Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Ethnology of the Alta California Indians / edited with an introduction by Lowell John Bean and Sylvia Brakke Vane.

p. cm. — (Spanish borderlands sourcebooks ; 3–4)

Includes bibliographical references.

Contents: 1. Precontact — 2. Postcontact
ISBN 0-8240-0792-1 (v. 1 : alk. paper).—ISBN 0-8240-7119-0 (v. 2 : alk. paper)

1. Indians of North America—California—Social life and customs.
2. Indians of North America—California—History.
I. Bean, Lowell John. II. Vane, Sylvia Brakke. III. Series.

E78.C15E85 1991

306'.089'970794—dc20 91-45781

Printed on acid-free, 250-year-life paper
Manufactured in the United States of America

4

ETHNOLOGY OF THE ALTA CALIFORNIA INDIANS II: POSTCONTACT

Edited with an Introduction by
Lowell John Bean and Sylvia Brakke Vane

GARLAND PUBLISHING, INC.
NEW YORK & LONDON, 1991

Indian Life and Customs at Mission San Luis Rey

A RECORD OF CALIFORNIA MISSION LIFE
BY PABLO TAC
An Indian Neophyte

Written about 1835

Edited and Translated with Historical Introduction
by
Minna and Gordon Hewes

Old Mission
San Luis Rey, California
1958

This work is reprinted with permission, from the July, 1952, issue of **The Americas**, published by the American Academy of Franciscan History. Re-edited with illustrations by the Franciscan Fathers of Mission San Luis Rey. With ecclesiastical permission.

Cover: Indian in ceremonial headdress. Photo of a Mesa Grande Indian forty miles east of San Luis Rey showing that ceremonies described by Pablo Tac have continued until recent years. (Courtesy Union Title and Trust Company of San Diego.)

Preface

INTRODUCTION BY THE EDITORS

THE DOCUMENT ENTITLED "Conversión de los San Luiseños de la Alta California," by the Luiseño Indian, Pablo Tac, who was born at the California Mission of San Luis Rey de Francia in 1822, and who died in Italy in 1841, is of unusual interest both as an historical and ethnographic record, but perhaps most of all because it is the unique instance of an account of California Mission Indian life written by an Indian. It may also be claimed as the first writing of a literary nature produced by a native of California, even though there may be legal instruments, commercial notes and personal letters by native Californians bearing earlier dates. Although the culture of the Luiseño Indians is fairly well known from the work of modern anthropologists, Tac's account is certainly the only written description of it by a Luiseño, brief and incomplete though it is.[1]

The present English translation is based on the Spanish text published with a foreword and excellent notes (in Italian) by Professor Carlo Tagliavini of the University of Bologna, in 1930.[2] The Tac manuscript is preserved in the Mezzofanti Collection in the Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio di Bologna, under the general heading "Californian Language." The translators are deeply indebted to the Rev. Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., of Mission Santa Barbara, California, who obtained photostatic copies of the Tac manuscript, and who has kindly assisted us by suggesting improvements in the wording of this version, and in clarifying certain passages which might otherwise have remained obscure. Footnotes based on those of Professor Tagliavini are marked thus: (T). The original manuscript has no date, but must have been written between 1834 and 1841.

Pablo Tac was one of the six children of the Luiseño Indian Pedro Alcántara Tac, native of the ranchería of Quechinga, and his wife, Ladislaya Molmolix, of Pumusi. He was born at Mission San Luis Rey de Francia, probably in January, 1822, as his name ap-

pears in a *padrón* (a register of all the neophytes) of the Mission as having been baptized on January 15, shortly after birth. The baptismal registers of the mission are lost, but the *padrón* lists the number of Pablo Tac's baptismal entry as 3896.[3]

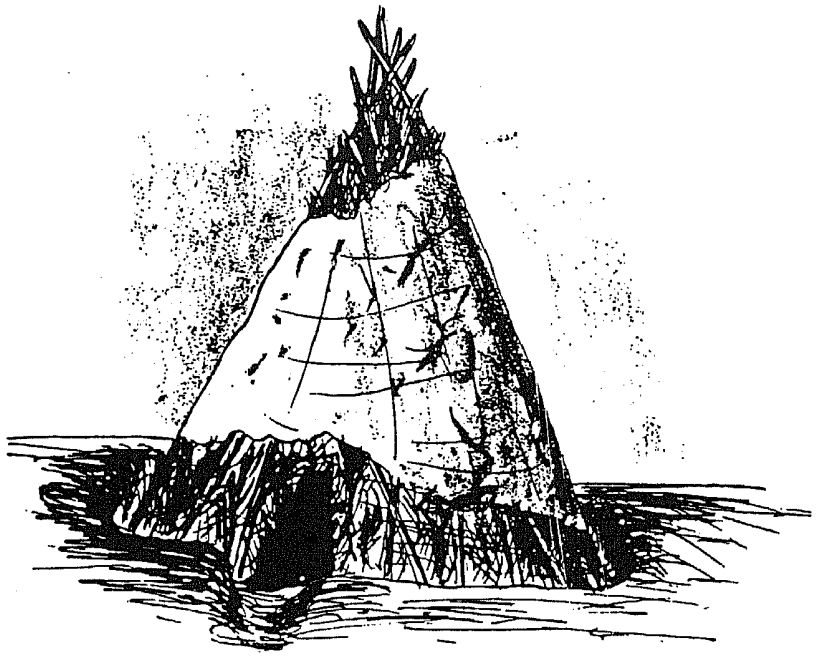
In the mission school, Pablo seems to have been a diligent student, showing considerable promise for more advanced work. It was on this account that he was chosen, along with a slightly older boy, Agapito Amamix, born in 1820, to accompany the administrator of the Mission, Fr. Antonio Peyri, O.F.M., when the latter decided to leave California in 1832. While Fr. Peyri's immediate destination was the Franciscan Mission College of San Fernando in the Mexican capital, he probably already had in mind the possibility of sending the two boys on to Rome to complete their educations on a part of the three thousand dollars in past

The "coming of age" ceremony for boys, with a medicine man making the sacred sand painting, a custom among the Indians of Southern California. (After drawing by Velino Herrera in "Indians of Southern California" by Ruth Underhill.)

4

stipends which the Mexican authorities in California permitted him to take with him.[4]

The story of Fr. Peyri's secret departure from the mission to board the *Pocahontas* in San Diego harbor has been told elsewhere.[5] The vessel left San Diego on January 17, 1832, bound for a west coast Mexican port, presumably San Blas, not far from the city of Tepic. Alexander Forbes, an Englishman then in Tepic, wrote that he had had the pleasure of seeing Fr. Peyri coming through on his way to the capital. At the College of San Fernando, Fr. Peyri served as discreet, i.e., advisor to the guardian, from November 12, 1832, until January 15, 1834.[6] Presumably the two Indian lads from California were resident at the College during this period.



This type of dwelling was proper to the Indians of the San Luis Rey district. (After Kroeber; drawing by H. Hitchcock.)

5

In February, 1834, Fr. Peyri resumed his travels with Pablo Tac and Agapito Amamix, sailing to Spain, probably from the port of Veracruz, by way of New York and France. Fr. Peyri reached Barcelona, in his native Catalonia, on June 21, 1834. Tac and Amamix may have accompanied him to Barcelona before they sailed for Italy. The date of the arrival of the boys in Rome is not known, but they were registered at the Urban College in that city on September 23, 1834.[7] The Rector of Studies at the Urban College was at that time Carl August von Reisach (1800-1869), afterwards Cardinal.[8]

Engelhardt quotes from a letter of Fr. Peyri to an American, Stephen Anderson, whom he had known in California, which refers in part to Tac and Amamix:

> I brought with me two Indian youths, Pablo and Agapito, whom you knew already in California. I had the good fortune of being able to place them in Rome, at the College of the Propaganda, where they are very contented and which I doubt not will leave bright men, for they are very talented, and they are very much appreciated by the entire College, for being from such distant countries, true Indians, and of good comportment. Would that they continue![9]

Both boys began their studies with Latin grammar, which was a four-year course, but Agapito Amamix was not destined to complete it. He fell ill and died on September 26, 1837, at the College villa, outside of Rome, a place used in the summer for rest and recreation by the students of the Urban College. Evidently word of his death was received in California, because his name is crossed out on the *padrón* which recorded his baptism, the usual indication of the decease of a member of the mission family.

Pablo Tac completed his grammar course in 1838, then studied rhetoric from 1838 to 1840, humanities in 1840 and philosophy in 1841, although he was very ill from smallpox during December, 1840. On February 2, 1839, the young man took his vow to continue his preparation for the mission field.[10]

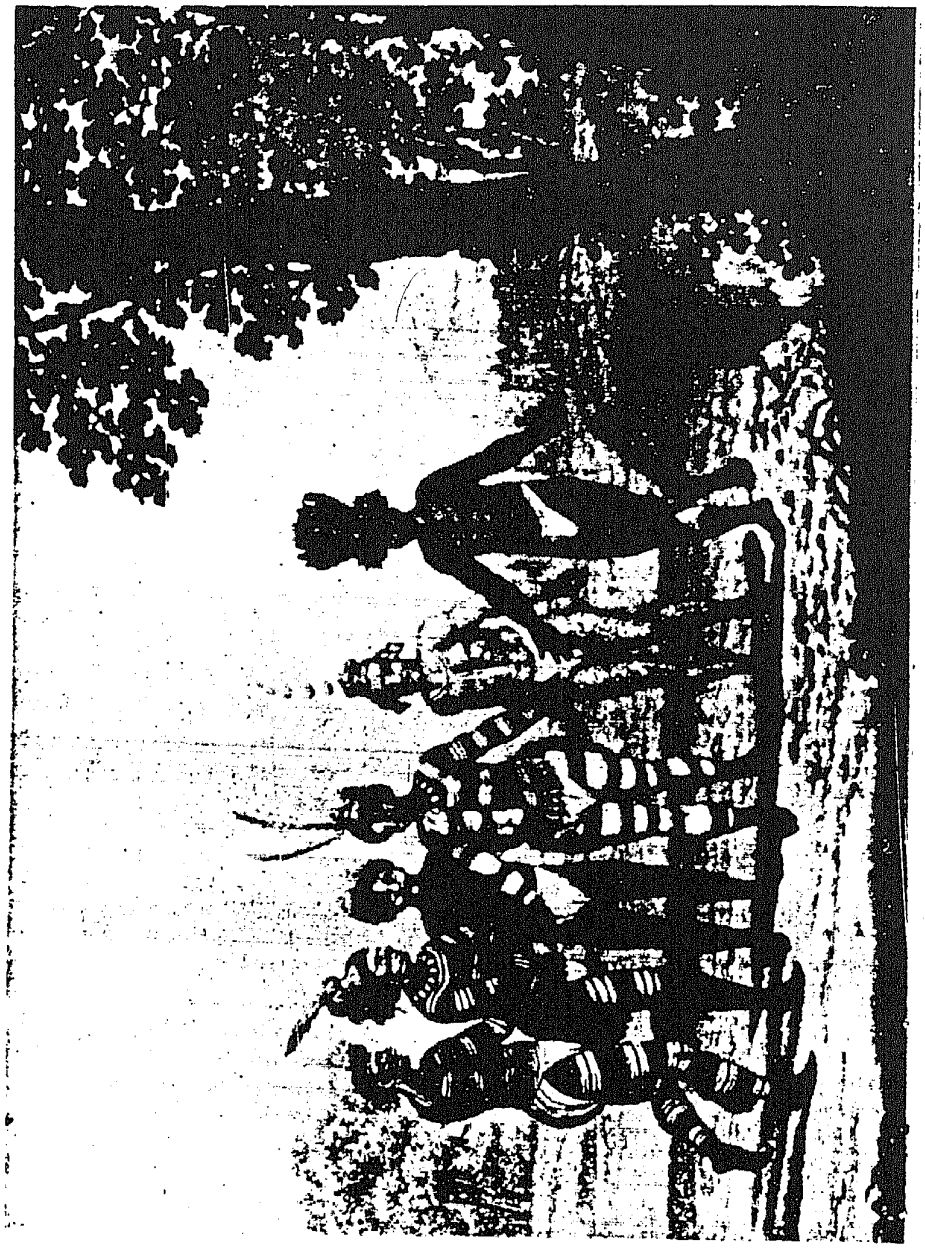
Probably within a short time of their arrival at the Urban College, the two California Indian students attracted the attention of the eminent linguist, Giuseppe Caspar Mezzofanti (1774-1849), later Cardinal, who had come to Rome in 1831 as a member of the Propaganda, and who had been, since 1833, Chief Custodian

of the Vatican Library.[11] The diversity of languages spoken by the students attending the Urban College was already noteworthy, and it was therefore natural that the opportunity of consulting with the students should have been seized by Mezzofanti, who had such a great interest in little-known languages. It is (or was until recently) a custom at the Urban College to hold an "Accademia Polyglotta" at Epiphany, in which students from different lands recited poems in their respective native languages.[12]

Mezzofanti therefore had Pablo Tac prepare a grammatical sketch of the Luiseño tongue, with a vocabulary or dictionary, which, however, he was unable to finish, since it includes only 1,200 words, in alphabetical order as far as those beginning *cupu-*. Both the grammar and the vocabulary have been published and annotated by Professor Carlo Tagliavini.[13] In any case, Mezzofanti learned enough of the Luiseño language to lead his biographer, Russell, to include it among the thirty-eight languages that the great polyglot spoke perfectly. We may reserve some doubt as to the perfection which even the most accomplished linguist could acquire in such a fashion, although the amazing skill of the later Cardinal in acquiring new languages, even Chinese, is beyond question.[14]

The promising young Luiseño student did not live to return to California or to take up a missionary career. After an illness, Pablo Tac died on December 13, 1841, probably a month almost to the day before his twentieth birthday. Unlike the name of his friend, Agapito Amamix, the name of Pablo Tac was never crossed out on the *padrón* of Mission San Luis Rey; possibly no word of his death ever reached California, even though the Mission continued to function under Fr. José María Zalvidea until 1846.[15] If so, it would not be surprising, since the political and military turmoil which characterized Alta California in the mid-1840's was such as to interrupt communications coming to the area by way of Mexico.

The manuscripts prepared by Tac were fortunately preserved by Mezzofanti, a Cardinal since 1838, and at his death in 1849 they passed into the custodianship of the library of the Archiginnasio di Bologna, in Mezzofanti's native city. Nearly twenty years later, E. Teza published a notice of the American Indian linguistic materials in the documents of the Mezzofanti Collection.[16] Teza erroneously read the name P. Tac as *P. Jak*, and assumed that the P.



stood for the Latin word *Pater* (Father), thus creating an entirely hypothetical Franciscan missionary. This mistake was cleared up more than sixty years later by Carlo Tagliavini in his various publications of the original texts of the Tac documents.[17]

The present translation seeks to retain the flavor of Pablo Tac's Spanish, which had not yet attained the literary polish one might expect in a scholarly twenty-year-old candidate for missionary work. This internal evidence suggests that the account was prepared soon after Tac arrived at the Urban College, when the youth was not more than twelve or thirteen years old.

MINNA AND GORDON HEWES

University of Colorado,
Boulder, Colorado

Opposite — California Indian dance, about 1800. Bodies were painted black, red and white.

Father Antonio Peyri, O.F.M., administered Mission San Luis Rey from its founding in 1798 until 1832 and saw it become the largest of California's twenty-one missions.

Document

CONVERSION OF THE SAN LUISENOS OF ALTA CALIFORNIA BY PABLO TAC

After the Jesuit Fathers of California had been barred from the missions, there came the Fathers of the Orders of St. Francis and of St. Dominic, the first for Alta California, the second for Baja California. California is one, divided into two parts, that is to say, Baja California and Alta California, thus called by the Señor Don Cortez, who was the first who discovered it. Baja California extends from the Mission of San Lucas to the Mission of San Diego, Alta California from the Mission of San Diego up to Monte Rey. It is known from history that the first of the missionaries who came to California were the Jesuit Fathers, and the first among them was Father Salvaterra Juan, renowned in the history of California for his works of piety.[18]

The Dominicans came to Baja California, and the Franciscans came to Alta California. The Franciscan Fathers of whom I speak are called Padres Fernandinos in Mexico, because their college or convent is called the Convent of San Fernando Rey de España. These Fathers came to Alta California, and one of them came to our country which we call Quechla, and because of this we called ourselves Quechnajuichom, that is to say, inhabitants of Quechla, when we were at peace, because always there was war, always strife day and night with those who spoke in another language.

BEFORE THE MISSIONARIES CAME

It seems that our enemies were those that now are called Dieguenos by the Spanish, and Quichamcauichom by us, which means "those of the South." Before going to war they used to paint themselves in order to be terrible to the enemy, and they would surprise the enemy either when he was sleeping or when the men were leaving the house, the women remaining alone; and they would kill the women, old people and children. This done, they burned the camp, fleeing to their homes.

The weapons were bows, arrows and certain swords of wood and lances of wood in our language called *uacatom*. The bows were made of strong wood that could not easily be broken. In length they reached to the shoulders of the man, one finger and a half thick in the middle, three fingers broad. The arrows were of reed, thick as a finger, four hands long. At the tip a little stick one and a half hands long was inserted. The feathering was of three feathers of any bird. The sword was four hands long, three fingers broad, and it began to curve at the third hand. The lance was eight hands long, four fingers thick, and it had a sharp point. To carry the arrows they had at the back of the shoulders a skin of coyote or other animal. The swords were thrown at the enemy, or the head of the enemy was struck off. The swords when they were thrown carried more than five hundred paces of a big man.

With these arms, which we still have, they used to go to war. The life of that time was very miserable, because there was always strife. The god who was adored at that time was the sun and the fire. Thus we lived among the woods until merciful God freed us of these miseries through Father Antonio Peyri, a Catalan, who arrived in our country in the afternoon with seven Spanish soldiers.

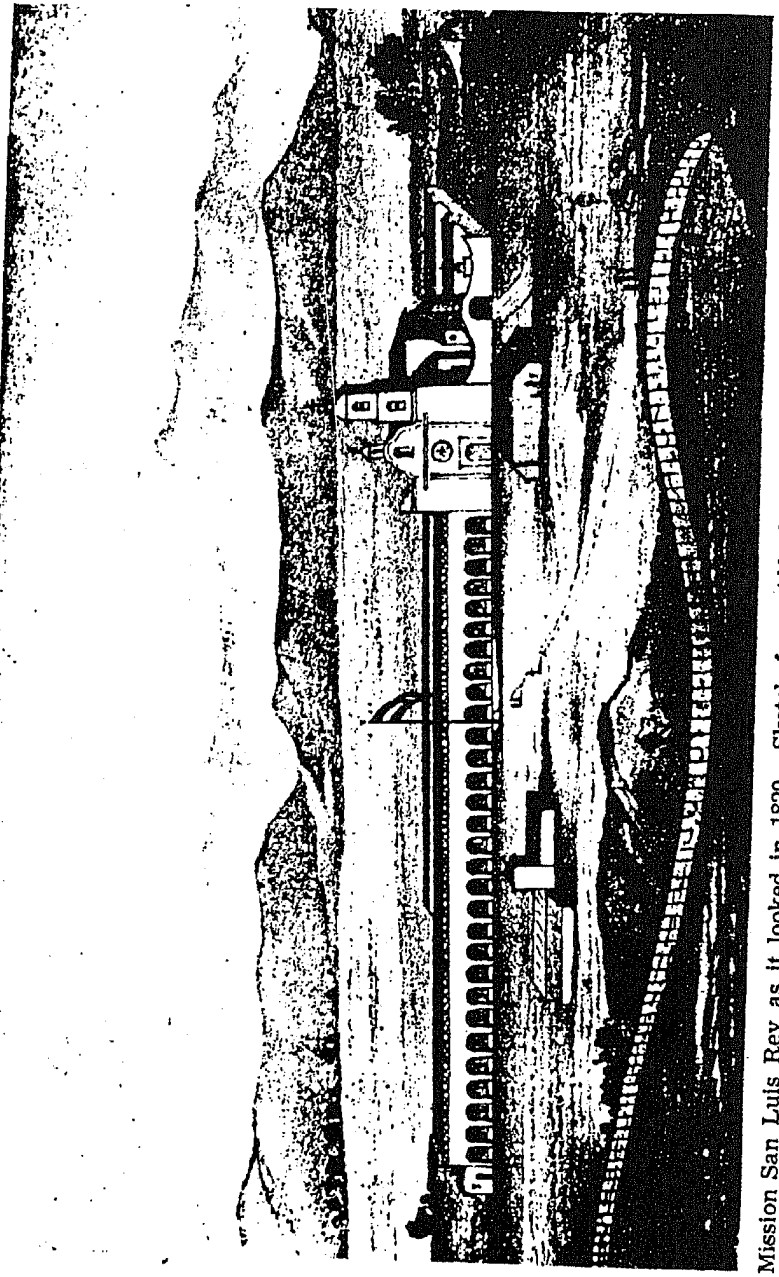
ARRIVAL OF THE SPANIARDS

When the missionary arrived in our country with a small troop, our captain and also the others were astonished, seeing them from afar, but they did not run away or seize arms to kill them, but having sat down, they watched them.[19] But when they drew near, then the captain got up (for he was seated with the others) and met them. They halted, and the missionary then began to speak, the captain saying perhaps in his language "hichsom iva haluon,

pulluchajam cham quinai." "What is it that you seek here? Get out of our country!" But they did not understand him, and they answered him in Spanish, and the captain began with signs, and the Fernandino, understanding him, gave him gifts and in this manner made him his friend. The captain, turning to his people (as I suppose) found the whites all right, and so they let them sleep here. There was not then a stone house, but all were camps (as they say). This was that happy day in which we saw white people, by us called Sosabitom.[20] O merciful God, why didst Thou leave us for many centuries, years, months and days in utter darkness after Thou camest to the world? Blessed be Thou from this day through future centuries.

BUILDING OF THE MISSION

The Fernandino Father remains in our country with the little troop that he brought. A camp was made, and here he lived for many days. In the morning he said Mass, and then he planned how he would baptize them, where he would put his house, the church, and as there were five thousand souls (who were all the Indians there were), how he would sustain them, and seeing how it could be done. Having the captain for his friend, he was afraid of nothing. It was a great mercy that the Indians did not kill the Spanish when they arrived, and very admirable, because they have never wanted another people to live with them, and until those days they were always fighting. But thus willed He who alone can will. I do not know if he baptized them before making the church or after having made it, but I think he baptized them before making it. He was already a good friend of the captain, and also dear to the neophytes. They could understand him somewhat when he, as their father, ordered them to carry stone from the sea (which is not far) for the foundations, to make bricks, roof tiles, to cut beams, reeds and what was necessary.[21] They did it with the masters who were helping them, and within a few years they finished working. They made a church with three altars for all the neophytes[22] (the great altar is nearly all gilded), two chapels, two sacristies, two choirs, a flower garden for the church, a high tower with five bells, two small[23] and three large, the cemetery with a crucifix in the middle for all those who die here.



Mission San Luis Rey as it looked in 1829. Sketch from Alfred Robinson's "Life in California," published in 1846. Robinson visited the mission in 1829. (Courtesy of the Title Insurance and Trust Co., Los Angeles.)

PLAN OF THE MISSION

Let us begin with the tower. The tower is placed on the right side of the church with five bells, two small and three large, whose voice or sound is heard from afar, sometimes from Usva four or five leagues distant from the Mission of San Luis Rey de Francia. Of the church I have already spoken. After the church comes the place of the masons; here they leave the mortar, lime, etc. After this comes the storehouse for wine. Within are 200 casks of wine, brandy and white wine, 400 barrels, for Mass, to sell to the Spanish and English travelers who often come to the mission to sell cloth, linen, cotton and whatever they bring from Boston — and not for the neophytes, which is prohibited them because they easily get drunk. 5 is the place where the wine is made.[24] 7, window of the room of the General of California when he comes to the Mission. 8, door of the Fernandino Father.[25] There are four rooms for travelers. In the middle is the reception room, with three portraits — one of St. Louis King of France, the second of the Good Shepherd, the third of the Virgin of Guadalupe. In one corner is a clock, and beyond, the refectory. 9, glass window of the missionary. 10, a small door for the missionary to get out easily in case of earthquakes. 11, room of the servant of the missionary. 12, house for travelers. 13, door which is called the biggest of all. Through here the neophytes enter and leave for work. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, houses for the Spanish majordomos of the Mission. 20, large room for the neophyte boys with its patio and two gardens. 21, soap house. 22, room for the girls. 23, corral for the stock. 24, mill. 25, enclosure for the lambs. 26, house of the shepherd. 27, corral. 28, granary. 29, granary. 30, place for the horses of the missionary and of the travelers and also for the sacks of fodder. 31, infirmary for the women. 32, infirmary for the men. 33, cemetery. 34, place where *posole* and *atole* are made. 34, rooms for the majordomos. 35, barracks. 36, *Fopanco.*[26] 37, granary. 38, granary. 39, place for the baker. 40, clock. 41, kitchen. 42, chambers for travelers. 43, storehouse. 44, garden. 45, storehouse for blankets, storehouse for flour. 46, mill. 47, small loom. 48, large loom. 49, place where oil is made. 50, blacksmith shop. 51, granary. 52, shoemaker's shop. 53, place of the ass keepers. 54, second biggest door. 55, room of the majordomo of Pala.[27] 56, carpenter shop. 57, place for the presses. 59, place for skins. In a few years, all was done.[28]

THE SUNKEN GARDENS

Towards the south there is a very big kitchen garden with a pasture to the side. We said that the Mission was placed on a hillock. Below this hillock there is an ever-flowing fountain from which the neophytes and the missionary bring water to drink. They made two fountains before the gate of the garden, and between them a stairway to go up and down which is made all of bricks. The entering gateway has three thick timbers in the middle. One of them driven into the earth reaches high above the wall, the other two more or less fastened on it, making a cross of all parts, if you would like to see it,[29] and the water carrier wishing to pass pushes a timber, and the two turn, and in this way he passes with ease, raising the pitcher above his burdened shoulders stronger than those of asses themselves. The stairway is so very high that one cannot ascend by it in the same trip, and it is necessary to rest in the middle. It happens many times that they get tired in vain (as is said), because when they arrive at the gate and wish to pass through it with haste, the pitcher is broken, and they return to the house without water or pitcher, dripping with water.

The timbers were placed in order not to let in the bulls and horses, spirited when there is bullfighting, though they come in often and frighten the old women who wash their clothes here. Beyond the two fountains is the gate of the orchard. The water from the two fountains passes down through a little door, running towards the west as in a ditch, and irrigates another garden almost a league distant from the Mission.

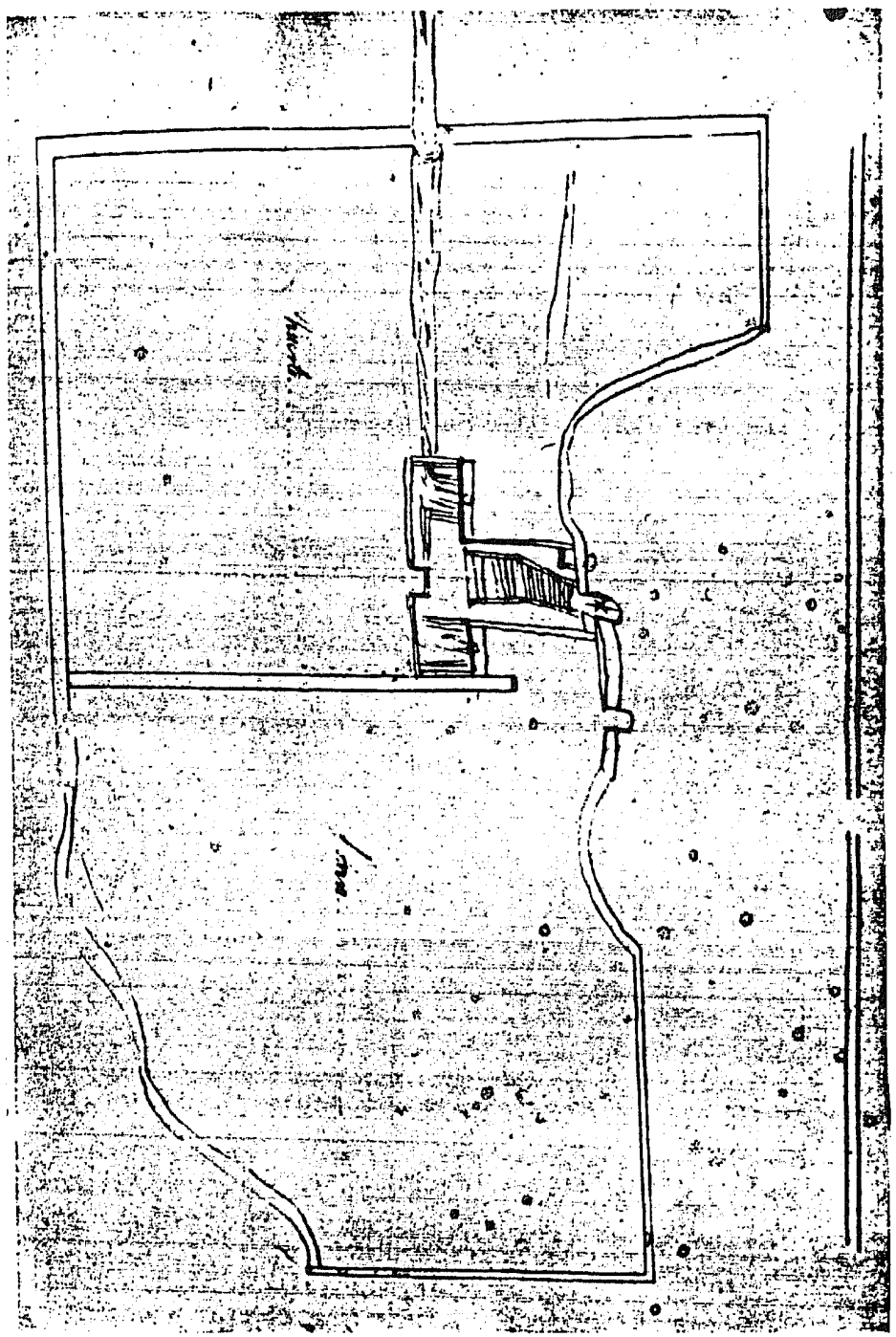
The garden is extensive, full of fruit trees, pears, apples or *perones*, as the Mexicans say, peaches, quinces, pears, sweet pomegranates, watermelons, melons, vegetables, cabbages, lettuces, radishes, mints, parsley and others which I don't remember. The pears, apples, peaches, quinces, pomegranates, watermelons and melons are for the neophytes, the others that remain, for the missionary. The gardener must bring something each day. None of the neophytes can go to the garden or enter to gather the fruit. But if he wants some he asks the missionary who immediately will give him what he wants, for the missionary is their father. The neophyte might encounter the gardener walking and cutting the fruits, who then follows him to punish him, until he leaves the walls of the garden, jumping as they know how (like deer in the mountains).

Once a neophyte entered the garden without knowing the gardener was there, and as he was very hungry, he climbed a fig tree. Here he began to eat with all haste a large ripe fig. Not by bits but whole he let it go down his throat, and the fig choked him. He then began to be frightened, until he cried out like a crow and swallowed it. The gardener, hearing the voice of the crow, with his Indian eyes then found the crow that from fear was not eating any more. He said to him, "I see you, a crow without wings. Now I will wound you with my arrows." Then the neophyte with all haste fled far from the garden.

SURROUNDING TERRITORY

Toward the west of the garden is the pasture for the horses of the Fernandino Father and for those of the Anglo-American travelers. It is as large as the garden, full of water underneath, and so it has green grass. There are many trees, very many birds. A great many crows arrive in the evening to sleep, and they let themselves fall from the height, turning somersaults until they come to the trees. Here too the workmen found a California lion which is the same as the cat of Europe, but more powerful than a tiger, not for its strength, but for its agility.[30] It is very difficult to kill. It kills the horses, seizing them with a leap. Then it beheads them, and for this it is feared. The workmen found it, and because they were many, the lion was afraid of them and the cries which they let out following it. It ran leaping here and there around the pasture. The Indians hidden behind the trees threw stones at it until one struck the middle of the forehead and soon weakened falling he then died. Here they make bricks and tiles for the Mission. Deer are not found. Beyond the garden runs the road to the Presidio of San Diego where the General of California is.

Not to speak much of the gardens of the Mission of San Luis Rey de Francia of Alta California, the Fernandino Father made five big gardens, that is to say, three in the Mission itself, one in the district we call Pala, the fifth in another district whose name I do not now remember, all very fruitful with what is sown. Four districts, the Mission, Pala, Temeco,[31] and Usva, three ranchos. The Mission of San Luis Rey de Francia, thus the Fernandino Father named it after having completed all the house, because our patron is St. Louis the King.



"QUECHLA" — SAN LUIS REY

But we call it Quechla in our language. Thus our grandparents called it, because in this country there was a kind of stone that was called *quechlam* in the plural, and in the singular *quechla*, and we inhabitants of Quechla call ourselves Quechnajuichom in the plural, Quechnajuis in the singular, meaning inhabitants of Quechla. In Quechla not long ago there were 5,000 souls, with all their neighboring lands. Through a sickness that came to California 2,000 souls died, and 3,000 were left.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE MISSION

The Fernandino Father, as he was alone and very accustomed to the usages of the Spanish soldiers, seeing that it would be very difficult for him alone to give orders to that people, and, moreover, people that had left the woods just a few years before, therefore appointed alcaldes from the people themselves that knew how to speak Spanish more than the others and were better than the others in their customs. There were seven of these alcaldes, with rods as a symbol that they could judge the others. The captain dressed like the Spanish, always remaining captain, but not ordering his people about as of old, when they were still gentiles. The chief of the alcaldes was called the general. He knew the name of each one, and when he took something he then named each person by his name. In the afternoon, the alcaldes gather at the house of the missionary. They bring the news of that day, and if the missionary tells them something that all the people of the country ought to know, they return to the villages shouting, "Tomorrow morning . . ."

Returning to the villages, each one of the alcaldes wherever he goes cries out what the missionary has told them, in his language, and all the country hears it. "Tomorrow the sowing begins and so the laborers go to the chicken yard and assemble there." And again he goes saying these same words until he reaches his own village to eat something and then to sleep. In the morning you will see the laborers appear in the chicken yard and assemble there according to what they heard last night.

Opposite — Pablo Tac's drawing of the Mission sunken gardens with turnstile.

With the laborers goes a Spanish majordomo and others, neophyte alcaldes, to see how the work is done, to hurry them if they are lazy, so that they will soon finish what was ordered, and to punish the guilty or lazy one who leaves his plow and quits the field keeping on with his laziness. They work all day, but not always. At noon they leave work, and then they bring them *posole.* (*Posole* is what the Spaniards of California call maize in hot water) They eat it with gusto, and they remain sated until afternoon when they return to their villages. The shoemakers work making chairs, leather knapsacks, reins and shoes for the cowboys, neophytes, majordomos and Spanish soldiers, and when they have finished, they bring and deliver them to the missionary to give to the cowboys. The blacksmiths make bridle kits, keys, bosses for bridles, nails for the church, and all work for all.

We have said that Quechla was the first of the districts, this being the first place of the Fernandino Father, and the Mission itself. Around it are located the other districts and ranchos of the Mission of San Luis Rey de Francia. To the east is the rancho of San Marcos and the district called Pala and another ranch. To the north is Temeco, Usva and a rancho.

THE FERNANDINO FATHER

In the Mission of San Luis Rey de Francia the Fernandino Father is like a king. He has his pages, alcaldes, majordomos, musicians, soldiers, gardens, ranchos, livestock, horses by the thousand, cows, bulls by the thousand, oxen, mules, asses, 12,000 lambs, 200 goats, etc. The pages are for him and for the Spanish and Mexican, English and Anglo-American travelers. The alcaldes to help him govern all the people of the Mission of San Luis Rey de Francia. The majordomos are in the distant districts, almost all Spaniards. The musicians of the Mission for the holy days and all the Sundays and holidays of the year, with them the singers, all Indian neophytes. Soldiers so that nobody does injury to Spaniard or to Indian; there are ten of them and they go on horseback. There are five gardens that are for all, very large. The Fernandino Father drinks little, and as almost all the gardens produce wine, he who knows the customs of the neophytes well does not wish to give any wine to any of them, but sells it to the English or Anglo-Americans, not for money, but for clothing for the neophytes, linen for the

church, hats, muskets, plates, coffee, tea, sugar and other things. The products of the Mission are butter, tallow, hides, chamois leather, bear skins, wine, white wine, brandy, oil, maize, wheat, beans and also bull horns which the English take by the thousand to Boston.

WHAT IS DONE EACH DAY

When the sun rises and the stars and the moon go down, then the old man of the house wakens everyone and begins with breakfast which is to eat *juiuis* heated and meat and tortillas, for we do not have bread. This done, he takes his bow and arrows and leaves the house with vigorous and quick step. (This is if he is going to hunt.) He goes off to the distant woods which are full of bears and hares, deer and thousands of birds. He is here all day, killing as many as he can, following them, hiding himself behind trees, climbing them, and then loaded with hares he returns home happy. But when he needs wood, then he leaves the house in the morning with his tumpline on his shoulders and his ax, with companions who can help him when the load is very heavy, and in the afternoon he returns home. His old woman staying at home makes the meal. The son, if he is a man, works with the men. His daughter stays with the women making shirts, and if these also have sons and daughters, they stay in the mission, the sons at school to learn the alphabet, and if they already know it, to learn the catechism, and if this also, to the choir of singers, and if he was a singer, to work, because all the musical singers work the day of work and Sunday to the choir to sing, but without a book, because the teacher teaches them by memory, holding the book. The daughter joins with the single girls who all spin for blankets for the San Luiseños and for the robe of the Fernandino Father. At twelve o'clock they eat together and leave the old man his share, their cups of clay, their vessels of well-woven fiber which water cannot leak out of, except when it is held before the face of the sun, their frying pans of clay, their grills of wood made for that day, and their pitchers for water also of clay. Seated around the fire they are talking and eating. Too bad for them if at that time they close the door. Then the smoke rising, being much, and the opening which serves as a window being small, it turns below, trying to go out by the door, remains in the middle of the house, and they eat, then speaking, laughing and weeping without wishing to. The meal finished they

return to their work. The father leaves his son, the son leaves his sister, the sister the brother, the brother the mother, the mother her husband with cheer, until the afternoon. Before going to bed again they eat what the old woman and old man have made in that time, and then they sleep.

OF THE DANCE OF THE INDIANS

Each Indian people has its dances, different from other dances. In Europe they dance for joy, for a feast, for any fortunate news. But the Indians of California dance not only for a feast, but also before starting a war, for grief, because they have lost the victory, and in memory of grandparents, aunts and uncles, parents already dead.[32] Now that we are Christians we dance for ceremony.

The dance of the Yumas is almost always sad, and thus the song; the same of the Diegueños.[33] But we Luiseños have three principal kinds for men alone,[34] because the women have others, and they can never dance with the men. Three principal ones, two for many, and the other for one, which is more difficult. Many can dance in these two, and in this kind it is possible to dance day and night, and in the other only at night.

DANCE OF THE "CHEYAT"

No one can dance without permission of the elders, and he must be of the same people, a youth of ten and more years. The elders, before doing the dances publicly, teach them the song and make them learn perfectly, because the dance consists in knowing the song, because they act according to the song. According to the song he makes as many kicks, as many leaps as the singers make, who are the old people, the old and others of the same people. When they have learned, then they can perform the dance, but before this they give him something to drink, and then that one is a dancer; he can dance and not stop when the others dance.[35]

On this occasion the clothing is of feathers of various colors, and the body painted, and the chest is bare, and from the waist to the knees they are covered, the arms without clothing. In the right hand they carry a stick made to take off the sweat. The face is painted. The head is bound with a band of hair woven so as to be able to thrust in the *cheytatom,* our word. This *cheyat* is made of

Pablo Tac's drawing of Luiseño Indian dances.

feathers of any bird, and almost always of crow and of sparrow hawk, and in the middle a sharp stick in order to be able to insert it.[36] Thus they are in the house when immediately two men go out, each one carrying two wooden swords and crying out,[37] without saying any word, and after stopping before the place where they dance, they look at the sky for some time. The people are silent, and they turn and then the dancers go out. These two men are called by us *Pajaom*, meaning crimson snakes. In California there are large red snakes. These do not bite but lash out at those who come near them.

The dancers in this dance can be as many as thirty, more or less. Going out of the house, they turn their faces to the singers and begin to give kicks, but not hard ones, because it is not the time, and when the song is finished the captain of the dancers touching his feet cries, "Hu," and all fall silent. He again comes to the singers and sings, and all dance, and at last cries, "Hu," and the singers fall silent and they make the sound of the horse who is looking for his son. The sound *hu* means nothing in our language, but the dancers understand that it means "be silent." When the captain does not say, "Hu," the singers cannot be silent, and they repeat and repeat the song until the captain wants them to stop. Then they go before the singers and all the people who are watching them, and the captain of the dancers sings and dances, and the others follow him. They dance in a circle, kicking, and whoever gets tired stays in the middle of the circle and then follows the others. No one can laugh in this dance, and all follow the first ones with head bent and eyes toward the earth. When this stops, all take off the *cheyat* to end the dance and holding it in the right hand they raise it to heaven, blowing at each kick that they give to the earth, and the captain ends the dance with a "Hu," and all return to the houses of the costumes, and at this the old men begin to suck or smoke, and all the smoke goes up to heaven three times before ending the dance. This done, it ends. The old man returns to his house tired, because the dance lasts three hours, and it is necessary to sing for three hours. It is danced in the middle of the day when the sun burns more, and then the shoulders of the dancers appear fountains of water with so much sweat that falls. This dance is difficult, and among 2,000 men there was one who knew how to dance well.

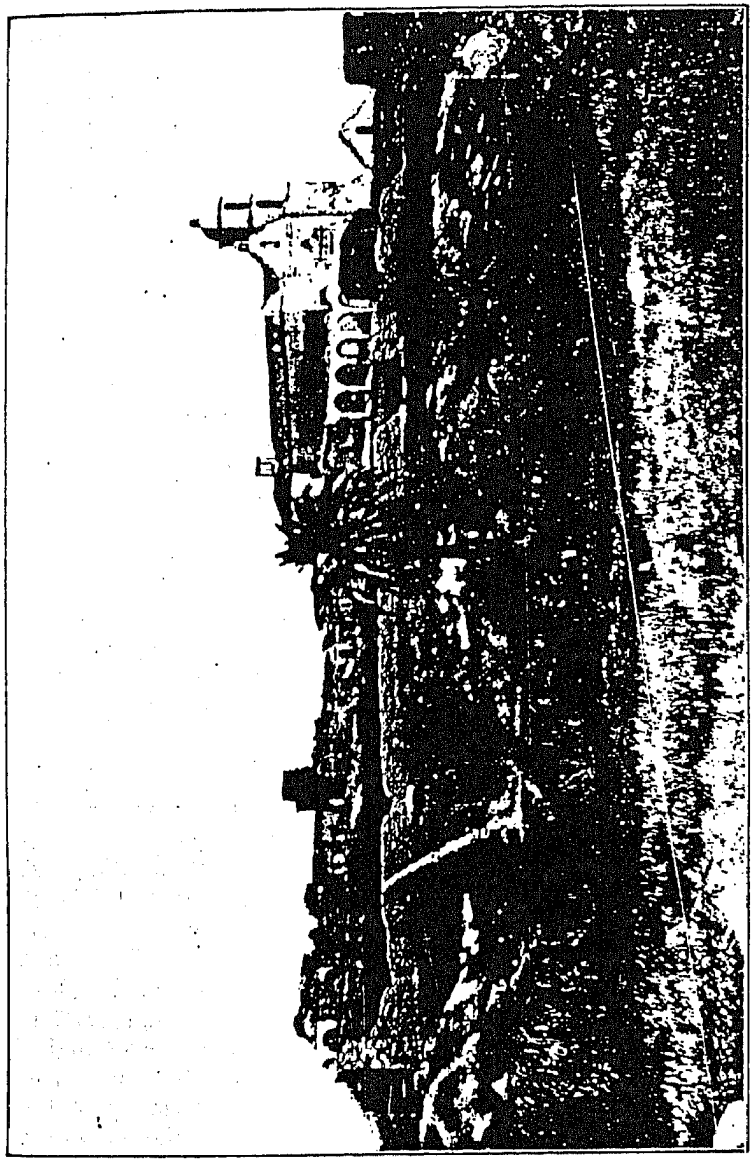
ANOTHER DANCE

The second dance never pleases me, because whoever can cry more, cries; whoever can leap, leaps, but always according to the song; and it very much resembles the Spanish dance. There is an old singer who has a dead tortoise with a little stick in the middle, and the hands, feet, head and tail are stopped up, and little stones are put inside, and thus moving it gives its sound. And always they dance through the night. They can dance among many. When they dance the old ones throw wheat and maize at them, and here the women can dance too.

DANCE OF THE "PALA"

The third is the most difficult, and for this reason the dancers of this kind are few. In this dance one person dances. Before the dancer goes out, two men who are called red serpents (as we have said) go out. The dancer wears his *pala* from the waist to the knees, made of feathers. On his head he wears a long eagle feather, in his hands two well-made sticks, thick as a reed, one and one-half hands long, and all his body painted. The circle in which he dances is eighty steps in circumference, more or less according to the place, and at four to seven steps there is an old man who watches so that the dancer cannot fall, which is very easy, because he must look at the sky, one foot raised, the other on the ground, one arm in the air, and the other towards the earth, and thus he must walk around that circle. This circle is made of people who want to see the dance.

Let us begin. The serpents go out, and the people are silent, and then two singers begin to sing with the *cheyat* at the mouth, saying, "Hu" three times. We said that it means nothing. Then the dancer goes out and begins to run along that circle. The singers sing. He dances according to the song, as we have said, and when dancing he approaches an old man, he says, "Hu" to him and raises his hands, and the dancer follows his road. He can neither laugh nor speak. It ends. The old men smoke and they return to their villages. Let us leave the other dances and also those of the women. Now let us see the games that the Luiseños play, and let us tell the main ones, and we play many of them. There is the game we call *uauquis*, that is to say, the game of the ball with the stick, or rather cudgel. Let us begin with it.



Mission San Luis Rey in ruins, about 1890. Note remains of sunken gardens in foreground.

BALL GAME

The place where they play is all level, in length a quarter and half a league, in width the same, the players all men of thirty to sixty years. In all they can be seventy or eighty, thirty or forty men on one side, thirty or forty on the other. They choose two leaders from this and from that side. Each one of the men holds his stick, four hands high, five joined fingers thick, arched below. The ball of the game is of wood, bigger than the egg of a turkey. There are two marks where they must throw the ball, and when the enemy crosses this mark, he has won.

The rule is that they cannot carry it in the hand very long, but on the ground with the stick. In the middle of the game they bury the ball, and the two leaders must get it out with their sticks, each one staying towards his mark, and his companions behind with sticks raised waiting for the ball, and when it goes out, each one wants to carry it to his mark. And here tumult, shoves, the strength of Hercules is necessary if one by chance gets the ball, hurling it with all force to his mark, throws it in the middle of the mark. The enemies follow it. Others hinder others. One falls running, having slipped. One with equal running comes up to the ball, and from there carries it to the other part running for fear that they will take it from him, and seeing his companions at a distance, throws them the ball through the air. They carry it to their mark, running at all haste. The enemies attack them, and here riot, running like a deer to flee so that they do not catch up or reach them, and this game lasts three or four hours.

GAME WITH CAPISTRANO INDIANS

The women play also, and this each Sunday with permission. The Luiseños know how to play well, strong men. Once thirty Luiseños went off to San Juan,[38] another mission near the Mission of San Luis Rey de Francia, our mission. They arrived there and were invited to play ball. They said, "We want to, but let us make a rule that you cannot carry the ball in your hand." Those indeed said, "Thus we will do. We will *play with all justice*." Sunday during the afternoon the Luiseños take their sticks and go off to the place for the game.

They go out to meet them and brought them to the place for

the game. They began to play with the same rules as the Luiseños, as we have already said before. All the people of this district were watching the game, and the captain of that district too was watching on horseback. All thirty Luiseños played well and were speedily defeating the Sanjuaneños, when one Sanjuaneño takes the ball and carries it in his hand. Then a Luiseño comes up, and seizing him by the waist throws him up and makes him fall. Another Sanjuaneño came to defend his countryman. Other Luiseños go to help the first. After these came the captain, and he beat a Luiseño. Then one of the Luiseños, stronger and with a huge body, gave a leap, knocked him down. The horse stepped on him and dragged him beneath his feet. He was not able to get up. Attracted by the uproar the people came up with sticks in hand. The women followed a Luiseño who had no stick but could defend himself well with leaps; although they might be warded off, and the women threw stones anywhere, but they did not hurt him.

The Sanjuaneños fled with their split heads. The Luiseños remain alone. One wanted to give a blow to another, believing that he was a Sanjuaneño. Such was their rage they did not recognize each other, and they were afraid of nothing. The Spanish soldiers arrive, although the uproar was ended, because they too were trembling, and they wished to end the tumult with words. The chief of the thirty Luiseños was an Indian and spoke like the Spanish. The Indian said to him, "Raise your saber, and then I will eat you," but in his language, and afterwards there was no trouble.

Opposite — Indian women of San Luis Rey who helped in building the Mission. Photo taken in 1893 at opening of restoration ceremonies. (Courtesy of Title Insurance and Trust Co.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Catholic Encyclopedia (16 vols.; New York, 1913).

Enciclopedia Italiana di Scienze, Lettere, ed Arti (38 vols.; Rome, 1929-1948).

Engelhardt, O.F.M., Zephyrin, *San Luis Rey Mission* (San Francisco, 1921).

Geiger, O.F.M., Maynard. *Calendar of Documents in the Santa Barbara Mission Archives* (Publications of the Academy of American Franciscan History, Bibliography Series, Vol. I, Washington, 1947).

Kroeber, A. L. *Shoshonean Dialects of California* (University of California Publications in America Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. IV, No. 3, Berkeley, 1907).

Murdock, G. P. *Ethnographic Bibliography of North America* (Yale Anthropological Studies, Vol. I, New Haven, 1941).

Sparkman, P. S. *The Culture of the Luiseño Indians* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. VIII, No. 4, Berkeley, 1908).

Tagliavini, Carlo. "La lingua degli Indi Luiseños (Alta California) secondo gli appunti grammaticali inediti di un chierico indigeno," *Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio,* Serie II, Vol. XXXI (Bologna, 1926).

————, "L'Evangelizzazione e i costumi degli Indi Luiseños secondo la narrazione di un chierico indigeno," *Proceedings of the Twenty-third Congress of Americanists,* 1928 (New York, 1932), pp. 633-648.

————, Frammento d'un dizionarietto Luiseño-Spagnuolo scritto da un indigeno," *Proceedings of the Twenty-third Congress of Americanists,* 1928 (New York, 1930), pp. 905-917.

Teza, E. *Saggi inediti di Lingue Americane* (Pisa, 1868).

Underhill, Ruth. *Indians of Southern California* (Sherman Pamphlets, No. 2, Lawrence, Kansas, 1941).

REFERENCES

[1]The basic modern work on the Luiseño culture is a monograph by P. S. Sparkman, **The Culture of the Luiseño Indians** (Berkeley, 1908). For a general survey of the native culture of the Mission Indians of Southern California, see Ruth Underhill, **Indians of Southern California** (Lawrence, Kansas, 1941). A bibliography of thirty-one titles concerning the Luiseño Indians is found in G. P. Murdock, **Ethnographic Bibliography of North America** (New Haven, 1941).

[2]Carlo Tagliavini, "L'Evangelizzazione e i costumi degli Indi Luiseños secondo la narrazione di un chierico indigeno," **Proceedings of the Twenty-third Congress of Americanists, 1928** (New York, 1930), pp. 633-648.

[3]This **padroñ** is now preserved in the Santa Barbara Mission Archives, Old Mission, Santa Barbara, California; see Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., **Calendar of Documents in the Santa Barbara Mission Archives** (Washington, 1947), p. 251.

[4]Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., **San Luis Rey Mission** (San Francisco, 1921), p. 81.

[5]**Ibid,** p. 79.

[6]Information supplied from materials in the Santa Barbara Mission Archives by the Archivist, Rev. Maynard Geiger, O.F.M.

[7]Tagliavini, **op. cit.** The Urban College (Collegium Urbanum de Propaganda Fide) is the central, international Seminary of the Propaganda founded in Rome by Pope Urban VIII in 1627, under the jurisdiction of the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith.

[8]"Carl von Reisach," article by Patricius Schlager, O.F.M., **The Catholic Encyclopedia** (New York, 1913), vol. XII, pp. 730-731.

[9]Engelhardt, **op. cit.,** pp. 84-85.

[10]Tagliavini, **op. cit.,** from the Register of the Urban College.

[11]"Giuseppe Mezzofanti," article by U. Benigni, **The Catholic Encyclopedia,** vol. X, pp. 270-271; see also the **Enciclopedia Italiana di Scienze, Lettere, ed Arti** (Rome, 1929-1948), "Mezzofanti."

[12]"Sacred Congregation of Propaganda," article by U. Benigni, **The Catholic Encyclopedia,** vol. XII, pp. 456-461, esp. p. 460.

[13]Tagliavini, "La lingua degli Indi Luiseños (Alta California) secondo gli appunti grammaticali inediti di un chierico indigeno," **Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio,** Serie II, vol. XXXI (Bologna, 1926); Tagliavini, "Frammento d'un dizionarietto Luiseño-Spagnuolo scritto da un indigeno," **Proceedings of the Twenty-third Congress of Americanists, 1928** (New York, 1930), pp. 905-917.

[14]**Enciclopedia Italiana, loc. sit.;** see also Charles W. Russell, **The Life of Cardinal Mezzofanti** (London, 1858).

[15]Engelhardt, **op. cit.,** pp. 86-87.

[16]E. Teza, **Saggi inediti di Lingue Americane** (Pisa, 1868).

[17]Tagliavini, "L'Evangelizzazione e i costumi degli Indi Luiseño," **loc. cit.**

[18]The Jesuit missions did not extend north of the present border of the Mexican State of Baja California. The first missions in what is now the State of California, U.S.A., were established by the Franciscans, beginning with Mission San Diego de Alcalá in 1769. Tac here also reverses and misspells the name of Father Juan Salvatierra, S.J., the famous missionary of Baja California.

[19]Another leaf of the Tac MS contains a slightly different version of this passage. Tagliavini, "L'Evangelizzazione e i costumi degli Indi Luiseños," pp. 638-639, note 24.

[20]Sosabitom was the term for Spaniards only. The Anglo-Americans were called **momñawechom, from momat** (ocean), i.e., "ocean people." A. E. Kroeber, **Shoshonean Dialects of California** (Berkeley, 1907), p. 73.

[21]Here another leaf of the MS gives a variant version with the following additional information: "Our country, before the Fernandino came, was a woods. He ordered them to cut the trees and make in this fashion a clearing." Tagliavini, "L'Evangelizzazione e i costumi degli Indi Luiseños," p. 639, note 28.

[22]Here the variant reads: ". . . with altars, one in the middle and the other two on the sides. On the main altar there are statues of many saints, and in the middle, St. Louis, King of France; lower, that of the Virgin Mary, of wood. On the right side of the main altar there is a second altar and the statues which are as follows: the statue of St. Joachim, [and] of [St.] Joseph. The altar placed on the left is of St. Anthony of Padua."

[23]The word "small" (**chicas**) has been added in the handwriting of Cardinal Mezzofanti. (T)

[24]The numbers refer to a plan of Mission San Luis Rey which has been lost. The modern restoration of the Mission buildings has been carried out in view of the changed function of the institution, which is now a Franciscan House of Studies.

[25]Referring to the missionary's quarters, the variant reads: "The house is square, has a large patio—in the middle, a wooden clock —and on the four sides, four bitter orange trees."

[26]Meaning not determined. Perhaps the word should be read as **tapanco**, a small shed.

[27]Pala is a village still inhabited by Luiseño Indians. The village and the surrounding lands now constitute an Indian Reservation, which is bordered on the east by Mt. Palomar, site of the 200-inch reflecting telescope. In the Spanish period, Pala was a mission-station called San Antonio de Pala.

[28]A page is missing here from the MS. (T)

[29]Tac here has a drawing of the turnstile gate, which makes the passage much easier to understand. See drawing.

[30]The "lion" is the mountain lion, or puma (**felis concolor**).

[31]Temeco is probably Temécula, a village about eleven miles northwest of Pala.

[32]The variant pages of the MS supply the following additional remark: ". . . for good harvest." Since the Luiseño did not practice agriculture before the coming of the missionaries, this may refer to the harvest of wild plant-foods, such as acorns.

[33]The variant reads: "The Apaches, another tribe, also have their dance. The Christian Dieguenos have their dance. The Sanluiseños, which we are, have many for men, and the women have other kinds. Also the Sanjuaneños, the Gabrielinos, the Fernandinos [i.e. the Fernandinos of Mission San Fernando Rey de España] and those of Monterey—they also have their dances, different one from another."

[34]The variant reads: "One in general—we call it **tannis**, to dance, or better, to kick."

[35]The variant reads: "In the morning, these dancers get up and the elders give them something to drink, and afterwards it is said that they are dancers, and then they can dance and no one can stop them from dancing."

[36]Here Tac supplies a drawing of the two dancers in costume. See drawing.

[37]The variant reads: ". . . leaving the house they cry out, meaning 'make way!' carrying their wooden swords which we call **uacatom** . . . ."

[38]Mission San Juan Capistrano, founded in 1776, northwest of San Luis Rey. The Indians, known to ethnographers as Juaneños, spoke a Shoshonean dialect of Southern California which is closely related to the Luiseño dialect.