I speak of those whom I have [here] treated and whom I have observed, who are the people of this Mission and its environs. And I think that through all the Province they are the same; I only find a difference in the Canaleños, who in many things differed from these Indians [here], for one perceives in them greater industry, a different bearing, and they buried the dead and did not burn them.

7. Only the diversity of languages which we find in the Province causes me much difficulty for assuming that the entire Province comes from that Chichimeca race, for each tribe appears to be of a distinct language. For we should suppose that the Chichimeca tribe would speak a single language, although from place to place there would be certain different [terms], such as provincialisms, but in general it would be the same [language] and all would have understood each other; but we find it so different that the Dieguino language and that of this Mission neither in terms nor accents resemble each other, nor can a single word be understood mutually. And I say the same of the Canaleño language and the others of the north. If I am told that certain tribes may have corrupted the primitive language, I say that it may well be, but that there would always be a connection,

such as we see between Old Castilian and that which is spoken at present.

8. [The matter set forth in] this paragraph above is what confuses me without being able to discern what may be the cause; if anyone of my brethren or others who may see this could make it clear, I would be boundlessly grateful to him, it being a matter useful to all and especially to us. Let what has been said be sufficient, and may others enlarge upon the above chapter.

CHAPTER 2

ABOUT THE CREATION OF THE WORLD.

Do not let the reader think that I wish to give here an account of that which Moses relates in the first chapter of Genesis. I do not intend any such thing, but to set forth the belief which these Indians had in their gentile state about the beginning of the world. And although one encounters in the narration many contradictions, we should not be surprised that certain crude Indians, without knowledge of the true God, without faith, without law or king, governed so long by the Father of Lies, without writings or characters, but having everything by mere tradition—we should not be surprised, I repeat, at their extravagancies and the little discernment in their acts, for since they were so ignorant, without being able to distinguish the true from the false, they did not know the path of light, and continually walked in darkness.

The belief which these Indians had concerning the origin of the world was thus: they relate that formerly there was nothing, only one above and another below; these two were brother and sister, man and woman, the one above, a man, which is properly the Heaven, and the one below, a woman, which is the Earth, but it was not the Heaven and the Earth as they are seen now, but of another nature which they do not know how to explain, and it was continually very dark night, without sun, moon, or stars. The brother came to the sister, and brought the light, which is the sun, telling her that he wanted to do many things with her; it meant that he wanted to cohabit with her. But the sister resisted declaring to him that they were brother and sister, and that therefore it was impossible to consent to what he desired, and that for that reason he should go back and leave her in peace.

Note: And the Indians of these parts pay such faithful observance to the first degree of consanguinity that I have never heard that brothers with sisters, or fathers with daughters, or sons with mothers, have been seen at all, nor even with first cousins, for being first cousins they are treated the same as brothers; but not so with the relatives by affinity, for there were many married to two sisters, as they also had the custom that if a woman died and she had a sister, the latter entered as a wife in place of the deceased woman. Here is seen the Mosaic law.

But at last in spite of all the resistance that she made, the sister became pregnant, and what she brought forth was earth and sand,

but a small quantity, after the shape and manner of a little plot of ground; this was the first childbirth. She again found herself pregnant, and in this second childbirth she brought forth rocks of all kinds, sorts and sizes, and principally flint for the arrows. She again found herself pregnant, and in this third childbirth, she brought forth trees, and shrubs or chamize. In a word, after having given birth to all the things which are seen on the earth, such as plants, herbs, and the rest, she brought forth as her last childbirth one whom they call *Oüiot*. This was an animate being, but different from the rational kind, and irrational. But the father and mother of the said *Oüiot* were not people, but something else, and they do not know how to explain or to give to understand how they imagined them.

The above mentioned *Oiot* had children, and was the king or great chief of all that family. This *Oiot* and his children constituted, according to what I have understood, a species of animals distinct from those of the present day. Asking them how Chief *Oiot* had sons, or who was his wife and what she was called, they do not know how to answer this question, but say that he had many children, but how they do not know, nor whether all were males or whether there were females, they do not know this either, but conjecture that there were both, because women give birth that way. The discussion of the above I leave to philosophers, for my intention is nothing more than to make a succinct account.

CHAPTER 3
THE LIFE OF CHIEF OUIOT AND THE ORIGIN OF
THESE INDIANS.

While Chief Ouiot was with his people, as they say, which he kept procreating, that first ground, which his mother had given birth to, kept increasing and widening, always from the north to the south (it is to be noted that all these Indians believe that they come from the region of the north), and as they kept on increasing, the earth kept growing all the time. Oiot already being very old, the eldest of his vassals, whether it may have been because of envy or because of the desire of governing, determined to kill their chief, alleging that he was not governing them well, and that he already was too old to govern; they held their conference as to what manner of death they should put him to, and the decision was rendered that he should be herbed or poisoned. They made the mixture, and giving him to drink that beverage which they had prepared for the purpose of killing him, immediately he felt sick, and finding this to be his fate he descended from the hills or mountains where he was making his home, and he came to where the beach now is (for at that time there was no sea yet). His mother knowing the danger in which her son, Oiot, found himself, prepared a remedy for curing him, which was in this manner: she urinated in a large abalone shell, placed in the urine some worms and certain herbs, put it in the sun, but while she had it fermenting, the Coyote came along, gave the shell a kick, and spilled all the medicinal preparation, and by this accident were frustrated all the desires and hopes of the mother of Chief Oiot.

Note: These Indians were of the belief that from this urine which the Coyote spilled, the sea was formed, that from the worms which were in the shell the fish were created, and that from the herbs were born the Giant Kelp and other plants which there are in the sea, and for this reason, they say, that the water of the sea has the taste or flavor of urine, because it is salty and bitter.

At last Chief Oiot died, and although before he died he had told them that in a short time he would return to live with them, from that time on they never saw him more. It is to be noted, that at that time there were no seeds or game, their food was earth, (which according as they explained and as I understand) is a kind of white clay or fine argil, with which they plaster their heads. Finding themselves thus situated after the death of Oiot, they discussed the

matter of giving him burial. It was deliberated whether he should be buried or burned, and all the votes were that he should be burned. They prepared the hearth with wood and with the dead Oiot on top of it, and fearing that the Coyote might eat him, they sent him away to hunt for fire. And what the said Coyote did was to withdraw to a short distance and hide, spying on what they were doing, and on one occasion when he was some distance off they lighted the pyre, and the Coyote seeing it, behold he comes back at full speed, and although they did not allow him to approach, he saying that he wanted to burn himself up and die with his chief, he jumps over them into the flames, and seized a piece of the shoulderblade and shoulder of Oüiot, ate it up, and he did not get any more because the rest had been consumed by the flames. This Coyote was called *Eyacqüe*, which is the same as second chief, and at that time they changed the name Eyacque to the name of Enó, which means thief and eater of people, and thus they call coyotes at the present time: *Enó*.

After concluding the functions and ceremonies of the burial of their Chief Oiot, that is, after having burned him, they all assembled for a great council, at which they discussed in what way they could have wild seeds to eat, such as acorns, Wild Amaranth, chia, etc., and also game such as deer, cottontail rabbits, jackrabbits, quails, ground-squirrels, rats, etc. While all were at the above mentioned meeting, they saw on various days and many times one like a phantom, different from themselves, who kept appearing to them and disappearing, sometimes in one direction, sometimes in another, and finding themselves in suspense and fear at what they were seeing, they decided to call him to them. They called him, he came to them and they asked him if he was their Chief Oüiot. "I am not Chief Oiot," he answered them, "but a greater chief, and I am called *Chinigchinix*." They asked him where he lived, and he answered: "My habitation is above." He asked them what matter they were discussing at the meeting and why they were all gathered there. They answered him that it being that their Chief Oiot had died, they were discussing how they could support themselves with wild seeds and game, and not have to subsist any longer on the clay that they were eating.

In consideration of these motives Chinigchinix answered them and told them: "I make all things, and I shall create people for you people, distinct from yourselves, whom you soon shall see. And now, from this moment on I give unto you power and faculty, to each one of you, that one shall make it rain, that another shall make the weather clear up, that another shall produce acorns, that

another shall produce chia, that another shall produce Wild Amaranth, etc.; likewise that another shall produce cottontail rabbits, that another shall produce ducks, that another shall produce geese, that another shall produce deer, etc. To each one he gave the power, now to produce seeds, now animals, of the kind that they eat. And still at the present time, those who pretend to be their descendants, claim to have this power, and the [other] Indians consult them, asking that they produce many seeds, that they make the ducks tame, and they pay them well, so that they will be pleased, for they believe that if they do not pay them, there will be no seeds, nor will they get game.

After Chinigchinix had given the power, as we have said, to the descendants of Oiot, which must have been the time of *dixit et factum est*, he created the people that he had told them about, and Chinigchinix made these people from a little mud of the shore of a lake, and these are the Indians that now exist, and he did not make merely one but a number of men and women, and he told them: "He who obeys me not or believes not in what I teach him, him shall I punish, to him shall I send bears to bite, rattlesnakes to sting, and other misfortunes." And he taught them the law which they should observe henceforth with its rites and ceremonies.

The first commandment which he gave them was that they should build him a temple in which they were to worship him, offer him sacrifices, veneration, and cult, this same Chinigchinix furnishing the design or model of how the temple was to be built. This Chinigchinix, whom from that time on they considered as God, the Indians say had no father or mother, and all are ignorant of his origin. I have not been able to obtain the etymology of the name Chinigchinix, nor do the Indians know what it means or its significance, as is also the case with the name Ouiot. It is true that they are proper names, and for that reason must have and should have their origin, but so far I am ignorant of it.

They believed that the God Chinigchinix was everywhere present, that he saw everything, though it were dark night, but that no one could see him; that he was a friend of the good and punished the wicked much. This God Chinigchinix has three distinct names, namely: *Saor*, *Quoar*, and *Tobet*. Each name has its own meaning, for *Saor* signifies or means the time when the said Chinigchinix did not yet know how to dance. *Quoar* when he already knew how to dance. And *Tobet* when he danced wearing a little skirt or apron of feathers, adorned with feathers like a crown on his head, and painted up. And they say that this Chinigchinix went away dancing to Heaven. And this kind of dress their God Chinigchinix commanded them to use in their feasts, and they use it in the special dances of their great feasts.

This is the belief which these Indians had about the creation of the world and their origin; and in the narration of this fable alone we see included and comprised all the usages, customs and ceremonies of the Indians of this Mission and vicinity with slight variation.

I consider that the reader is in suspense after reading the above account and that he is desirous of learning what became of the children and descendants of Ouiot, after Chinigchinix created the Indians from the mud of the lake, since we have made no further mention of them. According as some relate, the God Chinigchinix after making the Indians, transformed them [the race of Ouiot] into people or Indians like themselves, and to this account I adhere as being the one more reasonable and congruous, because of what we have said above about the power and faculty which Chinigchinix gave them [the race of Ouiot] of producing seeds and game, and about those who hold themselves to be their descendants claiming to have that power yet. Others tell that when they [the race of Ouiot] saw the Indians which Chinigchinix had made, they [the race of Ouiot] departed to another region, and it is not known where, and that they have not been seen more. Others tell other things which I am not taking time to write, considering them the forgings of their crude brains.

CHAPTER 4

ABOUT THE TEACHING OR INSTRUCTION WHICH THEY GAVE TO THEIR CHILDREN.

One of the matters in which the Ancients experienced the greatest difficulty and which gave them considerable care was the bringing up of the children, because on this being good or bad depends the goodness or badness of the child. Since these Indians did not know either the mechanic arts, or the liberal ones, or did they need them because of the manner of life which they led, but only those necessary for their own preservation, they therefore were not able to teach their children anything useful to rid them of their idleness. They merely instructed them in the handling of the bow and arrow, and this in order that they might learn to hunt for food and defend themselves from their enemies.

Although these Indians were ignorant of the true path, and the beginning of wisdom is the fear of the true God, and this fear the beginning of the instruction of children, nevertheless the instructions which the parents gave their children had their moral virtues, for the parents and grandparents took care very earnestly that their children be well brought up and good [children], because if one of them turned out perverse, although they quickly removed him from their midst, they were disgraced. And for this reason from the time they were small they admonished them (and this by showing them beforehand many misfortunes and punishments, if they did not follow carefully what was being taught them), telling them that they should not be thieves, or liars, that they should not injure people, should not fight with one another, and should not use bad words, and above all that they should not make fun of the old people, but should respect and fear them; and that if they did not give heed to these instructions which their parents gave them, even though they might kill him [the perverse child], the God Chinigchinix would punish him much. And this was the daily harangue. These Indians did not punish the faults of their children, they merely gave them certain admonishments to correct them, but in reality very few offences were committed and the reason was the much fear and great dread which they felt.

When the males were at the age of about 6 or 7 years, they gave them a kind of God as a protector, and it was the animal in which they should put all their faith in times of need, and it would defend them in

all dangers, especially in the wars against their enemies; and it was never the principal [God], for they knew that he was hidden, and that if at any time he appeared to them and spoke to them, it was always in the form of animals, and of these the most abominable, ugly, and hideous. Indeed, in order that the boy might know which one the God Chinigchinix destined for him, and in which he was to place confidence, they gave him a drink, which is prepared from a kind of tobacco (I do not know the [Spanish] name of this herb) which they call *Pibat* (they apply this term to all tobacco which is smoked), this they prepare by grinding it up, and when it is pulverized they make a cake, mixed with other ingredients, which according to what they have told me are lime and urine.

To others they gave another [kind of a] drink [prepared] from a plant which is called *Toluáche*, and which they call *Mani*, and drunkenness is produced by one of these as much as by the other, in drinking which they shortly lose their senses, and finding themselves deprived of their senses by their drunkenness, they were made to fast 3 or 4 days or more (and it is to be noted that their fasts were natural ones, they being given nothing to eat or drink during the entire time that the fast lasted). During this period they continually had by their heads some old men or old women who were preaching to them without letting them rest either day or night, telling them that he [the boy] should take good notice and be watchful, and therefore should not go to sleep, that he might see if the bear, the coyote, the raven, the rattlesnake, etc., were to come, naming over a great many; if they were to come gentle or angry; and that from the first animal whom he might see he should ask for what he wanted. The poor unfortunate, in his drunkenness, and without having eaten or drunk for many days, had a thousand visions and deliriums and when he said that he saw this or that one and explained what he had manifested to him, that is, what he was to do for him, he was then given something to eat, so that he would come to himself, and when he was somewhat stronger they began a great dance feast, according to their custom, exhorting him to be very careful not to make angry the one who had appeared to him, and to carry out exactly what he had commanded.

There were others who did not drink these drinks, and what was done with them was that first they feathered them and painted them well with a kind of soot between black and red color, and adorned in this manner, they carried them to the temple called *Vanquex*, with many ceremonies. On reaching there, the satraps put him [the boy] at one side of Chinigchinix and in front of him on the ground they painted a figure, the most ridiculous which can be imagined, for it consisted of

nothing more than streaks or lines, horizontal and transverse, circular and semicircular, all poorly made without order or arrangement. There they left the boy, forbidding him to leave there until the penance of fasting was concluded (which was wont to last 3 entire days), telling him that should he feel hunger or thirst he must have patience and bear it, for if he ate or drank, though it were alone at night in secret, the evil figure which was painted in front of him would make it known, and that Chinigchinix was looking at him and would punish him, sending diseases upon him so that he would die, and other similar nonsense. And these poor boys believed it all infallibly, and observed it to the very letter.

I was told of a case that had happened in the time of their gentile condition, and it was that a boy being in the Vanquex during the penance of fasting, on the second day found himself with considerable hunger and thirst, and he went in secret to a nearby house at which there were no people home at this time, found something to eat, ate and drank, and immediately returned to his place, without anyone having seen him. And after the period of penance was finished, finding himself one day with his companions, he told them of what he had done at the time of his penance in that he had eaten and drunk, and having found that the evil figure said nothing, and that nothing happened to him, he stated that everything which the *Puplem*, that is, the wizards or soothsayers, told was lies and deceit, for having eaten and drunk and even rubbed out part of the figure with his feet, nothing had happened to him, for which reason one should not believe the *Puplem*. But his companions, instead of opening their eyes and perceiving the error and the deceit, so great was their resentment and fury which they felt against him, because of the disrespect which he had shown the old men, that when the matter was divulged he was shot to death with arrows.

Note: The drinks *Pibat* and *Toluáche*, of which we have spoken above, outside their use for the boys, were also employed by the men, and still are, for the purpose of winning in their games, for obtaining the women whom they covet, and for procuring any evil thing that they may think of. It is to be noted that at the time of their drunkenness they also have to observe a fast, for at least some 3 days, and that when this is over they are said to be cured, and that when they are cured in this manner, they believe, and this without having the slightest doubt enter their minds, that they will be able to attain any evil thing which they crave; but if they are not successful and their luck is reversed, as frequently happens, they attribute it to being poorly cured, that is, that they did not drink sufficient medicine, or did not keep the fast well; or to other similar causes.

After the boys had been put through everything that we have related, they put on them their mark, which is properly speaking a

brand—for it is obvious that the Devil, entering into the use of reason, wished to have them marked like slaves, which was accomplished in this manner: They took a species of herb or grass, this they pounded and crushed until it became like tinder, and put it on the place where they were to be branded (which was on their arms and thighs) in the figure which he [the boy] was to have, lighted it, and let it burn until it was consumed. We must consider that the burn soon raised a blister and made a sore. This they left until it healed, without putting any remedy on, and the place remained scarred permanently. Others instead of the grass used dry tule, and others the dung or manure of jackrabbits or cottontail rabbits.

The cause or reason which they allege for branding themselves thus was that they believed that with this mark they have more strength in the arm and better pulse for handling the bow, and that Chinigchinix wished it thus and so commanded, in order that they might conquer their enemies, and that he who was not branded with this sign, which they called *potense*, would always be unfortunate and beaten, like a despicable man and one having little strength.

The boys, in addition to what has been mentioned, had to suffer still other martyrdoms in order to become men and be able to present themselves among the rest. It was their custom, after the mark had been put on them, when they were bigger boys, to whip them with nettles and to put ants on them, and this was done in order to make them more robust and stronger, and it was done as follows: In the summer time at about the months of July and August when the nettles are in season and the fiercest they took some bunches of them and with these began to whip the boys on their legs, thighs, butts, shoulders and arms. After this sacrifice, having been well lashed with nettles, they placed the patient on a nest of fierce ants, and another one was stirring them up to make them still fiercer, and since the patient had no more clothes on than what he brought from the belly of his mother, we can imagine in what condition he must have been, after having been thoroughly lashed with nettles, as a result of those fierce ants, which even cause fever. And so great was their patience, that they seemed like dead, without a groan or movement. These were the ones called cured. There were some who suffered this torture several times over, and many went through it alone or with some companion, for they believed that when thus cured, they were from that time on more agile, and that the arrows of their enemies could not harm them.

They also deprived the youths from getting close to the fire, in order that they might learn to suffer and to harden themselves to the in-

clemency of the weather, and also from eating certain foods, such as acorns, Islay, Chia, etc., as well as the meat of certain animals, such as deer, cottontail rabbit, jackrabbit, etc., in a word, all the best foods that they had, telling them that these foods were for the old people only, and that until they had 2 or 3 children they could not eat of them, and that if they ate of them before that time in secret, the *Toux*, which is the Devil, would make it known and would punish them, causing them many injuries, such as: stumbling over rocks, tripping over burrows, that mountain lions, bears, rattlesnakes, etc., would bite them, and that their Chinigchinix would be very angry and that they would die. And they had such faith and belief in these fabulous stories, and so great was their dread and fear, that they would sooner perish than transgress to the slightest extent.

In the instructions that they gave to the girls, in addition to the general admonishments which they gave to the boys, they added that they should not be run-about, but remain in retirement, nor should they be sleepy-heads or lazy, but always ready and obedient, so that when they were grown up they would know how to work at their chores, which are the hunting and cleaning of seeds, the preparation of acorn mush and pinole, these being the foods which they use. And for this reason from the time they were little girls they would make a traybasket for them suitable to their size, and would teach them to do this work, as well as to grind or to pound up the seeds, telling them that knowing how to work and not being lazy, they would have, when they grew up, many men who would seek them, and that they would be very much liked.

In this region, toward the south, the custom prevailed of tattooing the women, and from the time they were little girls they began to tattoo them, commencing in the case of some between the eyebrows, in that of others on the chin, extending it as they kept growing over almost the entire face, breasts, and arms, which tattoo was generally lattice pattern, [but] there were other women who had lines and other figures. This tattooing was done as follows: With some thorns from an *Opuntia Cactus* thicket they pricked the place until it bled. Then they rubbed it with a kind of charcoal, and that place remained with a blue color which never disappears. The principal reason why they tattooed women, according to what I have been able to investigate, is because they say that when tattooed thus they are prettier and better liked and will have many suitors. But I fancy and believe another thing, and it is that just as the Devil put the burn on the men as a brand, in the case of the women it must be the tattoo, and thus he had both men and women marked.

What these Indians had rare and special was that the fathers and mothers advised their daughters when they were grown up, telling them that if while gathering seeds for pinole or traveling to some other place they met with one of the eaters of human flesh or one of the wizards, and these wanted to use them, they should not resist, but should agreeably comply with their desires, and this though they might be going along with their own mothers, or if married they might be going along with their husbands, for these latter at the first insinuation yielded their right. And this was because they told the women that if they resisted and did not willingly comply, they would poison them with herbs and make their bodies rot, along with other similar nonsense, and the poor wretched women believed it infallibly, and full of fear they submitted to everything, although it was against their wishes.

At the first menstruation, or at the time of the first monthly, as they say, they used to hold some big feasts with many ceremonies, which began in the following manner: They made, and still do make, a hole about a half yard in depth, not round but long, after the fashion of a grave, they fill it with fire with some rocks in it, and when it is good and hot they clean the hot coals out of it, leaving in it the rocks, good and hot, they lay on top of them a bedding, as it were, of California Mugwort (which is a species of Wormwood), called *Pacsil*. On top of the California Mugwort the girl lies, covered up well, without being given anything to eat or drink for 2 or 3 days, or at least very little, and thus they keep her until she has become clean. In there, the girl patient, in her hot pit, is bedecked all about the pit with the feathers of various birds, shell beads, and many things which they have, and with some old women, who have that task, singing without letting her rest either day or night, a song so tiresome that one does not know if they are crying or laughing, a black glue or bitumen on their faces so that they look like devils. I have not been able to determine what they say in their song, because I can never understand them [the old women], and when I asked others about it, they all answered that they did not understand them, while unmarried women dance around the girl patient at certain designated hours during every day of the roasting. Since these days were feast days, many people, men and women, went there, some to dance and others to watch the dancing and to get something of what was being distributed, be it pinole, shell beads, or whatever it was. The above described was the general method, with exception of some poor [girls] who

got fixed up with their mothers and grandmothers alone, without so much witchcraft. In their present status of being Christians they use the same procedure, with the witchcraft removed, which they used in their gentility, of feathers, dances and songs.

The most peculiar custom which these Indians had was that there were a few [girls] although very few, daughters of chiefs, and among these principally the first born, in the case of whom, after the catamenia had come to an end and the girls had come forth from the roasting, an old man, one of the wizards, designated for the purpose, made with a flint a little cut in the girl's private parts, and after the operation started preaching before all the people, saying that that girl was already a woman, that she was good, that she would have many children, and other similar nonsense.

CHAPTER 5

ABOUT THEIR MARRIAGES.

One of the things necessary for the conservation of the life of man was company, for which reason God ordained that man should have woman, with whose company he should pursue two ends, one, the intercourse, of which he was capable, and the other, that from the union of the two would be born children who would follow in the propagation and increase of the race. Although it has been an ancient custom among all nations to give the women to their husbands, it has not been everywhere in the same manner or with the same ceremonies, and for that reason I shall set forth those which these Indians employed.

The general custom which they employed for seeking a woman for the purpose of marriage was that the man who wanted to be married went for several days to and fro about the house of the woman that he desired, but without entering it, waiting for an occasion to speak to her, and when he found her all alone he told her: *I want to marry you, or We should get married.* There were others who sent a third [party] to talk to her in private, and if the girl said yes, she notified her parents, and if they agreed, the bridegroom was notified that he could come into the house and talk with them and with the girl. There were also certain ones whose marriage was fixed up by the old people, and it was that after the parents of the girl had been notified these same old people notified her telling her: You have to marry such a one, and you will live well, and you will have many things, for he knows how to kill deer, cottontail rabbits—and [telling her] other similar things.

The first time that the bridegroom entered the house of the bride he brought his little present, now a deer skin, otter skin or seeds, or shell beads, in fact, whatever he could, and from that day on he was considered bridegroom of the house, tending to the bringing of something to eat, for he ate and in most cases also slept there, but without cohabiting with the bride, or having the least indecency with her either in words or actions, and they were very scrupulous about this.

During this period, which we may call the period of betrothal, the obligations of the bridegroom were to bring wood to the house

every day, and to hunt cottontail rabbits, groundsquirrels, mice, etc., to eat. And the girl had the obligation of working at the chores and duties of the house. The first thing that she did was that at the first streak of dawn she arose, went to the water and bathed herself, brought water for the house, sprinkled it, swept it, and this with much promptness and care; then she prepared the food of various kinds of mush, pinole or of whatever they had, and [did] the other chores of the house, and she had to do all of it alone, without the help of anybody. Sometimes also the parents of the bridegroom went to eat [there].

Note: Having the bride perform all the tasks of the house was in order that the bridegroom might observe whether the girl was lazy, and whether she knew how to prepare food and to do the other necessary work of the house, and whether she would serve him well, and for this reason he lived in the house of the bride.

When they determined the day of the wedding, after having spent some 15 days, in some cases a longer and in some a shorter time, during which the above mentioned manner of living lasted, they notified the relatives and friends, or we might better say the whole rancheria, of the wedding feast, which lasted from 3 to 4 days. When the day arrived, certain old men called Puplem (who are those of the Sanhedrin) took the girl and in public took off of her all the jewels and adornments which she was wearing (these were a kind of earrings [made] of shells and long bones) in her ears, and on her throat and arms, they decorated her head with feathers, but not like the crown of the dancers, but with the feathers spread out—her hair, arms and bosom, and decked thus with feathers they presented her to all the people, and then seated her beside the bridegroom on a tule mat, certain old men dancing in front of them and singing to them, and with the other people also dancing and eating all the time that the feast lasted.

The instructions which the parents gave to their daughter before they parted were very good ones, for they told her that she should always remember that she was the daughter of some good parents, and that therefore she should not disgrace them, that she should serve her husband well whom Chinigchinix had given to her, that she should not be with another man, for even though she were executed they would remain disgraced, and other similar things, and at the end they added: and if your husband does not treat you well, let us know, and you shall return to our house.

There were others who went themselves straight to ask the parents for the girl, and if they yielded her, gave them a present of shell beads

or of something else (which I consider to be like a promise or pledge). These notified their daughter telling her: Daughter, you are to marry such a one, for we have already given you to him. And the poor girl, whether it were her pleasure or against her will, or however it might be, had to marry the man who had asked for her.

There were also certain ones who were given in marriage from the time they were small [children], and it was in this way: The children being of tender age, the fathers and mothers on both sides being together, either with a feast or without one, would say: These 2 little children are to be married, and without further ceremony they were already married, and from that time on the 2 little children played together, ate, and slept together, and the 2 houses were one and the same for both of them; until on reaching competent age they gave their feast as we described above, and they cohabited together. The marriages celebrated thus were mostly those of relatives by affinity, for among them relationship by affinity was not held to be an impediment. In the year 1821 at this Mission I married in the face of the church a couple whose marriage had been contracted since the time they were children, for the girl must have been about 6 months old, and the boy about 2 years when their parents already married them.

There were also among these Indians marriages by rape, and it was that when a captain or his son fell in love with a certain girl of another rancheria, what he did was to send to that rancheria 3 or 4 or more Indians, well armed. On reaching that rancheria, they went directly to the house of the girl and laid before her father and mother the commission which they had brought from their chief, that therefore they should give their daughter to be taken to the chief, and that otherwise they would kill them. The poor wretches, full of fear and dread from the threats that were made them, delivered their daughter, though it might be against their will, and she was taken and led to their lord, and they were already married without performing the ceremonies which we have described above.

What we should search out is whether these marriages of the Indians were true marriage contracts or not. There is no doubt that according to what we have seen they were apparently true marriage contracts (except the rapes, and the unwilling ones, which were null and void), but the rest it seems were true matrimonial contracts, and should therefore be perpetual ones. Yet among these Indians in many cases they were not so, or better stated, it was their belief that they could get divorced whenever it pleased them and they felt inclined, and it was a custom current among them, for if after being married

they did not suit each other, be it for whatever reason it might be and after whatever period of time might have elapsed, if they did not suit each other, as I said, they got divorced at once and each one took his [own] road, and they got married again to others.

My way of thinking is, and I believe I am right, that their marriage contracts were not absolute, but conditional ones, that although at the time of getting married this was not explained verbally, tacitly it was understood, for the reason that it was their custom. This is my way of feeling, *Salvo meliori*, it is obvious to us through experience, and it is confirmed by the exhortation which the parents gave to their daughter when she departed with her husband: *That if the husband did not treat her well, she should return to her home*. Therefore they were not true marriage contracts, for *conjugium* is to unite two together, under a perpetual yoke.

They had the custom that the first time that the woman found herself pregnant, all the people of the rancheria held a feast, eating and dancing, and this for one night only. This feast was held with the rejoicing that another one was coming to them, and in the song of the dance they asked their God Chinigchinix to guard for them that child, the mother being a good woman, since she was about to give them children, for they considered a sterile woman to be a bad omen. When the time of childbirth arrived, they did not do anything special, but after she 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 saying: N., thus this child will be called, and if it was a female the grandmothers named it; and it was always the name of themselves [the grandfathers or grandmothers], of their parents, or of their ancestors, unless at the time of the birth something rare and peculiar might have happened, from the significance of which they gave the name.

The oddest custom of these Indians (although the Ancients [the ancient Mediterranean peoples] also had it) was that at every childbirth, from the time the woman brought forth, the husband had to go on diet like the woman herself, and this consists mainly in his not being able to leave the house except to bring wood and water, [and] in not eating meat or fish or other foods forbidden by them. This diet usually lasted for some 15 days, although in many cases it lasted during the entire period of the lochia of the mother, in the case of others a shorter time, according to the love which they had for the child, and now that they are Christians they still observe it, for they are of the belief that if they break or do not observe this diet, chiefly by eating meat or fish, the baby will die, and it is to be noted that in order for the child to

die the father had to be at home; if at the time of the childbirth he is away from home, though he knows about it and does observe the diet, there is no danger.

And in confirmation of the above I shall relate a case which happened in the year 1819 at the Mission of N. [marginal annotation: San Diego]. The wife of an Indian who was cook for the priests at the said mission, gave birth before the proper time to a baby, very weak and sickly. The husband after it was born began his diet, and on the second day, the priest seeing that the Indian ate nothing more than a little bread asked him the reason why he did not eat meat and other things as usual. The Indian answered him that he was not eating meat because he did not want to kill his child. The priest began to exhort him telling him that he should abandon these gentile ideas that his child would not die though he [the father] ate meat. The Indian was reluctant, but seeing the persistence of the priest (and he was doing it in order to disimpress him of those ideas), he ate like the rest, and in the evening the child died. Of course it is to be reflected that the death of the child did not come from the eating of meat, but from the child's sickness and weakness and premature birth, but all the Indians and he himself attributed it to the eating of meat.

Entre las barbaridades, que pueden contarse de estos Indios, (aunque el P. Torquemada [marginal annotation: lib. 13. c. 9.] ya habla de unos semejantes, y quizas serán de una misma raza) una es y no poco pesima, sino de las mas abominables, el casarse hombres con hombres, estos son unos hombres, que aunque sean varones desde chiquitos les enseñan todos los oficios y trabajos de mugeres, y su modo de vestir es el de las mugeres, hasta en sus brutalidades usan de ellos como de mugeres: Estos tales servian, tanto en su Rancheria como en otras que fueran, como publicas rameras, y este mal trato sodomitico, les era permitido, entregandose á aquel que queria usar de ellos. De estos havia algunos Capitanes, ù otros que se casavan con ellos, y estos los tenian que á mas de usar de ellos en sus brutalidades, para hacerles sus comidas, y servicio de la casa, que como hombres siempre tenian mas fuerza.

Estas especies de hombres todos tenian un mismo nombre que era generico: en las Rancherias de este contorno los llamavan *Cuít*, y un poco mas tierra adentro *Uluqui*, y por la canal *Coyas*. Estos de esta Provincia, no eran como los que refiere Torquemada, pues dice: que aquellos eran unos hombres mariones impotentes, corpulentos, y membrudos. Los que Yo he visto, son hombres usuales como los demas, y no padecen tal impotencia, pues conosi á uno casado con muger de Christiano y tenia dos hijos. Lo mas particular que havia entre estos

dichos era : que como ellos, servian de mugeres á los que los querian, tenian estos la facultad y licencia de cohabitar con la muger que les quadrava, si ellas consentian, y los maridos no decian nada por ello, porque como ellos decian era *hombre muger*, podia jugar y divertirse con las mugeres, pues con ellas iba á pinolear, y hacer todos sus trabajos, y nunca usava de arco y flecha, advirtiendole que eran la gente mas despreciable de los demas.

CHAPTER 6

ABOUT THE MANNER OF LIFE WHICH THESE INDIANS LED.

The mode of living or of life which these Indians had is not of great moment, for they led an idle and lazy life, more like that of brutes than that of rational beings, and being ignorant of the arts, they had no employment and profit with which to busy themselves for using up their time, for they did not cultivate the ground or sow any kind of seed, inasmuch as they subsisted on the wild seeds of various plants which the earth produces, and on the fruits of trees, and on game; and therefore their tasks and labors were confined to the making of bows and arrows (nor did all of them do this, for the youths did not wish to work at anything, but the old men and the poor men), the hunting of deer, cottontail rabbits, groundsquirrels, rats, etc., in order to eat and dress, if going about in their bare skins, as they used to go, can be called dress. For the clothing of the men consisted generally of nothing but their naked skins, but some of them put a deer skin or coyote skin over their shoulders, after the fashion of a cape. The women prepared from the skins of cottontails and jackrabbits a kind of cloak after the fashion of a choir-cope; this they made as follows: they kept twisting the skins, making a cord or string of them, long, and about an inch thick; this cord they sewed together turn on turn making the cape, as I said. In front of their private parts they [the women] wore certain little nets, or a kind of fringe made of grass which reached nearly to their knees; and nothing else except the decorations of shells and bones in their ears and on their necks.

Their way of spending their time was in playing games, taking trips about, sleeping and dancing. The whole life of the men was confined to this, except the old men and the poor men, who also busied themselves in making certain household utensils; or again instruments for working the bows and arrows, such as little saws, punches or awls, and other similar things (the little saws they made from the shoulder-blades of deer; and the borers or punches from their shin bones, as well as from the bones of fish); in making nets for various uses: now for fishing; or again those which they use for carrying their utensils, the women the babies; for catching quails; and for other uses.

Among the women the mode of life followed was very different, for they in addition to making the household utensils had to seek all the things necessary for a livelihood, which are the wild seeds of the country; after gathering them [they had] to clean them, to grind them or toast them for making their pinoles and various kinds of mush,

which were the foods on which they subsisted. It was pitiful and caused compassion to see a poor woman with the baby on her shoulders about the country, suffering cold, and again heat, hunting certain herbs or seeds; [to see her] arrive home without finding either fire or water, and most times not even wood; [to see her] clean them, grind them and cook them, and after they were prepared [to behold] her idler coming now from the game or dance, or getting up from sleep, [to watch him] consume [the fruits of] the toil and fatigue of the poor woman, while if he ate everything up, she had to go without food, not being able to say a word. The women in their gentile condition were worse off than slaves, for one cannot realize the subjection in which they found themselves; it was sufficient [reason] if her husband became angry with her either because she answered harshly or because she did not have what he wanted, for him to leave her, or to slay her, and most times the quarrels came from the husband gambling away the utensils of the poor woman. But thank God, since the light of the faith entered these lands, since the holy gospel has been preached, the women have gained the Christian liberty which Jesus Christ won for us through his passion and death.

The woman could not be idle at her home, for after the food had been sought and prepared and all the chores of the house had been done, she had to make all the utensils needed for her work: such as large and small baskets, which serve as plates and cups for eating, and for other uses; traybaskets for cleaning and toasting seeds; and other similar things.

What is wonderful and for which we should bless God, as regards these women, was the facility and happiness which they had in the bringing forth of children; it can be stated that they scarcely felt at all the pains of childbirth, which did not last half an hour, and many times the woman was alone, and she herself after having given birth cleaned the baby, and after passing the afterbirth washed herself of all the mess of the childbirth, and we are to note that they did not give birth to children inside the house, but outdoors, and this though they might be in the house, for upon feeling [that they were about to give birth] they would go outside, turn the face in the direction that the wind was coming from—and shortly afterwards would set themselves to working at whatever was necessary to be done about the house, that was, if there was no one else to do it. In their present state of being Christians, the Creole women of the Mission no longer have this facility, which they had in their gentile condition; I attribute it to the exercise which they used to have when they were gentiles, since many of them now have more idleness, for finding herself pregnant, she no longer works at anything unless it be something short and easy.

CHAPTER 7

ABOUT THEIR OBEDIENCE AND SUBJECTION TO THEIR CHIEFS.

Before speaking of the obedience which these Indians had for their chiefs, we shall set forth the method and ceremonies which they employed in their election or proclamation. When the chief was already old or because of some incapacity desired to retire from governing, he prepared a great feast, and invited the neighboring chiefs and friends. On the arrival of these, all being together, he declared to them that his purpose in inviting them to that great feast was to elect his son as chief, since he already found himself quite old, and afflicted (this amounts to a sort of acknowledgment). On the following day in the morning the crier came forth shouting through all the rancheria, declaring that the chief was making his son a chief, and that they should come to the feast of the new chief. Everything necessary having been arranged for the function, the new chief put on himself the imperial insignia or robes, which consisted of his hair being tied around his head by means of its cord, and a slender stick about half a yard long, shaped like the blade of a knife, stuck in his hair, the little skirt of feathers, and the crown, [he being] well painted up and reddened, and dressed in this manner, he began to dance alone for a while, and then the other chiefs came out and putting him in the middle danced together with the new chief, and it is to be noted that they also were dressed with all the insignia of chiefs.

This feast lasted for at least 3 days including the nights. The old chief saw to it that there were many kinds of food in the line of pinole and meat for the invited ones and for all the people of his town, and without further ceremonies than the ones above mentioned he was already recognized as chief; but it is to be noted that he did not take up the reins of government immediately, but when his father determined, or upon the death of the latter, and then they did not do anything special, but from that time on he already performed the functions of chief.

In the succession of these chieftainships, women also entered, when males were lacking. She could marry whoever 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, and from that time on all of them already recognized him as such, although the other one was ruling during the entire period of his minority, which was up to such time as he could perform alone the functions of chief. On the day when the command was delivered to him, they invited the neighboring chiefs and friends, the crier called together the town, and they made their great feast as we have mentioned above.

It is to be noted that whenever a feast was held all those invited brought their present for the chief who was inviting them, but he had the obligation to return it when they invited him, and in the same kind which they had given him.

As regards the obedience and subjection which these Indians had to their chiefs, what I have been able to investigate is that in as far as his mode of living was concerned, they did not recognize him at all; nor did he mix [that is, interfere] with his people, as they say: they [the people] had a free life, without subjection or subordination to anyone, without laws of government, or police, without punishments for wicked doers, as also without rewards for the well deserving; and in a word everyone lived as he pleased without anyone interfering with him, do what he might. Since the knowledge of the true God was lacking among these Indians, they lived without faith, without law or king, and therefore a life more that of brutes than of rational beings. What causes wonder is how these towns could keep in peace and quiet without laws of government or police. And indeed in the gentile period there were very few fights and quarrels between them, for since all the rancherias were composed of a single relationship, I believe that it was for that reason that all lived in peace, the parents continually exhorting their children to be good; for if someone committed some crime, if the offended person was able to revenge himself, the revenge, which was almost invariably death, was the punishment for the crime, but the chief did not intervene in the matter at all.

Although the chief did not exercise any authority so to speak in the administration of justice, nevertheless they had for him great respect and veneration, and especially so the youths on account of the great fear and dread with which they were imbued from the time they were small, and likewise for the elders, this being the daily

harangue as we have said above. And because of the fear and dread which had been impressed on them, they did not dare to commit any incivility, for if some bold [youth] presumed to maltreat or to injure them either by deeds or words, at once they ordered him slain, and it was in the following manner: an old man, one of those who had been appointed for the purpose, began to shout through the rancheria weeping bitterly, saying that such a one had done or said this or that to the chief, and because of this crime the God Chinigchinix is very angry with us, and wants to send a great sickness upon us; and therefore, young men, arm yourselves for killing such a one, that by presenting him dead to Chinigchinix, he may lay aside his wrath and not kill all of us. Since the Indians believed these deceivers like infallible truths, immediately the men went forth armed with bow and arrow, and wherever they found him, there they killed him, and together with the arrows that they had shot at him they presented him to Chinigchinix. Afterwards the relatives of the dead man took him and carried him to the pyre to burn him. The authority which the chief exercised in his rancheria was: that he was the one who had to tend to and handle all matters which came up with other rancherias; to call together for war, defensive as well as offensive, and also for [making] peace; to announce the day of all the feasts which they celebrated, which were many; to set the general days for hunting and seed gathering, for the old women and the women also went privately whenever they wanted to and needed them [the seeds] for their subsistence without the permission of the chief or of anyone. These general expeditions were for the purpose of [obtaining food for] celebrating their feasts, and in them all those of the rancheria, men and women, participated. The men killed the game, such as ducks, geese, cottontail rabbits, rats, etc., and the women gathered and carried them; having returned to their rancheria they all of them delivered the greater part of what they brought, both of the animals which they had killed as well as of the seeds of all kinds which they had gathered to the chief, (and that night a great feast was begun). But do not imagine that these seeds and animals which they delivered to the chief were a kind of tribute, that as such they owed it to him. Not so, for these seeds which they delivered to the chief were for the purpose of celebrating the feasts, and the chief had to keep them like a deposit, being deprived of eating or using the least part of them, not having any more of them than what was left over in the feasts.

And if any chief ate the said seeds or sold them, or gave them out squandering them, what they did was to kill him, alleging that

he was a bad chief and did not take good care of his people. It was the old men, wizards, or soothsayers who proposed the death of their chief to the youths, the latter armed themselves for killing their chief, and not hastily and guardedly, but with a day designated for the execution. The same fate befell the first chief, Oiot, as we have stated above.

The chief, if he wanted anything to eat, had to seek it the same as the rest, although there were some who made him their little gifts; this was not because of obligation, but through good will; and for this reason I believe, and they have assured me, many of them had 2 or 3 wives for the purpose of hunting seeds and having them in abundance, so that those who came to visit could be invited to eat. Of the wives which he had, one was the principal one, and the others were like concubines, and the children of the latter did not come into the right of the crown, unless legitimate children were lacking. These princedoms or chieftainships were by succession and not by election.

CHAPTER 8

DESCRIPTION OF THE TEMPLE CALLED *ĪVANQUEX* AND ABOUT ITS IMMUNITY.

The temple which these Indians had, called *Īvanquex*, ordained by their God Chinigchinix at the time of its formation, was built at all the rancherias near the house of the chief, which house was always the biggest and tallest one. 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 in the following shape: they made a circle about 3 or 4 yards in diameter, not round but oval. Of this they took half of the circle, and in this half circle they built a fence or stakework of brush or tule mats about 2 yards or more high. At the other half circle they built another little stakework of small sticks, which did not project from the ground but 2 or 3 fingerwidths: inside this oval circle they had the figure of their God Chinigchinix, on top of a framework, which consisted of a bundle, in a coyote skin, of feathers, deer horns, mountain lion's claws, and other small things of this sort; the beaks and claws of the hawk were not lacking there, especially those of a kind called *Pames*, with the feathers of which they dressed the Chinigchinix [figure] and made the little skirt for dancing, but this [little skirt] could not be worn by all, but only the chiefs and satraps or wizards called *Puplem*.

When the chief gave notice by means of the crier of the general expeditions for going to hunt game or for gathering seeds, the *Puplem*, which means soothsayer, or he who knows all things, and for this reason they are called wizards (Note: I consider them as priests, since all the functions in which the people had to assemble at the temple were directed by them; and the chief and crier were of their number and were the principal ones), the said *Puplem* painted a figure on the ground inside the Vanquex, very ridiculous and odd, like the one which we mentioned in connection with the penance of the boys, and before leaving the rancheria the crier announced to all the people that they should venerate it, and all should go to worship it.

Their manner of worshipping this evil painting was that when all the people were assembled, all the men being armed with their

quiver, bow, and arrows, and well painted up, the chief and the Puplem being dressed in their vestments, which were the little skirt of feathers and the crown on the head, and with the rest of the body painted with a dye of hematite and black, and the rest of them being in their natural dress, which was in their bare skins, but well sooted up so that they resembled devils more than men, all went one behind another, commencing with the chief and following in order, running, and as each one arrived in front of the Vanquex, before the Chinigchinix [figure] and the figure which was on the ground, he gave a jump with a half turn, like a kind of a skip, and a loud cry, raising his bow and arrow as if shooting in the air, and in this manner all of them passed by, performing the same ceremony. The most amazing thing about it was that when they gave the half turn they turned their backs to the Chinigchinix [figure], or better said their butts, surely a ridiculous thing, and the subject which they venerated merited nothing less. The women after the men had passed by also went one behind another, but slowly, and on arriving [at the place] each of them made an obeisance like a half bow with her body, showing the traybasket or tools which she was carrying. And this ceremony they performed in order that that horrible painting might preserve them from all ill, notably from stumbling over rocks, tripping over burrows, so that the limbs of trees would not fall upon them, and from other similar accidents.

Great was the veneration and respect which these Indians had for their temple, for rather than have the slightest irreverence be committed in it, no one save the chiefs and Puplem, or elders, entered within it (that is, on the feast days); the other people remained outside of the stakework, and the boys and girls did not even approach it. They did not speak inside it, except what was very necessary and that in a low voice, and also those who were outside observed silence. Inside the temple there was dancing, but only by the chief and some other one of the Puplem, and this in the dress of Chinigchinix, making in front of him a thousand odd and ridiculous maneuvers. The position which they assumed when before the Chinigchinix [figure] inside the Vanquex was sitting on the ground with their buttocks on or to one side of their heels (this position has always caused me much wonder—for the Devil, who wishes to be honored and venerated like the true God, taught them the ugliest, most indecent and ridiculous way of worshipping him which can be imagined—to be in a squatting position some Indians whose dress was to go naked), and in this fashion they re-

remained without moving for 2, 3 or more hours until the function was concluded.

The immunity which these temples or Vanquex possessed was so great that whatever the crime, be it what it might be, homicide, adultery, theft, etc., if the delinquent had the fortune to be able to take refuge at the temple before his opponents encountered him, and those whom he had aggrieved knew that he had taken asylum, he was already free and could go where he pleased without ever being molested or the least mention being made of what had happened; they merely told him if they met him: You went to the God Chinigchinix, and had you not gone we would have slain you, but he will punish you because you are wicked. They believed that Chinigchinix was a friend of the good, and punished the wicked, as we have said above, and they also believed that Chinigchinix did not wish when once refuge had been taken with him in the Vanquex that they should take vengeance or justice with their own hands, and for this reason they let him [the delinquent] go free. It is to be noted that although the delinquent remained free, the crime did not remain exempt from punishment, for although the evil doer might not be molested in any way, either his children or grandchildren or relatives came to pay for it, which happened when the grievance was the occasion for vengeance, and this hatred or grudge with desires for revenge ran on, being handed down from parents to children until they were able to fulfill their desires.

In this same way the chief could save his life and escape from death when they accused him of squandering the seeds which he had on deposit, if he had the fortune to be able to take refuge at the temple, and when they went to look for him for the purpose of slaying him to be found there; indeed no one entered or dared to shoot an arrow, for if anyone had dared the least profanation and irreverence they would immediately have taken his life. And from that time on the chief could go about during his entire lifetime free, as a private and not public man, without anyone daring to make to him the slightest mention of what had happened; but he lost forever the diadem of chief, and immediately they elected one of his sons, to whom it fell by right, admonishing the new chief that he should behold the example of his father, that if he was not a good chief they would do the same with him.

CHAPTER 9

ABOUT CERTAIN OF THEIR PRINCIPAL FEASTS AND DANCES.

Since the feasts of these Indians all consisted of dances, I shall therefore treat certain ceremonies of their feasts, and especially certain dances on account of the rarities and oddities which they contain. Although they enumerate many different dances, most of them amount to being of the same kind, merely differing in the words of the song, while the song and manner of dancing is the same. And so great is the affection which they have for their dances that they will spend days, nights and whole weeks dancing, and it can be said that all their passion is given to dancing, for few days pass that they do not have a dance, without becoming tired of a thing that is continually of the same sort, the most insipid that one can imagine.

Note: That these Indians are so fond of the dance is in memory of their God Chinigchinix who as we have said above went away dancing to Heaven, and they were of the belief that those who did not dance (that is, of the dancers, who are only the chiefs, and Puplem or wizards), and those who did not attend the dances, were to be punished and hated by their God Chinigchinix.

The manner of fix-up or dress for their dances we already mentioned in treating the proclaiming of the [new] chief, it being a feather ornament made like a crown from various feathers of birds, placed on the head; and the little skirt or apron, also of feathers, made in the form of fringe which reaches half way down the thigh, which skirt they call *Páelt*; and the rest of the body painted black and red, and some of them with some white, and fixed up in this way they dance their dances. The women do not paint more than their faces, arms, and breasts, with a kind of varnish between black and red color, very shiny and sticky. It is to be noted that they never dance men and women mixed, but the men alone, and the women alone, though they all dance together, the men always apart and separate from the women, but indeed all sing in the same tempo and the same song.

Many of their dances are very decent and for a time entertaining on account of the many maneuvers which they perform in them. There are certain men and also women who are the singers, appointed for leading in the song, who have some little shells of small turtles, a couple of them stuck together, and with some little stones inside, called *Páail*. This is the instrument which they used and still employ in their dances. Since this instrument is made of some shells of small

turtles with some little stones inside, they call it *Páail*, because the turtle is called thus. It was made like the following figure [drawing of two-shell turtle rattle follows this word and another with grasping hand is given in left margin]; they also used, when the *páail* was lacking, some reeds open down the middle, and the singers sound them and sing, and when the couplet is finished it is repeated by the men and women who are dancing. Many of their dances do not contain anything more than a mocking of certain animals.

Among all the feasts which they celebrated every year, among the principal and most solemn ones was one which they called the feast of the *Pames*, which means the feast of the bird, for they gave a kind of worship and veneration to a bird which has the same form and size as a kite, although somewhat larger. It is a kind of carnivorous hawk, but very sluggish and stupid. The day set for the great feast of the *Pames*, which feast consisted of many extravagancies, was spent as follows. The night before, the crier, crying throughout the town, invited all to the great feast which began the following morning. First they made outside the town or rancheria a kind of temple. To this temple, which was not used for anything more than for that function, the elders or *Puplem* carried the said *Pames* or bird in silence.

Note: The construction of this temple consisted in cleaning off a piece of ground from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 yards in diameter, of round shape, and around the edge they set some brush of willow, cottonwood, or other brush, and sometimes they did not set anything, but very clear of any litter.

The *Pames* having arrived at the said temple, immediately the unmarried girls, and the married ones, but young, who had not yet given birth to a child, began to run like crazy women, some in one direction, some in another, without order or arrangement, whose running lasted for about an hour, more or less. While they were running all the rest of the people were looking at them, and with the old men or elders daubed up with black, uglier than the very Devil, dancing around the bird. When all that we have mentioned above was concluded, they took the *Pames* and with all the people in procession they carried it to the principal temple, the *Puplem* dancing and singing in front of the bird all the way. Arriving at the *Vanquex*, they killed it, without drawing blood, they stripped off and dried the skin with the feathers on, which latter they kept as a relic, for from these feathers they made the little skirt or *páelt*, as they call it, for dressing the *Chinigchinix* [figure], and for dancing. Then they buried it [the body of the *Pames*] in a hole which they had made inside the *Vanquex*, the old women immediately rushing to the spot crying and well stained up with black gum, throwing to it [to the *Pames*] seeds, pinole and

whatever food they had, saying a thousand foolish things to it, such as: *Why did you run away? Were you not better off among us? If you had not run away, you would not have turned into a bird*, and other expressions of this sort. When the whole function was over, the dance began, which lasted at least 3 days including the nights, in which they committed a thousand brutal actions.

I have not been able to learn what was the meaning of so great a ceremony, neither have I been able to determine what may have been the particular signification of the running of the single and married girls at the beginning of the feast of the Pames while all the people, men and women, watched them run, for it must contain its peculiar mystery. What I conjecture in it is that as the Pames according to their way of thinking was a girl who ran away from them, these [girls], imitating her, run as if fleeing away, and therefore they run without order, and watching them run must be for the purpose of perceiving the girls who run swiftest and with least embarrassment—that they may spend with them the days of the feast, for as they say, on these days all intercourse was free.

The Indians relate that the said Pames or bird was a girl who ran away from a rancheria and went to the mountains, and that the God Chinigchinix made her into Pames, or turned her into a bird, and this is their belief; and that every year although they kill her, she is born again, and the nonsense does not stop here, but they believe that she multiplies herself, for every year 3 or 4 or more birds were seen, for all the chiefs gave the feast of the Pames, and since it was only one girl who fled away from them, they believe that all these birds are the same girl. This feast of the Pames or bird which they celebrated every year was ordained by their God Chinigchinix.

These Indians had in their gentility a dance for the commencing of which they lighted first a great fire of chamize or of straw, and when it was well lighted the men began to jump upon it and into the middle of it until they put it out, while the women remained at some distance crying, and when this bonfire was entirely extinguished the crying of the women ceased and the dance began, and if it happened that it was not thoroughly extinguished or that some sparks appeared, they remained sad for a considerable time, for they held it to be a bad omen and feared some mishappening. These dances were always at night. If this dance was executed on the day of some great feast to which they invited the neighboring rancherias, in addition to what has been related they added [the following]: Before they began they sent someone to bring water from a designated place, and it was always somewhat distant. This water they put in its little well or hole, which

they had already made inside the Vanquex, all the chiefs and Puplem in their proper order went over to blow to it and to make certain imprecations to it, which was like blessing it, although one might better say cursing it, and after all the ceremonies were concluded all the men went, beginning with the chief, in their proper order, to sprinkle their faces with that water, and when this ceremony was finished the putting out of the fire followed, and after that the dance, as we have said.

They had another kind of dance in which after the men had danced for a time they formed themselves in a file, and a woman would come out alone with her hands under her breasts as if to hold them up, dancing in front of the file of men for 3 or 4 turns (dressed according to their custom which was: the little strings in front for covering up her private parts, and a skin of a coyote, wild cat, or some other animal for covering her butt, and nothing else), and would then retire. The men resumed their dance the same as before, and the woman followed again, they continuing in this way until the dance was concluded. The woman did not sing, but only the men, without there being in this dance the customary singers, but they had the Páail instrument.

There was another dance which they called *Aputs*, which signifies naked or in one's bare skin. This dance was danced by one woman alone, and it was in this manner: just one woman stripped herself naked (although she had very little to take off), and this had to be a girl, and the other people all around in a circle, men and women, big and little, and she in the middle, her hands placed underneath her breasts as if holding them up, dancing in the middle of that circle, and all watching her dance and observing her movements and actions. She herself sang, but her song was confined to naming her private parts and those of the men, an infamous thing and a diabolical invention.

They had another dance similar as it were to the one above described which they executed when some son of a chief or of the Puplem was to dance for the first time in public, and this day was one of great festivity, and it was in this manner: When the little boy was about 2 or 3 years of age, or a little more or less, he who was to be a dancing man, danced for the first time in public, they dressed the boy with the little skirt of Chinigchinix made of the feathers of the Pames, they placed the crown of feathers on his head, the rest of his body painted black and red, and in this way he danced alone for a while, the musicians and singers playing the rattle and singing, nothing being lacking on this occasion, until he became tired, and if the child was no longer able to dance alone, one of the Puplem, dressed in the same vestments, carried him on top of his shoulders and danced with him, and with all the rest of the people watching them. When this dance was con-

cluded, a sister or aunt or some other one of his closest female relatives, single or married as long as she was a young woman, got up, stripped herself naked before all those assembled, who were always many, without exceptions of persons, and naked thus with her hands underneath her breasts she began to dance, giving turns back and forth in front of all, offering herself to anyone that desired her. She alone sang, and her song was confined to saying, that she was well, healthy, that she was already a woman, and many brutal things. This dance was danced inside the Vanquex, but the preceding one was danced outside in another place. They had other dances and similar songs. But through the mercy of God since they have become Christians they are already abandoning them, or at least they do not execute them in public as they were accustomed to in time of their gentility.

CHAPTER 10

ABOUT THE CALENDAR OF THESE INDIANS.

It can not be doubted but that the calendar is one of the most curious and useful of things and even to some extent necessary to man in order to distinguish him from the brutes and enable him to divide times and ages, and know past happenings, the time which has elapsed since they occurred.

The calendar of these Indians, if it can be called a calendar, differs very little or not at all from the natural instinct of brutes. These latter know the times, with their seasons, for their food and procreation, we see many animals at the prescribed time move to another place or even to another climate because of inclemency of weather and lack of food, and when the season arrives return to the same place. These Indians had this same way of doing that the animals had or something very similar, for they had nothing more than the name of the months, which denoted the time or season for gathering the various seeds for their maintenance and the preservation of life. And this matter of the names of the months, all of them did not know, [but] only certain ones of them and these were few.

What causes wonderment, compassion, and pity is to see creatures endowed like the rest with spiritual souls, created in the image and likeness of God, so rude and so slow that all their activities appear to be mere natural instinct like the brutes, for all their activities are those of cunning for the purpose of deceit, theft, fornication, and other wicked things, but they fall short of attaining to the cunning of the cat, female fox, and female monkey, etc.

These Indians lacked in the first place a chronology and starting point whereby they could reckon the dates of past years, nor did they have this either in figures or in signs, and therefore their calendar was confined to the months of the year from tropic to tropic, or to the return of the sun, and since their months followed the course of the moon or were counted by the lunations, all their years were lunar, and since lunar years are different from solar years, all the years had vacant days, some years [having] more and others fewer, for when the moon of December was finished, they waited for the return of the sun from the tropic of Capricorn, and began another new year, without remembering what had passed by, and for this reason they did not

know (and this [included] those best instructed in their antiquities) how much time had elapsed since this or that thing had happenel, etc., and therefore they did not know anything more than the present time, putting their reason to use [only] with natural instinct, as it were, like so many animals.

Names of months according to the natives.

Aaxcomil	December and January.
Peret	February.
Yamar	March.
Alasoguil	April.
Tocoboaix	May.
Siutecar	June and July.
Cucuat	August.
Lalavaix	September.
Aguitscomil	October.
Auquit	November.

In order to comprehend the method or manner in which these Indians counted the months of the year, it must be understood that their year always began the 21st of December, and thus those days which elapsed between the last conjunction and the 21st were vacant [days], and according to their way of expressing it they said: *there are no days*, and on the 21st, whatever number of days old the moon might be, they began to reckon the month of Aaxcomil, which lasted during all of the following moon, and the new year began; therefore this month alone comprised 2 moons, that of December, though only in part, yet some years in its entirety, which happened when the conjunction passed the 21st, and that of January. The same thing happened in the month of Siutecar, which corresponds to the month of June, with the only difference that if the 21st of June fell in the full of the moon, the days before the full of the moon were not vacant [days], but were added to the preceding month, Tocoboaix, and on the 21st the other month started, but if it fell before the full of the moon, the month began the day of the full of the moon, and the other ensuing month followed. All the other months began with the conjunctions of the moon; for that reason they never or scarcely ever agreed with ours.

What is described above is all that these Indians had in their calendar, which served them for gathering their seeds, as we have said, and for celebrating their feasts. They were ignorant of the number of days of which the months were composed, and much more so the years, and were only governed by the phases of the moon; this latter indicated to them the days on which they were to

celebrate their feasts and also for the anniversaries of their dead, though these latter did not fall on the same day on which the person had died in any year. With this end in view the Puplem when the deceased died observed the aspect of the moon, and in what month it was, and the next year, the month having arrived and the aspect of the moon being the same as when he died, they then celebrated the anniversary. And we are to understand that the same method applied for the celebrating of their feasts.

CHAPTER 11

SOME OF THEIR MANY EXTRAVAGANCIES.

Many were the rare, extravagant, and ridiculous practices which these Indians had, and therefore in addition to those mentioned in the proper place, I shall relate some of these which appear especially ridiculous and singular, everything being derived from the stories and fables with which they are imbued from the time they are small children, so that they are brought up full of fear, and for this reason anything whatsoever fills them with dread, and since they were so rude with such sluggish understanding, they were not able to distinguish or deduce that which is true from that which is false, but continually adhered to that which the old people told them, and for this reason are seen so many extravagant and ridiculous things among them.

They had the notion when buzzards were flying about, if the shadow of the buzzard passed close by, of immediately covering themselves, and they still cover their heads, chiefly the young women do, for they believe that if the shadow of the buzzard would touch their heads, sores would come out on them, such as scalled-head and other similar [sores].

There was another rare and singular practice among these Indians, and it was that the deer hunters or hunters of deer could not eat of the deer which they killed, for they were of the belief that if they ate of the game which they themselves killed, they would not kill any more, and the fishermen had this same idea and never ate of the fish which they themselves caught. But the most singular practice was that in the case of the youths, when they went to hunt cottontail rabbits, groundsquirrels, or deer, one of them could not go alone, and therefore at least 2 of them went [together], for he who killed the game could not eat of it, but this was not for the above mentioned reason [that the eater will not be able to kill any more game], but for another reason [that the eater will sicken], which was that if one of the unmarried men were to get a cottontail rabbit or some other animal and were to eat it by himself hiddenly, in a few days he would start feeling pains in his body and start wasting away, getting thin like a hectic person, and for this reason they always went in company, and what one killed the other one ate, swapping their game; but it is to be noted that in order that this effect be produced, the eating has to be in secret, for if it was in public on the general [expeditions] when all the people went along, though they ate of the same game that they had killed,

there was no such sickness. They had for this sickness their healers, who with 2 incantations of blowings and feathers, made them well in short order. Nowadays since they are Christians nothing of what we have mentioned happens to them, nor do I believe that it would happen to them in their gentility, and that if any boy at any time was seen to be sick, it must have come from other causes, or else from mere imagination, for this was also a daily harangue which they gave them. And it was for the purpose that if they found cottontail rabbits, jackrabbits, or others in the country they should bring them to the house and should not eat them.

When they discover any eclipse of the sun or of the moon they start great shouts, cries, and bitter weeping, and this all of them, big and little, throwing dirt into the air, beating on skins, [and] tule mats with great noise. And this they do because they are of the belief that a hideous animal eats the sun or the moon, and they make such exertions in order to scare it away, and they think that if that animal would eat up all the sun or the moon, that is, if it would be a total eclipse, they would all have to die and the world would have to come to an end. I believe that at the time of the eclipse when they make such a noise, they are making their supplications to the God Chinigchinix, because I saw (at one which there was in the year 1813 and at another in 1822), of the sun, that when the eclipse was over the old men began their dance like giving him thanks for having delivered them from that animal.

They also had the custom at the time of the new moon, the first day that the new moon appeared, [that] some old men began to shout, saying: boys, start your moon running! And immediately the youths began to run like crazy men without order or arrangement, and the old men to dance as a sign of joy, saying in their song that even as the moon died and lived again, even so, though they also were to die, they were to live again (this very clearly manifests the resurrection of the flesh), but how they understood it I have not been able to determine.

The rarest thing that I have found among these Indians is that there were certain ones who claimed to be descendants of the Coyote, and these ate human flesh, but not like the Caribs, Mexicans and others, but in another manner, the dirtiest thing that can be imagined, and it was in this way: when the chief or another of the satraps died (for the function was performed for all of these), they summoned the Eno, Tacue, for thus he was called, and after the death of the person, with a flint, the said Enó cut a little piece of meat from the shoulder near the neck of the deceased, and before all the people who were present there, he ate it raw. (This was in imitation of what the

Coyote did to his Chief, Oiot, as we have related above.) And for the above mentioned function they paid him well, and all the people gave him of what they had. The people were in great fear and dread of these [Tacue], because they held them to be poisoners and wizards, and therefore they used great caution as regards them.

These Indians had also an account of the universal flood. I do not know, nor can I understand, from where such an account comes to them. And this I have learned from certain songs which I heard sung on a certain occasion, it being a little story which I shall give later. These Indians believe and say that at a remote time the sea began to fill up so that it came in over the valleys, and the water rose over the mountains, and all the people and animals died, except some who went to a very high mountain, and the water did not reach there. The account that they give extends only thus far, but the [little] story which I heard, gives it more clearly and extensively, and is as follows. It is to be noted first of all that the Indian is very rancorous and nurses hatred to the third or fourth generation, and grievance being handed down from parents to children as we have mentioned, and when they were not able to take revenge, they contented themselves with singing the following little story, which is as follows: They were of the belief that one of the descendants of Oiot, whom they poisoned, begged of Chinigchinix the avenging of Chief Oiot. Chinigchinix answered him: You are the one who makes rain, therefore you can make so much water rain down that you will drown everyone, and thus you will be revenged. And indeed it began to rain and the sea [began] to get rough and to fill up, and with the water that was raining down it came in over the valleys and canyadas, the water continued rising over the hills and mountains, and rose to such an extent that it covered all of them, all the people and animals dying with exception of a few who went with the one who was making it rain to a very high mountain, the top of which the water did not reach, and these alone saved themselves. Thus one who I believe must have been removed from Oiot further than the 6th generation took his revenge. And this is what they ask of Chinigchinix: that he drown their enemies and save themselves.

If their adversaries heard or learned that they were singing this ballad against them, they answered with another one which amounts to saying: *We now have no fear because Chinigchinix does not wish it, nor will there be another flood.* There is no doubt but that all the above account has some correlation to the universal deluge, and the promise which God made to us that there would not be another one.

CHAPTER 12

ABOUT THEIR BURIALS AND FUNERALS.

Before I deal with the method that they employed in their burials, it will be convenient to treat first the remedies which they used in their diseases. These Indians did not lack the use of certain crude remedies in their diseases or the knowledge of certain herbs, that is, for external diseases, for in the case of internal ones, such as fevers, no matter what kind they might be, I have not known them to use any remedy at all; just bathing with cold water was all the remedy they had, and therefore when they felt a headache at once the first remedy was to wash the head with cold water.

In external diseases, such as tumors, swellings, sores, and vagrant pains they used certain herbs such as sage, California Sagebrush, and others, putting them on pounded up, as a poultice; and if they felt a bellyache, they inhaled the smoke of the above mentioned herbs through the mouth; but the most frequent and commonest practice, especially when in pain, was to whip the place where the pain was with nettles, and to put them right on the place of the pain, and likewise ants, and these latter especially on sores, and in this manner they cured themselves.

In internal diseases such as fevers, pains in the side, burning fevers, I do not know if they may have used special remedies other than bathing; what they did was to lie down naked on top of a pile of sand or ashes, the little fire in front of them being in whatever condition it might be, and a basket or pot of water at the head of the person; they were also accustomed to set for the person a little basket of acorn mush, but the sick person, if he wanted to eat, ate, and if not, he left it, and without anyone importuning him to take food, and it is to be noted that he always had someone or other at his side day and night, and thus he remained until either nature conquered or the disease conquered.

When they felt themselves attacked with some kind of fever immediately they called their healers, who are the Puplem, of whom we have spoken above, and (into their profession not all entered, but those to whom it fell by succession). These on seeing the sick person gave a great discourse, mentioning to them many kinds of diseases, but in the case of all of these, that they came from foreign substances which they had in their bodies, such as the hairs of certain animals, sticks,

little stones, thorns, etc., and that these foreign bodies were the disease, and these imposters for the purpose of effecting a cure made ready with many ceremonies, putting feathers on them, and other things, blowing in the 4 directions, saying certain words without anybody or anyone understanding them; and then sucking the place where the pain was they pretended that they were extracting the bodies such as they had mentioned—but in reality after their sucking they extracted from their [own] mouths some of these bodies, such as little stones, sticks, thorns, similar to or the same as those which they had told them previously that they had; and these bodies they showed to those standing about, and all believed it without having the slightest doubt, and the sick person [being] very well satisfied whether he got well or died. They told some that the disease had been sent to them by their God Chinigchinix as a penalty or punishment for some delinquency which had been committed.

There are many of these charlatans and deceivers everywhere, who after they have been well paid and have filled their bellies laugh at and make fun of the poor innocents, or better said, of their credulity.

After the deceit of the wizards, they having used all their diabolic art, if the sick person died they tended to giving him burial, that is, to burning him, (in these regions they burned them). After the sick person died they allowed the interval of 10 or 12 hours to pass, watching if he would come to life again, as they said. In the meantime they prepared the pyre, and having seen that he was really dead, they summoned the cremator (it is to be noted that in these regions there were certain ones assigned to this work, and it went according to family succession). Everything being ready, they carried the corpse to the pyre, leaving it there. All the people withdrew to a little distance, the cremator alone remaining. He lighted the pyre, and he could not stir from the place until the dead person was entirely consumed. And when it was over they gave him something to eat, and paid him well, and after that he retired to his lodging place.

All the things and utensils which the dead person had used, such as bow, arrows, feathers, and the rest, were all burned with him, serving as food for the pyre. They did not have special ceremonies at the time of burning him, but after he was entirely consumed, they retired to a little distance from the rancheria to cry over the death of the deceased.

CHAPTER 13

ABOUT THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL.

In this chapter it seems that we have a somewhat difficult one, since it deals with a substance imperceptible to the bodily senses, because it is incorporeal and spiritual, nevertheless it has been possible to set forth with concise words and briefly the belief which these Indians held concerning the rational soul and how they imagined it, for the purpose of observing something about its immortality; but since there are arguments pro and con, I shall expand somewhat more than I have been accustomed to in the other chapters, in order that the reader may be acquainted with the validity of both sides [of the argument], and may be able to choose that which seems to him best, presenting first my way of feeling and my opinion, according as I have been able to understand and grasp, following their explanation.

These Indians were materialists, for they imagined the soul to be the spirit of life, which is taken in through the air that we breathe, without their knowing or believing that within ourselves there is supposed to be another substance distinct from the material body; that is, that we are no more than bones, flesh and blood, which constitute what composes the body, which they call *Petácau*. A name for distinguishing the soul from the body they do not have; they merely use the name *pusún*, which is the generic term that means thing which is inside, and this name they apply to the heart, since it is the principal place in man. Since these Indians do not penetrate further than what they perceive or can perceive with their senses, they do not attain to understand the spirituality of our soul, but merely the materiality of our body, and therefore are materialists, for they say that dead and with body burned, nothing remained and everything was already ended. Also, as we have mentioned in the preceding chapters the punishments which they feared from their God Chinigchinix, were all bodily, such as stumbling over rocks, falling down on the ground, being bitten by rattlesnakes, [and] bears, and diseases, all of them ills of the body, and lastly death, which was their final end—without ever talking or thinking of penalties, punishments or glory after they were dead. What has been said seems to me sufficient for perceiving that they were materialists. But since they tell a thousand little stories, originating indeed in dreams and deliriums, which manifest the immortality of the soul, and I promised to relate everything that I have acquired on the

matter which we are treating, I shall set forth ingenuously all their accounts.

Since it has been proven therefore that they are materialists by the arguments given above, not to add others which are also convincing, the great insensibility which they manifest at the hour of death, their little affection for and little inclination toward divine things, their having all their desire set in brutal things, and other congruent arguments which I could adduce, show very clearly the little or no perception which they had of the rationality of the soul, and therefore of their immortality. Nevertheless there appears to be validity of argument, in what we have mentioned in chapter II in connection with their moon running, at which they mentioned in their song that *even as the moon died and lived again, so also though they were to die, they were to live again*. But as I said, I have not been able to comprehend how they understood this, if it was that as the moon shows itself the same, they were to resurrect the same, which is what the Catholic faith teaches us, or if they understood transmigration. I think that they did not believe either one way or the other, for what they say is that thus the ancients did, and that they they are doing the same as they learned from their ancestors, without giving further notice or account of what has been given above.

Let us examine their little anecdotes which deal with the immortality of the soul, which though they all of them are nothing more than mere fables, framed from dreams and deliriums both of men and women, will serve at least in their narration to amuse the reader.

Some of them narrate that all the Indians when they die go to Heaven to their God Chinigchinix (this Heaven they imagine as a terrestrial paradise), that they have much to eat there, and to wear, that they dance much and play many games, that they do not work, that no one is sad, but that all are happy and glad, and everyone does what he wants to, and they have all the women that they please. Let the reader compare this paragraph with [their belief as regards] the immortality of the soul. This account has been invented by Christians, for the old people have no such idea, and in confirmation of this I shall recount a little tale which was related to me by a woman.

At the Mission of N. [marginal annotation; San Juan Capistrano] in the year of 1817 a woman who was convalescing from a burning fever related to me the following: When she was in the most violent part of the fever she had a great paroxysm, and she told me that she had died and that certain Indian relatives of hers had taken her to the God Chinigchinix. Before entering the rancheria (which was very large and beautiful, and we are to note that the houses were not of the

form and figure such as they use, but of another form, she being unable to give the design), she beheld there a great number of people, men and women (but all of them Indians), some of them playing games, others dancing, the same games and dances that they have, and others bathing in a great arroyo of very crystalline water. They arrived at the house or palace of Chinigchinix, but he did not permit them to enter, telling them that the woman could not live with them yet, that they would give her something to eat and that she should return to her country. They gave her to eat a very savory and good acorn mush such as she had never tasted, and much of it, and after she had eaten well, she returned to her rancheria, without having seen Chinigchinix. This is her account. It is at once seen to be nothing more than a mere delirium.

Note: I went to visit this woman when she was in her paroxysm and in the most violent part of her fever, and seeing that she was shaking and gnashing her teeth very much, and with her mouth very dry, I gave her with my own hand a glass of warm water with sugar, and she drank it all up. This water perhaps may have been the acorn mush that was so good, which they gave her at the house of Chinigchinix. She began to perspire and came to herself, the fever letting loose of her, from which she recovered in a short time. The other accounts that they relate are about the same as what has been related above.

Others relate, and this is handed down from antiquity, that when the Indians died, although they burned them after death, the heart did not burn, that is, the spirit or soul (for the heart of flesh of course had to be consumed like the rest of the body), and that this spirit or soul went to stay at another place, where Chinigchinix destined it, but it is to be noted that if it was a chief or satrap, they went to Heaven, and were placed among the stars, and therefore they say that especially the planets and those large stars which are very brilliant, are the souls of chiefs or Puplem. Note: The reason that they give why only these latter should go to Heaven and become stars is that Enó, who was the eater of [human] flesh, before they were cremated ate his piece [of flesh] from them, but if it happened that the Enó did not eat of their flesh, as in case by drowning or [of death] at the hands of their enemies, etc., he [the chief or satrap] did not then go to Heaven, but to another place where Chinigchinix destined him.

Others Chinigchinix stationed along the ocean shore or through the hills, ranges, valleys or mountains, and there they remained without the period of time being designated, but such time as Chinigchinix desired, but what they became later, if they returned to their bodies or went to another place, this they do not know. And if the Indians, when going from one place to another, see or imagine [they see] 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. And this has happened many times, not only when they were gentiles but even since they have become Christians.

And lastly others, and these the most pitiable and unhappy of all, remained near their homes and those of their relatives, filling them with dread and doing them certain injuries, and these are the ones for whom their relatives did not lay on the pyre many feathers and other things of the kind that they were accustomed to lay. And as confirmation of this last point I shall relate a case which I myself witnessed in part, and it was as follows: In the year of 1813, at the Mission of N. [marginal annotation: San Luis Rey], there died a Christian Indian, and the Indians said that another Indian, also a Christian of the same Mission, had poisoned or bewitched him, whose death all believed came from witchery. That dead man used to make every year his little garden patch of corn, pumpkins, and watermelons. This same garden patch he left to one of his relatives; and at the time when the plants were in blossom, the said garden patch all got spoiled and dried up without being able to harvest even a single fruit or grain, while it is to be noted that when the plants were tender they were very luxuriant like the neighboring ones and [those of] all the vicinity, but upon blooming the plants died, and the Indians said (this they learned from an old woman who had also told me about it), that the dead man was walking all about through the plot and that he was killing all of it little by little, which was whatever he touched. With this news I went to see the prodigy and saw certain dead plants, but many of them very luxuriant and fresh. The next day I returned to assure myself of the truth, and I found 7 plants, some of them corn, some pumpkin, some watermelon, dry and burnt to the roots, and it is to be noted that I had myself pointed these out as being the most luxuriant ones. And in this manner all of them dried up without harvesting a grain. There is no doubt but that this is a little fable, but thus it happened.

The dead man had died of dysentery which had come from syphilis, and therefore through the path of tuberculosis, without suffering any bewitching or poisoning such as they said. That the dead man should be walking through the plot killing the plants we see to be the story of an old woman, because nobody saw him except the old woman. What causes me confusion and difficulty is how such a catastrophe may have originated, for it was not through lack of care, nor through an epidemic of certain animals such as worms, gophers, etc., for in addition to the fact that such were not seen, if the plant had been cut, it would have

been withered, and not dry as if burned. The above, I believe, will cause the reader astonishment. I exercised all possible diligence, believing that I could discover the cause, but I could not discover it through natural means. Therefore I believe that it was performed by the Devil, lest many escape from his hands. Concerning the above let everyone deduce what seems to him best.

With what we have related it is easily recognized that their reports on the immortality of the soul are nothing more than fabulous stories and lies for deceiving the simple, causing them to believe that which does not exist, and how slight must be their belief in the spiritual substance with which we are adorned, and this not only on the part of the rudest and most ignorant ones of them, but on the part of those most versed and best instructed in our holy religion. And lest anyone doubt what has been said above and attribute it to my odd ideas, I shall relate 2 cases which happened in my time and at the very places where I was residing.

In the year of 1808, if I am not mistaken, finding myself a missionary at the Mission of N. [marginal annotation: La Purísima], a youth about 23 years of age, raised with the priests from the time he was a child, very well instructed in matters of religion, and a good speaker of Spanish (for he served as interpreter for the priests), finding himself in a grave sickness, did not wish to subject to taking any medication or to receiving any of the advice which the priest gave him, but the first thing that he did was to call one of their healers, who executed with him all his diabolical art. Seeing that he was becoming continually worse the priests exhorted him daily that he should confess and should prepare himself for dying as a Christian, but the sick man intractably was never willing to do so, arguing exemption from examination [on the grounds] that he was still strong, and finally, that he did not expect to die since he had hope in his healer. The latter, seeing that his lies were bringing no benefit, gave him up telling him that because he had always believed the priests, his God, or better said the Devil, was angry and for that reason was sending death upon him, and that he was not able to cure him. When the poor fellow saw that there was no remedy, he yielded to confess himself, but he did not confess with that satisfaction which the priest desired, and he died shortly afterward.

In the year of 1817 an Indian at the Mission of N. [marginal annotation: San Juan Capistrano], like the preceding a speaker of Spanish and well instructed, fell ill with a serious sickness, of which he died, and though the priests, relatives and friends exhorted him much indeed to confess and receive as a Christian the holy sacraments, he could not be reduced, becoming when this matter was mentioned to

him like one frantic and desperate, bursting forth in blasphemies and expressions of despair. A little before he died I went for the purpose that he should confess and beg God's pardon, exhorting him toward His great mercy, in order that he might receive the sacrament of extreme unction, but all was in vain, for he manifested such extreme grief and displeasure, foaming at the mouth, his eyes glittering, that he seemed to be truly condemned to hell, 3 men not being sufficient to hold him in check. I indeed attributed all these extreme actions to the violence of the disease, but when I had remained silent for a time, he became calm, and someone asked him, saying: Why do you not confess? And he answered in a tone of fury: Because I do not want to; having lived deceived, I do not want to die deceived. And in a short time he expired, his body remaining so ugly and horrible that it caused fright. Let the reader imagine my feelings on beholding in my presence that sight in which I observed to the very letter that which David tells us [marginal annotation: Psalm III, last verse]: *Peccator videbit et irascetur dentibus suis fremet et tabecet* [sic], *desiderium peccatorum peribit*.

I reflect that some will probably tell me that in spite of the occurrence of the cases given above, they do not prove little faith and belief on the part of all [the Indians], since everywhere rare and prodigious cases occur which God permits through his inscrutable secrets, and as a warning to others. This I admit and confess, but this I state: that those [believing Indians] who form the exception are very few and cases worthy of note, while in the general run all of them seem to me to be the same, and I believe that anyone who has observed them will agree with me; and the fact is that those [Indians] who appear to us to be more intelligent are the very ones who leave us more deceived, for since they conduct all their activities with malice [against us] while we with simplicity show them trust in every matter, they deceive us at every step. And this needs no proof, because we have all come into contact with it through experience, and I believe that there is not a priest in this Province who will not flatly confess the fact.

CHAPTER 14

THE ORIGIN OF THE INHABITANTS OF THIS MISSION.

Since all the knowledge of these Indians about their antiquities is entirely fabulous, the present chapter, which deals with the first populators of this Mission and its environs, will not contain less that is fabulous and ridiculous than the preceding ones. I write it merely in order that we may know from what region they came and by what persons they were chieftained, and also because it is a very strange and curious account.

The place from which those who populated this Mission and its environs came was a land or place called *Seját*, at which place or rancheria the inhabitants were called *Pubuiem*, which signifies : people of the land or place *Seját* (this place *Seját* is distant from this Mission about 7 or 8 leagues, and it is in the valley which they call *Los Nietos Ranch*). This city or rancheria of *Seját* had many inhabitants. The chief, named *Oyáison*, which means wise, and his wife, named *Sirorum*, had 3 daughters, named *Coronne*, *Uuinagram*, and *Uiuiiojam*. Chief *Oyaison* after the death of his wife, seeing the multitude of people at his rancheria and that the seeds which that country produced were not sufficient for supporting that multitude, separated from the rest many families of his rancheria, all those [families] which wished to follow him, and with his oldest daughter, *Coronne*, they took trail in a southerly direction in search of good sites for settling.

They came to a place about a quarter of a league before reaching this Mission (I have not been able to determine, because the Indians do not know, how many days or journeys they spent from the land of *Seját* to this place), where there is a spring of water. There they halted and made a camp, since it appeared to them to be a place suitable for living. When all of them had already settled at this place, having built their houses and established their town, Chief *Oyaison* returned to his country of *Seját*, leaving with these new settlers as chieftainess his daughter *Coronne*. The said *Coronne* was an unmarried girl, but already grown up, and to this place they gave the name of *Putuidem*, which means navel sticking out, because the said *Coronne* had a lump at her navel. Note:—The Indians do not know if she had this lump which she had at her navel from the time she was born or if it came out on her while they were staying at this place. It is very likely that the said lump appeared while at this place, for if she had had it since her birth, they would have named her *Putuidem* and not *Coronne*. Be the matter as it may,

from that time on she was always called Putuidem, and this same place or rancheria they named and now call Putuidem.

Seeing that the land was scant for so many people as were multiplying and that they were having to go quite a distance from their rancheria to hunt their seeds, some families began to remain at the same places where they gathered, some of them building their houses at one place, others at another, and thus were settled all the rancherias which there were in this canyada of San Juan Capistrano. But it is to be noted that all these families separated with the approval of Chieftainess Putuidem.

At all the new settlements the oldest man of the family became chief, and they called him *Nu*, and his second [they called] *Eyacque*, and as regards their wives, the wife of *Nu* they called *Coronne*, and the wife of the *Eyacque* [they called] *Tepi*. The name *Coronne* was in memory of Putuidem. And as regards *Tepi*, I do not know what ground they may have had for giving her the name *Tepi*. The names *Coronne* and *Tepi* signify those little animals which fly about, called ladybugs, which live in the garden plots and fields. The red ladybugs they call *Coronne*, and those yellow ones, gilt colored as it were, they call *Tepi*, and these are the lineages of most noble blood, and they are all of this great descent and race.

The said Putuidem gave a great feast, inviting all the new settlers, it being that they were her people, the feast began with great rejoicing and contentment of all of them dancing, eating and making merry, but since there is no complete pleasure in this world, or true joy, it befell that as the said Putuidem lay down on the ground, as was her custom, on her back, the lump at her navel swelled up and she turned into earth (and at the said place where the rancheria called Putuidem was, amid some willows, there is a pile of earth, and the Indians say that this pile of earth is the body of Putuidem). With this event the feast came to an end, and the new settlers as well as some of the inhabitants of the rancheria of Putuidem itself left for their new settlements, and that night they put up at a place which is about a hundred paces before reaching the Mission, and they called the said [place] *Acagchemem*, the name of which the new settlers of this canyada, or the entire tribe, took as their name. This name *Acagchemem* signifies heaped up pile of something that moves, such as an ant nest, nest of worms, or of other animals together in a heap. Others apply the name *Acagchemem* also to inanimate things, but it seems that the proper meaning applies to animate things.

The reason or cause which these Indians may have had for calling themselves, and their entire tribe, *Acagchemem*, I have not been able

to determine, for it seems that they ought rather to be called *Pubuiem*, since they came from the land *Sejat*, whose people were called *Pu-buiem*, and they also were called thus until they came to settle these lands [here]. The reason that these Indians had for taking the name *Acagchemem* and abandoning that of *Pubuiem* I conjecture may have been, inasmuch as *Acagchemem* signifies heaped up pile of something alive, because they may have slept that night which they spent at the place mentioned above all heaped together, men, women, boys and girls, and the next day when they got up they may have said *Acagchemem*, as if to say: we have all been together in a heap, and from this their name may have followed: those who were heaped together; this is my way of thinking.

It may also have happened that they found at that place some kind of a pile of animals and called them *Acagchemem*; but if that had been the case, the place only would have been called *Acagchemem*, and not the people or tribe. I incline to what I have suggested above, and it seems very probable, because it is the custom of the Indians that when they get together they pile up some on top of the rest.

It is to be noted that before they came to settle this canyada of San Juan Capistrano, they spoke somewhat differently from the language which they now speak. What was spoken at *Sejat* appears to have been the Gabrielino language, and these [people here] have it very much corrupted, but nevertheless it can be recognized as having been the same, for among their common and general terms they use some of the same ones, except for the accent and a few letters more or less. The reason that they speak the language which they use today is that Chief Oyaisson when they came to these lands taught them while on the way the language which they at present speak, telling them that since they were changing country they had to change language, and this is the reason why they are different from their relatives of *Sejat*.

The name *Sejat* signifies place of wild bees, or *jicotes* as the California Spanish people call them, for *Sejá* in the language of the natives is *jicote*, and *seja pepau* is the honey of the *jicotes*, and in these regions there are many of these swarms or hives underground.

CHAPTER 15

ABOUT THE RANCHERIAS INHABITED BY THESE INDIANS.

Since the preceding chapter deals with the first settlers of this canyada of San Juan Capistrano and its environs, it will be fitting to give the towns or rancherias that were founded by the above mentioned new comers from the territory of Sejat and their descendants, giving in detail the names of the rancherias with their meanings and the name of the first chief of each of them.

1. The first rancheria or town which was founded in this canyada was the one called Putuidem, as we gave in the preceding chapter together with what the name Putuidem signifies. This was founded by Chief Oyaison and his daughter Coronne, or Putuidem. After what happened to the said Putuidem there entered into rule as chief one named Choqual, which means *lift it up!* He was a very near relative of Chief Oyaison.

2. The second was called *Atoun-pumcarque* [or i for c] (which is the place where the Mission is located). This name signifies a kind of little animals which according to what they have told me are similar to yellowjackets, but small, like big ants, which came out from underneath the ground. I have not seen these animals, nor are they seen at present anywhere around, for they say that from the time the Mission was established at this place they disappeared and they have not been seen any more. The reason that these insects came to an end I attribute to this canyada having been a thick growth of willows, cottonwoods, sycamores, fuchsias, beds of reeds, all of it being a marsh of water, and when after the establishment of the Mission the ground was begun to be cleared off for cultivation, these animals may have found themselves deprived of a breeding place and with the cultivation of the ground they may have come to an end. The chief of this rancheria was the same Choqual, [also chief] of the preceding one.

3. The third was called Ulbe, which signifies California Sagebrush. This is a kind of chanizo similar to rosemary and it has almost the same virtues. The Indians do not fail to use it in certain of their diseases. The chief of this rancheria was called *Tenniachocot*, which signifies place or locality where much willow grows.

4. The fourth was called Tébone, which signifies an herb which grows in the seashore lagoon at the mouth of the creek estuary at

the beach at the port of this Mission, and the Indians used it among their foods. Its chief was named Tobaláuc, which means very much wrinkled old man.

5. The fifth was called Eñe. This name signifies a plant which grows in these environs and along the ocean shore, which plant produces on the surface of its leaves a salt which the Indians used with some of their foods, especially with chia. This salt seems to me a very good purgative, since it is milder than sea salt and other purgative salts. The chief of this rancheria was named *Sidoc*, which means a jet of water which issues from a place that is dammed up; and at the said place in a gulch there is a lake of water and at one side there runs out a little jet of water.

6. The sixth was named *Panga*, which signifies canyada. This is the place which since the time of the arrival of the discoverers has been called San Mateo. Its chief was named Seqüilqüix, which means plant which dries up.

7. The seventh was called *Souche*, which signifies little canyada or gulch. This was located near the preceding. Its chief was named Toroc, which means to limp or to sprain one's foot.

8. The eighth was called *Tobe*, which signifies a kind of clay or fine argil, white, similar to white lead, with which the women painted themselves. Its chief was named *Quapchocops*, which means care taker, or watchful.

9. The ninth was called Túmume, which means a flat place, better said, a bench on a hill. Its chief was named *Temex*, which means stumbler.

10. The tenth 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]. Its chief was named Páat, which means mountain sheep.

11. The eleventh was called *Ecjelme*, which signifies a kind of seed, of the plant which is called Wild Amaranth, and it is one of their particular foods. Its chief was named Taclet, which means hump-backed or crook-backed.

12. The twelfth was called *Tajé*, which signifies flint arrowhead. Its chief was named Gualua, which means drag it.

13. The thirteenth was called *Uút*, which signifies the little stick [foreshaft] which they put on their arrows. It is to be noted that it is a special kind of bush. Its chief was named Uchat, which means all unanimous.

14. The fourteenth was called *Alume*, which signifies to raise the head in looking upward. This alludes to this rancheria having been located at the foot of a very high mountain which today is called El Trabuco. Its chief was named *Cusuol*, which means severed, or cut.

15. The fifteenth was called *Uxme*, which signifies rose, and in this country there are many of these roses. They are small, having 5 or 6 petals, very odoriferous, and bear a fruit shaped like a pear, but tiny or small, which also served the Indians as food. Its chief was named Chululeck, which means hair tied up on top of the head, or insignium of a chief.

These are the 15 rancherias or towns which were founded by the first settlers of this Canyada of San Juan Capistrano and its environs. It is to be reflected that they must have been settled not all at a single time, but little by little, some later than others, according as was found more convenient and to the purpose. It also should be noted that since these Indians never lived fixed in a single place, but moved from time to time from one place to another depending on the seeds, there were always some unoccupied rancherias.