

# Handbook of North American Indians

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*General Editor*

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# California

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# Luišeño

LOWELL JOHN BEAN AND FLORENCE C. SHIPEK

## Language

The term Luišeño (lōōwī'sā,nyō) derives from the mission named San Luis Rey and has been used in southern California to refer to those Takic-speaking people associated with Mission San Luis Rey. The term Juaneño (hwā'nā,nyō) derives from Mission San Juan Capistrano and has been used to refer to the Takic speakers associated with that mission. These designations have been used since the Spanish occupation of California. Although Kroeber and Harrington separated Juaneño and Luišeño on the basis of linguistic differences, later studies (R.C. White 1963:91) indicate that they are ethnologically and linguistically one ethnic nationality, which here will be termed Luišeño.

The Luišeño language (along with Cupeño, Cahuilla and Gabrielino) belongs to the Cupan group of the Takic subfamily (Bright and Hill 1967; W.R. Miller 1961; Bright 1975). This subfamily, which also includes Serrano and Kitanemuk, all of southern California, was earlier called Southern California Shoshonean; it is part of the widespread Uto-Aztecan family.

Like most California groups, the Luišeño probably had no name for their own nationality, although they may sometimes coin names to satisfy outside investigators. Quechnajuichom and Puyumkowitchum, suggested as possible names for themselves (True 1966:43), seem not to be. The former is a Spanish spelling of *qéčnaxwičum* 'people of San Luis Rey Village', and the latter is presumably *payó'mkawčum* 'westerners' (probably as used by inland Luišeños to refer to coastal dwellers).\*

## External Relations

The development of a separate Luišeño culture is clearly evident in archeological patternings that are locally distinct. This complex, which has been divided into San Luis Rey I (A.D. 1400-1750) and II (A.D. 1750-1850), shows the long-term development of a society that in the second era added components (for example, pottery and

\* The orthography used for Luišeño words here is that of William Bright (1968). The preceding two paragraphs are based on data provided by him. The spellings of Luišeño words in the text have been corrected by Bright, Sandra L. Chung, or Pamela Munro, with the assistance of Villiana Hyde. None of them was able to identify the ritual here called *aputs*.

cremation urns) from neighboring groups (Meighan 1954).

External relations with neighboring ethnic nationalities were conservative. The Luišeño tended toward an isolationist policy except when expanding, which they did through warfare and marriage. They were considered by their neighbors to be dangerous and warlike expansionists, an opinion supported by their more highly developed warfare structure incorporating war leadership duties in the hands of the *nó't*, or chief, and an initiated warrior class.

The Luišeño shared boundaries with the Cahuilla, Cupeño, Gabrielino, and Ipai peoples on the east, north, and south respectively. The Cahuilla, Gabrielino, and Cupeño share cultural and language traditions with the Luišeño. The Yuman Ipai have a different linguistic and cultural background but shared certain similarities in social structure (patrilineality as a basic form of social organization) and exchanged some religious practices with the Luišeño.

Luišeño social structure and philosophy were similar to the other Takic-speaking tribes, but they diverged in having a more rigid social structure and greater population density. The differences are clearly seen in: (1) extensive proliferation of social statuses, (2) clearly defined ruling families that interlocked various rancherías within the ethnic nationality, (3) a sophisticated philosophical structure associated with the taking of hallucinogenics (*datúra*), and (4) elaborate ritual paraphernalia including sand paintings symbolic of an avenging sacred being named Chingichngish (*čijičngiš* or *čajičngiš*). The common spelling Chinigchinich for this name copies an eighteenth-century attempt to write the Juaneño form *čijičngič* (Boscana 1933).

## Territory and Environment

The territory of the Luišeño comprised 1,500 square miles of coastal southern California (R.C. White 1963:117). Along the coast it extended from about Agua Hedionda Creek on the south to near Aliso Creek on the northwest. The boundary extended inland to Santiago Peak, then across to the eastern side of the Elsinore Fault Valley, then southward to the east of Palomar Mountain, then around the southern slope above the valley of San Jose.

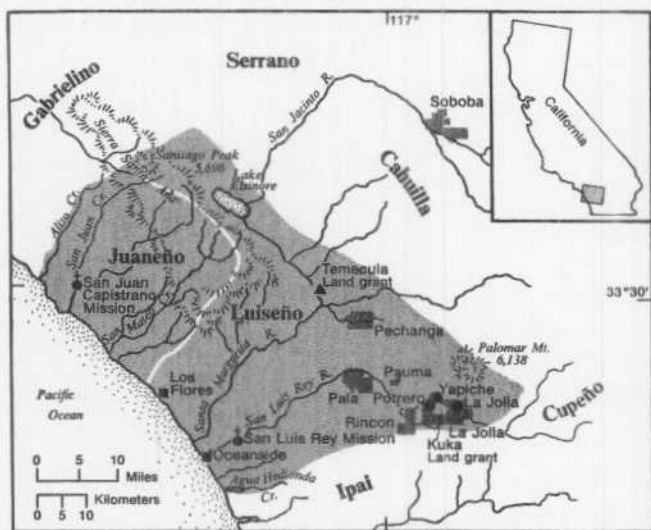


Fig. 1. Tribal territories with reservations and land grants.

From there the boundary turned west and returned to the sea along the Agua Hedionda Creek (fig. 1).

The territory of the Luiseño (excluding the Juaneño) included most of the drainage of the San Luis Rey River and that of the Santa Margarita River immediately to the north. Their habitat thus covered every ecological zone from the ocean, sandy beaches, shallow inlets, marshes, coastal chaparral, lush interior grassy valleys, extensive oak groves, up to the pines and cedars on the top of Mount Palomar. The Juaneño portion extended from the sea to the crest of the southern continuation of the Sierra Santa Ana. For the Luiseño as a whole, territorial elevations ranged from sea level to 6,000 feet on top of Mount Palomar.

Summer temperatures averaged from below 68° F. at the coast to above 85° inland, while winter temperatures averaged about 52° along the coast to 40° in the mountains. The average annual precipitation varied significantly, ranging from below 15 inches at the coast to 40 inches at Palomar Mountain. The Hot Steppe is the prevailing climate type found along the coast and extends inland along the river valleys into Riverside Basin. The uplands of the Santa Ana Mountains and Palomar Mountain had a warm Mediterranean-type climate with summer thunderstorms and winter snowfalls over Palomar Mountain. This diverse environment provided a more abundant and variable subsistence than most areas in southern California.

#### Settlement Pattern

Sedentary and autonomous village groups, each with specific hunting, collecting, and fishing areas, were located in diverse ecological zones. Typically these were in valley bottoms, along streams, or along coastal strands near mountain ranges. Villages were usually in sheltered coves or canyons, on the side of slopes in a warm thermal

zone, near good water supplies, and in defensive locations.

Each village area contained many named places associated with food products, raw materials, or sacred beings. Each place was owned by an individual, a family, the chief, or by the group collectively. Trails, temporary campsites, hunting sites, areas for rabbit or deer drives, quarry sites, and areas for ceremonial use and gaming are examples of places owned by the community as a whole.

Group economic activities were restricted to the particular areas owned by the village, and family gatherings were confined to family-owned areas. Only with the express permission of the other group or family could gathering be done on territory other than one's own. Most inland groups also had fishing and gathering sites on the coast that they visited annually when tides were low or when inland foods were scarce from January to March. Each year for the acorn harvest (October–November) most of the village population would settle for several weeks in the mountain groves to collect acorns, hunt game animals, and collect whatever else was locally available. However, most of the Luiseño foods were available in locations within a day's travel of the village.

#### Culture

##### Ownership and Property

Ownership and property, both tangible and intangible, ranged from communal, that is, village, to personal property. At the most general level all members of the village collectively owned the whole area and all its contents. Trespass against this property was explicitly forbidden, boundaries were marked, and the area was protected by physical combat as well as supernatural means. Trespass was a major cause for war.

Within these collectively owned areas, the village chief supervised specific areas for group hunting and gathering. The produce from these areas was under the chief's control and was used for public occasions. R.C. White (1963:124) also describes "gardens" that were owned by individual household groups for subsistence, for example, clusters of cactus, oak trees, other food plants, medicines, or tobacco. These privately owned areas, also with marked boundaries, were inherited patrilineally or could be given to another by the owner. The concept of private property was important and violation of trespass on these areas was seriously punished.

Other private property included the house (owned by a family head), capital equipment, treasure goods (ritual equipment, ceremonial and trade beads, other ceremonial paraphernalia), eagle nests, songs, and other nonmaterial possessions. Individual material possessions were usually destroyed upon the death of an individual, so that his spirit could take all to the spirit world. Songs and knowledge had generally been taught to a successor—a son, son-in-law, or nephew—who had shown the pre-



requisite innate abilities to handle that form of knowledge.

### Subsistence

The principal game animals were deer, rabbit, jackrabbit, woodrat, mice and ground squirrels, antelope, valley and mountain quail, doves, ducks, and other birds, including some songbirds. Most predators were avoided as food as were tree squirrels and most reptiles. Coastal marine foods included sea mammals, fish, crustaceans, and mollusks (especially abalone). Trout and other fish were caught in mountain streams (Sparkman 1908:200).

Acorns were the most important single food source; six species were used. Villages seem to have been located near water resources necessary for the leaching of acorns. Grass seeds were the next most abundant plant food used. Other important seeds were manzanita, sunflower, sage, chia, lemonade berry, wild rose, holly-leaf cherry, prickly pear, lamb's-quarters and pine nuts. Seeds were parched, ground, and cooked as a mush in various combinations according to taste and availability. Greens such as thistle, lamb's-quarters, miner's lettuce, white sage, and tree clover were eaten raw or cooked or sometimes dried for storage. Cactus pods and fruits were used. Thimbleberries, elderberries, wild grapes, and wild strawberries were eaten raw or dried for later cooking. Cooked yucca buds, blossoms, and pods provided a sizable increment to the food resources. Bulbs, roots, and tubers were dug in the spring and summer and usually eaten fresh. Mushrooms and tree fungi provided a significant food supplement. Various teas were made from flowers, fruits, stems, and roots for medicinal cures as well as beverages. Tobacco and datura (or toloache; Luiseño *náqtumuš*) were collected for sacred rituals because of their hallucinogenic qualities and were also used as medicines.

Fire was used as a crop-management technique as well as for community rabbit drives. The annual return from certain wild foods and useful plants—grass seed, some greens, yucca, and basket grasses—was maintained by burning at least every third year.

### Food Sources

	Inland Bands		Coastal Bands	
	R.C. White 1963	Revised	R.C. White 1963	Revised
Acorns	25-50%	25-45%	10-25%	15-25%
Seeds	15-25	20-40	5-10	20-40
Greens	10-15	10-12	5-10	5-10
Bulbs, roots, fruits	10-15	10-13	10-15	10-15
Game	15-25	15-20	5-10	5-10
Fish and marine animals	0-5	0-5	50-60	20-35

### Technology

Tools for food acquisition, storage, and preparation included an extensive inventory made from widely available materials. A few items were traded from specific localities, such as steatite bowls from Santa Catalina Island and obsidian blanks or points from either northern or eastern neighbors.

Hunting was done both individually and by groups. A shoulder-height bow was used with fire-hardened wood or stone-tipped arrows, which were carried in a skin quiver. Felsite and quartz points were made using deer-antler flakers. Deer were stalked with deer-head decoys or were tracked and run down. Community deer drives were held when quantities of meat were wanted. Small game was caught with the curved throwing stick (fig. 2), rabbit nets, slings, traps, or the spring-pole or pit type of deadfall.



Mus. of the Amer. Ind., Heye Foundation, New York: 5/468.

Fig. 2. Luiseño wooden throwing stick for hunting rabbits. Length about 65 cm, collected before 1916.

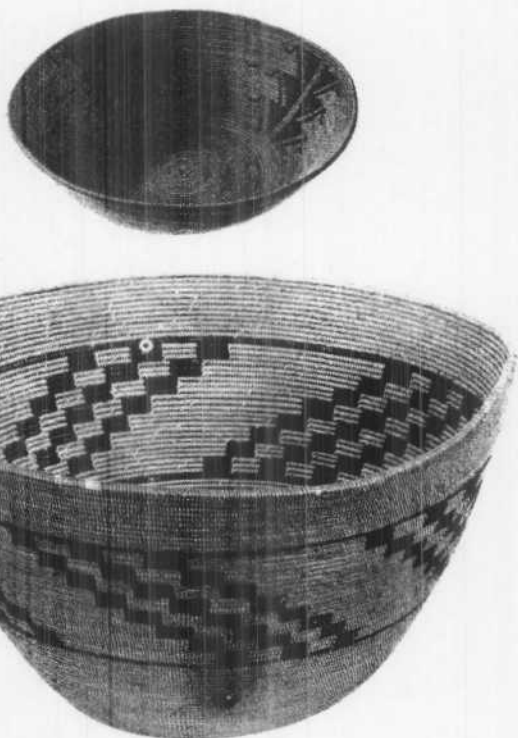
The bows for war were similar to those for hunting. In addition to the bow and arrow, weapons included a small hand-thrusting war club, large war clubs, broad-bladed thrusting sticks, lances, and slings.

Near shore ocean fishing was done from light balsa or dugout canoes. Seines, basketry fish traps, dip nets, hooks of bone or haliotis shell, and possibly harpoons were used. Mountain-stream fish were caught with traps, nets, or poisons.

Coiled and twined baskets were used in food gathering, preparation, storage, and serving (fig. 3). The basket type, shape, and size varied according to the purpose for which it would be used: small hand-held berry and bird-egg-gathering baskets, water-carrying bowls, storage baskets, and large round-bottomed carrying baskets. Coiled baskets were usually decorated with a darker tan, red, or black geometric design. These were very finely and artistically made and are to be found in many collections under the general area term "Mission Indian baskets" (Kroeber 1924).

A large shallow tray was used for winnowing chaff from grain or for sorting coarse from finely ground meal. Openwork twined baskets were used for leaching tannic acid from acorn meal. Basins formed in fine sand could also be used for leaching acorn meal.

Depending upon the size and quantity of the items to be stored, clay and basketry storage containers varied in



Dept. of Anthr., Smithsonian: top, 313023; bottom, 313172.

Fig. 3. Coiled baskets. top, Juaneño meal tray; bottom, Luiseño feast basket with black elder-dyed design. Diameter of top 38 cm, collected in 1900.

size from small bowls to baskets or jars large enough to hold several bushels. Acorn granaries were made of intertwined willow boughs set on a flat rock base.

Net pouches of two-ply cordage were made for handling the fruit and young pads of cactus. Net or skin pouches and bags were also used to carry small game and other foods. Large back-carrying nets were used with a tumpline around the forehead bearing on a coiled basket cap. Infants were carried on a cradleboard frame made of willow boughs.

Seeds were ground with handstones on shallow unshaped basin metates of fine-grained granite (fig. 4). The same granites were made into shaped or unshaped mortars and pestles for pounding acorns or small whole game. Bedrock mortars and metates were generally located near village sites, especially inland. A basket hopper was attached to new or shallow mortars. Medicines, tobacco, and datura roots were ground in stone bowls usually painted red and white for ritual purposes.

Food was cooked in wide-mouthed clay jars over fireplaces or in earth ovens wrapped with clay or leaves. Game was roasted in coals. Seeds were parched by shaking with coals in shallow pottery or basket trays; heated stones were dropped into food held in baskets, pottery jars, or soapstone bowls for boiling.

The pottery was made by paddle-and-anvil technique and fired in shallow open pits. Simple line decoration was either painted or incised with a fingernail or stick.

Decoration was rare. Relatively few shapes were made: shallow dishes, bowls, hemispherical bowls, wide- and narrow-mouthed jars, ladles and dippers, and miniatures. A double-mouthed pot was used as a water jar.

Other utensils for food preparation included wooden food paddles, brushes, tongs, tweezers, steatite bowls and cups, and wooden digging sticks. Also a variety of ground-stone, pressure-flaked, or percussion chipped-stone tools were made for cutting, prying, scraping, drilling, and pounding (True 1966).

Ritual equipment included small spherical sacred stone bowls for grinding and drinking datura or tobacco; ceremonial blades of obsidian, clay figurines with "coffee bean" eyes; sacred wands with abalone or crystal insets (fig. 5); ritual head scratchers for puberty ceremonies; eagle-feather headdress, dance skirts, and shoulder bands; head and hand plumes of owl or raven feathers, and ceremonial blades.

Shamans' equipment included tubular soapstone or clay pipes for smoking, purification, and sucking disease rituals. Some had enlarged bowls and cane stems. Shamans also had magical power stones of quartz, tourmaline, and other crystals; magical swallowing sticks; a syringe of deer bladder with a cane nozzle; and special shamans' bundles.

Other ritual equipment included the ground paintings representing the cosmology, image of sacred beings, and of deceased persons; funeral pyre and cremation pits; funeral poles; and offering baskets.

#### Structures

Houses were primarily conical, partially subterranean thatched structures of reeds, brush, or bark, whichever was available locally. Domestic chores were done in the shade of nearby brush-covered rectangular structures known by the Spanish term *ramadas*. Round, semisubterranean, earth-covered sweathouses (fig. 6) were important for purification and curing rituals. A ceremonial structure, the *wámkiš*, was a centrally located area within the village that was enclosed by circular fencing. Sometimes within this area there was a raised altar upon which was a skin-and-feather image. Ceremonies were held inside the *wámkiš* and ritual and paintings were made in front of it.

#### Adornment

Personal ornaments were made of bone, clay, stone, shell, bear claws and, later, glass. Beads or pendants were made of these as well as of mica sheets, bear claws, deer hooves, and abalone shell. Bracelets and anklets were made of human hair. Men wore ear and nose ornaments made of cane or bone, sometimes with beads attached. Cloaks and robes were made of deerskin, otterskin, or rabbitskin strips, wound on lengths of fiber, and put together by a twined weft. Yucca-fiber sandals and deerskin moccasins were worn. Body painting and tattooing for men and



NAA, Smithsonian.

Fig. 4. Juaneño woman in front of adobe house grinding with mano and metate. An earth oven is behind her under the sunshade. Copyright and possibly photographed by Herve Friend, 1892.

women were ritually significant. Semiprecious stones were commonly used, such as quartz, topaz, garnet, opal, opalite, agate, and jasper. Women wore twined cedar-bark double aprons.

#### *Music and Games*

Musical instruments included bird-bone and cane whistles; cane flutes; split-stick clappers; rattles of turtle shell,

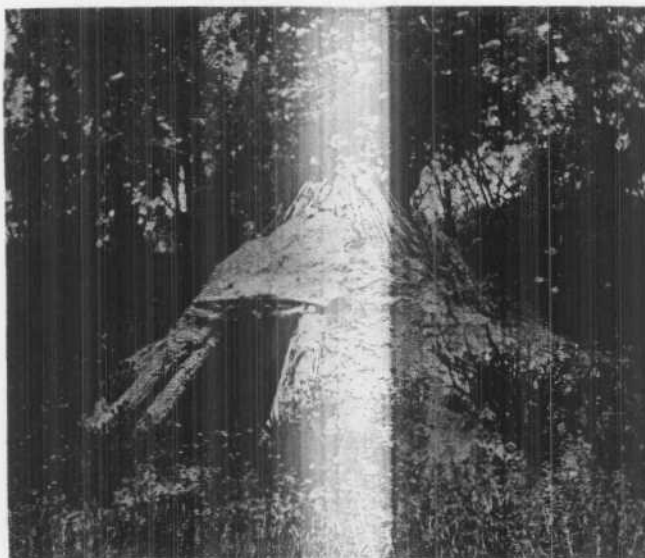
gourd, or deer hooves; and bull-roarers. Gaming equipment included bone and wood cylinders with stretched rawhide loop and counters used in the peon game, dice, painted or incised split sticks for women's gambling games, wooden ball and sticks for the ball-and-stick game, ring and pin, acorn tops, cat's cradle strings, hoops and pole, and wooden balls.



Riverside Municipal Mus., Calif.: A9-20.

Fig. 5. Luiseño ceremonial wand, wood handle with remnants of abalone inlay, obsidian point. Length 61.8 cm, collected before 1923.





Title Insurance and Trust Company, Los Angeles.

Fig. 6. Luiseño sweathouse on Soboba Reservation. Photograph possibly by C.C. Pierce, about 1885.

### Social and Political Organization

Women collected most of the plant resources, and men hunted the large game and most of the small game and fished; but there was no rigid sexual division of labor. Work activities often overlapped. Men aided in acquiring acorns and other plant foods by helping with heavy work associated with them, such as knocking acorns from the trees. They sometimes collected plant foods on hunting expeditions. Women, in turn, sometimes hunted and trapped small game and collected shellfish.

Aged women stayed at home to care for children, teaching them arts, crafts, and knowledge necessary for adulthood while active women were busy collecting and processing foods. Older men were most active in ritual, ceremonial affairs, making political decisions, and teaching selected young men. They were skilled net makers and arrow makers; they manufactured much of the capital equipment used in hunting as well as creating much ceremonial paraphernalia.

Children were involved in productive activities at the earliest possible age, boys and girls working with adults as they learned. Older, unmarried girls assumed some care for younger siblings. Men tended to have exclusive responsibility for ritual and sacred affairs, while women made food preparations for ritual affairs and performed supplemental dancing and singing.

Each Luiseño village was a clan tribelet—a group of people patrilineally related who owned an area in common and who were politically and economically autonomous from neighboring groups. The entire social structure is obscure. It does not appear that they were organized into exogamous moieties such as were the Cahuilla, Cupeño, and Serrano (Strong 1929:291). They may have been loosely divided into easterners (mountain-

oriented peoples) and westerners (ocean-oriented peoples) (Strong 1929:288–289). R.C. White (1963:163–174) sees a possible moiety structure but the evidence is highly inferential. R.C. White (1963:173–178) and Strong (1929:287) agree that the “party organization” or grouping of lineages for reciprocal performance of ritual is a result of the recent drastic decline of population and the loss of ceremonial leaders without trained replacements.

The hereditary village chief (*nó:t*) held an administrative position that combined and controlled religious, economic, and warfare powers (Boscana 1933:43). He had an assistant (*paxá?*) who acted to relay orders and information and who had important religious ceremonial duties also. There was an advisory council of ritual specialists and shamans, each with his own special area of knowledge about the environment or ritual magic. These positions were hereditary with each man training a successor from his own lineage who showed the proper innate abilities (R.C. White 1957:5–6). These specialists were also members of the cultic organization of Chingichngish and shared special access to ritual and supernatural power forms. There was a multiplicity of specialist roles under the *nó:t* and *paxá?* such as the leaders of the rabbit hunt, deer and antelope drives, expeditions to the sea, as well as a specialist in each major food crop.

The more populous villages along the coast and in the larger valleys undoubtedly had a more complex structure than did the smaller settlements in the little valleys, which seem to have contained fewer lineages (Strong 1929).

Kinship terminology and marriage rules, in addition to the social structure, have been changed so extensively by the overlay of the Roman Catholic incest rules and external linguistic, political, and economic factors that the aboriginal or contact-period usage, rules, and structure are extremely obscure.

Luiseño kinship terminology had a Dakota structure (R.C. White 1963:168) and kin terms occurred only with possessive prefixes (Kroeber 1917:348). There was a tendency toward paired reciprocal terms that indicated equal relationship distance, with the diminutive ending on the younger of the pair (Kroeber 1917:351). For example, *-ka?* ‘grandfather’ and *-ka?may* ‘grandson’ (*-may* being the diminutive). This tendency affected all terms of grandparents, great-grandparents, father-in-law, brother-in-law, and cousin classes. The Luiseño had bifurcated merging for aunts and siblings with distinctions being made according to relative age of the parent’s siblings (R.C. White 1963:168). Other features included merged terminologies for grandparent’s siblings of the same sex; siblings were differentiated by age and sex, as were parallel aunts and uncles; nephews and nieces were recognized by age of connecting relative and sex of speaker; cross-nephews and -nieces were merged as well as parallel nephews and nieces.

At a child's birth the *nó't* of the mother's lineage performed the *šúłaxiš* ceremony, which confirmed the child to the householding group and the patrilineage (R.C. White 1963:165). Extensive dietary and activity restrictions were imposed upon both father and mother for about a month.

At puberty boys and girls underwent initiation rituals during which they were taught about the supernatural beings governing them and punishing any infractions of the rules of behavior and ritual (Sparkman 1908:221, 225). They were taught to respect elders, to listen to them, to give them food, not to eat secretly, to refrain from anger, to be cordial and polite to in-laws, to follow rituals exactly and respectfully or be subject to punishment and death by the messengers of Chingichngish (rattlesnake, spider, bear, and sickness). The boys' ceremony included the drinking of toloache (*datura*), visions, dancing, ordeals, and the teaching of songs and rituals. The girls' ceremony included advice and instruction in the necessary knowledge for married life, "roasting" in warm sands, and rock painting.

Marriage was arranged by the parents of children, sometimes at infancy. Girls were married shortly after their puberty ceremonies took place. Luiseños suggest an important concern was that spouses not be closely related, although R.C. White (1963:169-170) suggests that cross-cousin marriages may have been the norm prior to Spanish Catholic influences. Important lineages were allied through marriage. Elaborate marriage ceremonies and a bride price accompanied marriage. Residence was generally patrilocal. Polygyny, often sororal, was practiced, especially by chiefs and shamans. Divorce was not easy, but possible; widows could remarry, preferably a classificatory "brother" of her deceased husband, as a husband might marry a classificatory "sister" of his deceased wife.

Marriage was utilized as an instrument of ecology and economics. Reciprocally useful alliances were arranged between groups in differing ecological niches, and became springboards of territorial expansion, especially following warfare and truces (R.C. White 1963:130). In the twentieth century, marriages of Luiseño women into neighboring reservations have extended Luiseño influence among their neighbors, for instance, among the Cupeño and Ipai and Tipai, and on Soboba reservation.

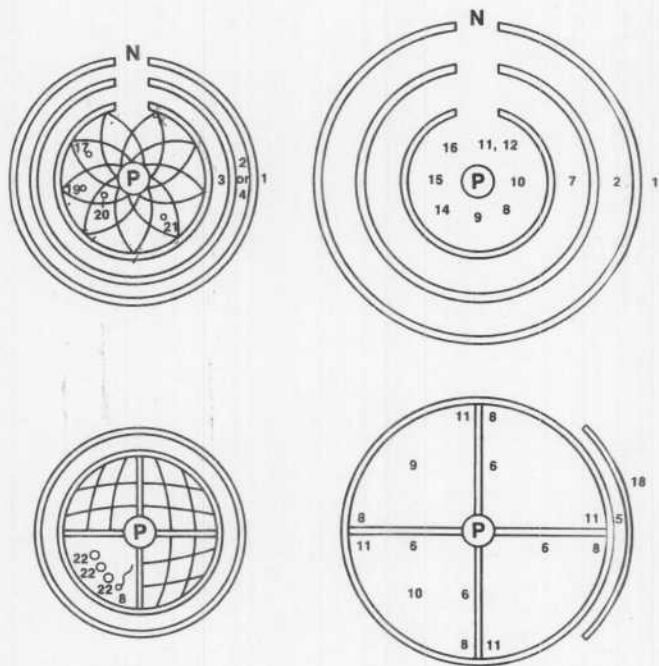
Death was a major concern to the Luiseño. They observed at least a dozen successive mourning ceremonies. After a *tuví's* or ritual washing of clothes, a smoking purification of relatives was held and various related clans were invited to an image-burning ceremony, which ended formal mourning. Feasting took place, and food and gifts were distributed to guests. A special ceremony, the eagle killing, was held to commemorate the death of a chief.

Ritual provided dramatic enactments and reciting of sacred oral literature in which ritual was initially ordained. The rituals functioned to control environment, emulate the experience of sacred persons, and guarantee their positive responses. Ritual also aided in the control of knowledge-power, which resided in varying degrees in the Luiseño world. Rituals were strictly governed by rules and procedures administered by religious chiefs and shamans, who comprised a hierarchical power pyramid dominated by the village chief, an assistant, a council, and a secret society, which included most adult males in the village. They articulated ritual and controlled hunting, harvest, warfare, in fact, all major activities of village life. The rituals are connected with the Chingichngish cult.

Most participants in rituals were paid. A guest ritual leader and his assistants—from another village or moiety—officiated. Great quantities of food and treasure goods were distributed at these affairs. R.C. White (1963) has recorded over 16 kinds of ceremonies. In addition to rites for the dead there were rites of passage—naming, birth, puberty, death, installation of new office holder. Other rituals controlled the environment, for instance rainmaking or increase of food crops or animals. Still others involved social and political controls both within and between villages, like peace making between individuals or groups.

Principal rituals conducted by the *nó't* and his organization were: (1) *má'ni pá'ʔiš*—*datura* drinking, (2) *ʔántuš*—ant ordeal of puberty, (3) *nó'tuš*—pole climbing, (4) *méyis*—hunting purification by smoke, (5) *mó'raxiš*—eagle-feather dance, (6) *pé'niš*—eagle killing, (7) *aputs* (Boscana in Harrington 1934:41)—fertility dance, (8) *háyis*—moon racing (fertility?), (9) *čúyis*—mortuary, clothes burning, (10) *tó'činiš*—mortuary, image burning, (11) *tuví's*—clothes-washing at birth and death, (12) *wiqéniš*—female puberty, (13) *péwluš*—marriage, (14) *né'tuš*—conception, (15) *čéłaxiš*—peace among individuals (*čéla*—'observe ritual silence'), (16) *náwtiš*—peace between parties (lineage groups) or tribes.

Sand painting was a significant ritual-cosmological component associated with most rituals; although utilized by several southern California groups, the paintings are best documented for the Luiseño. The paintings (*turó'hayis*) were made at boys' initiation rites, girls' initiation rites, and death rites for initiates of the *datura* cult. Each painting represented various aspects of the universe, for example, the Milky Way, all-encompassing night and sky, sacred beings, and spiritual phases of the human personality, especially the punisher-beings representing Chingichngish (fig. 7). These art forms were destroyed when the ritual was finished. They were only occasionally made in the 1970s.



after Kroeber 1925:662.

Fig. 7. Sand paintings. Elements include: 1, Milky Way; 2, night or sky; 3, root (of existence); 4, our spirit or soul; 5, world; 6, hands (arms) of the world; 7, blood; 8-16, avengers and punishers sent by Chingichngish; 17, sea; 18, mountains; 19, plant hill; 20, boil or abscess; 21, four avenging animals; 22, ceremonial baskets (may be actual objects); N, north; P, pit symbolical of death and burial of ashes, the abode of the dead, or navel of the universe.

After contact, Luiseño ceremonial leaders began to die out. Lineages that no longer had ceremonial leaders and *paxá*? or requisite ritual paraphernalia associated, for ritual purposes, with lineages that did. The groups resulting from this process are now called "parties" to distinguish them from traditional ritual units (Gifford 1918).

### Cosmology

Luiseño cosmology centered about a dying-god motif and around *wiyó't*, a creator-culture hero and teacher who was the son of earth-mother (*tamá'yawut*). It was he who established the order of the world and was one of the first "people" or creations. The death of *wiyó't* was brought about by another of the first "people." This death changed the nature of the universe and led to the creation of the existing world of plants, animals, and men. The original creations took on the various life forms now existing. Some remained in contact with their descendants, while others went to different levels of the universe. After the death of *wiyó't* the "people" gathered and worked out solutions for living, including the adoption of the present spatial organization of "species" for living space, and a chain-of-being concept that placed each species into a productive, hierarchically arranged and mutually supportive relationship with all others. Thus the problems of food and space were solved by the accept-

ance of predatorship and death for all beings and things: rocks and trees lived on top of the ground, gophers lived under, men ate deer, and deer ate grasses (R.C. White 1957:9).

The disposal of the body of *wiyó't* affirmed the concept of death and established funeral ritualism. It also ended the formation of prescribed knowledge that was given to each species. The remaining knowledge that *wiyó't* threw away upon his death was known as residual knowledge. Formulated knowledge, the prescribed knowledge given before his death, became the exclusive possession of the ritual officials. Residual knowledge could be sought and acquired by anyone who had the innate ability consistent with that form of knowledge-power (R.C. White 1957:6, 8).

The acquisition and use of knowledge-power was required to be kept secret and there were constant admonitions not to divulge knowledge-power because misfortune and death would follow. The negative consequences of the misuse of knowledge-power or its potential use by an enemy made any careless sharing of knowledge unthinkable. People with knowledge-power had the right to receive more in the distribution of goods (thus ensuring a higher degree of survival in cases of shortages). Knowledge, because of its dangerous nature, was transmitted only reluctantly after the recipient had demonstrated his ability to handle that form. It had to be used specifically and unvaryingly according to set procedures and on the appropriate occasions. Failure to follow set rules at appropriate times resulted in loss of control over the particular kind of power being used and brought grave consequences to the entire community (R.C. White 1957:4).

The rank-order system in society and nature depended upon the natural innate knowledge-power adhering to a species or individual. For people, the innate ability varied with individuals, accruing most often to the families of powerful individuals. An attitude of complete fearlessness was seen to be the satisfactory state of mind for acquiring knowledge-power.

### History

Although several earlier European explorers observed the Luiseño, first contact with Europeans was in 1796 when the Gaspar de Portolá expedition arrived and San Diego Mission was founded to the south. In 1776 a mission was established at San Juan Capistrano, and 22 years later San Luis Rey Mission was founded.

R.C. White (1963:104) estimates that there were 50 Luiseño villages, with a mean population of about 200 each, thus suggesting a population of 10,000 people in contrast to Kroeber's (1925:646, 649) estimate of 4,000-5,000 people. At no time have published population figures been reliable, since many individuals and some villages were never part of the mission or reserva-



Table 1. Population

Date	Total	Men	Women and Children	Reservation Residents	Source
Precontact	10,000				R.C. White 1963
1828	3,683	1,598	2,085		Mission Records
1856	2,500-2,800 (19 villages)				ARCIA
1860	1,011				U.S. Census Office 1880
1865	1,047	536	511		ARCIA
1873	975 (10 villages)				ARCIA
1881	1,120				ARCIA
1885	1,142				ARCIA
1889	901				ARCIA
1894	784			417	ARCIA
1895	948			272	ARCIA
1914	983			983	ARCIA
1925	841			841	ARCIA
1940	721			402	ARCIA
1960	1,757			564	BIA, Sacramento

tion system; therefore, the figures in table 1 may consistently be considered as minimums. Recent counts are further skewed by the mixture of tribal groups on some reservations, for example, Pala.

Upon contact, European ideas and diseases immediately began to spread throughout the Luiseño population. Living conditions at missions and on the ranchos accelerated the population decline.

Some coastal village people were moved into mission environs. Over a period of years, Indians were brought from progressively more distant villages into San Juan Capistrano Mission where they were taught the Roman Catholic faith, Spanish language, farming skills, animal husbandry, adobe brickmaking, carpentry, and other European crafts.

The policy at San Luis Rey Mission was to maintain Luiseño settlement patterns. The priest, Father Peyri, visited villages to hold masses, perform marriages, and supervise agricultural activities; but traditional economic methods remained as the basic subsistence mode, and leadership continued for the most part as it always had.

In 1834 missions were secularized and the attendant political imbalance resulted in Indian revolts and uprisings against the Mexican rancheros, who were using many of the Indians as serfs. Many left the missions and ranchos and sought refuge among inland groups, while a few individuals acquired land grants—Kuka, Temecula (fig. 8), La Jolla—and entered into the mainstream of Mexican culture. Several Indian pueblos were established for some of the San Luis Rey Indian rancherías, among them Santa Margarita and Los Flores, by the Mexican

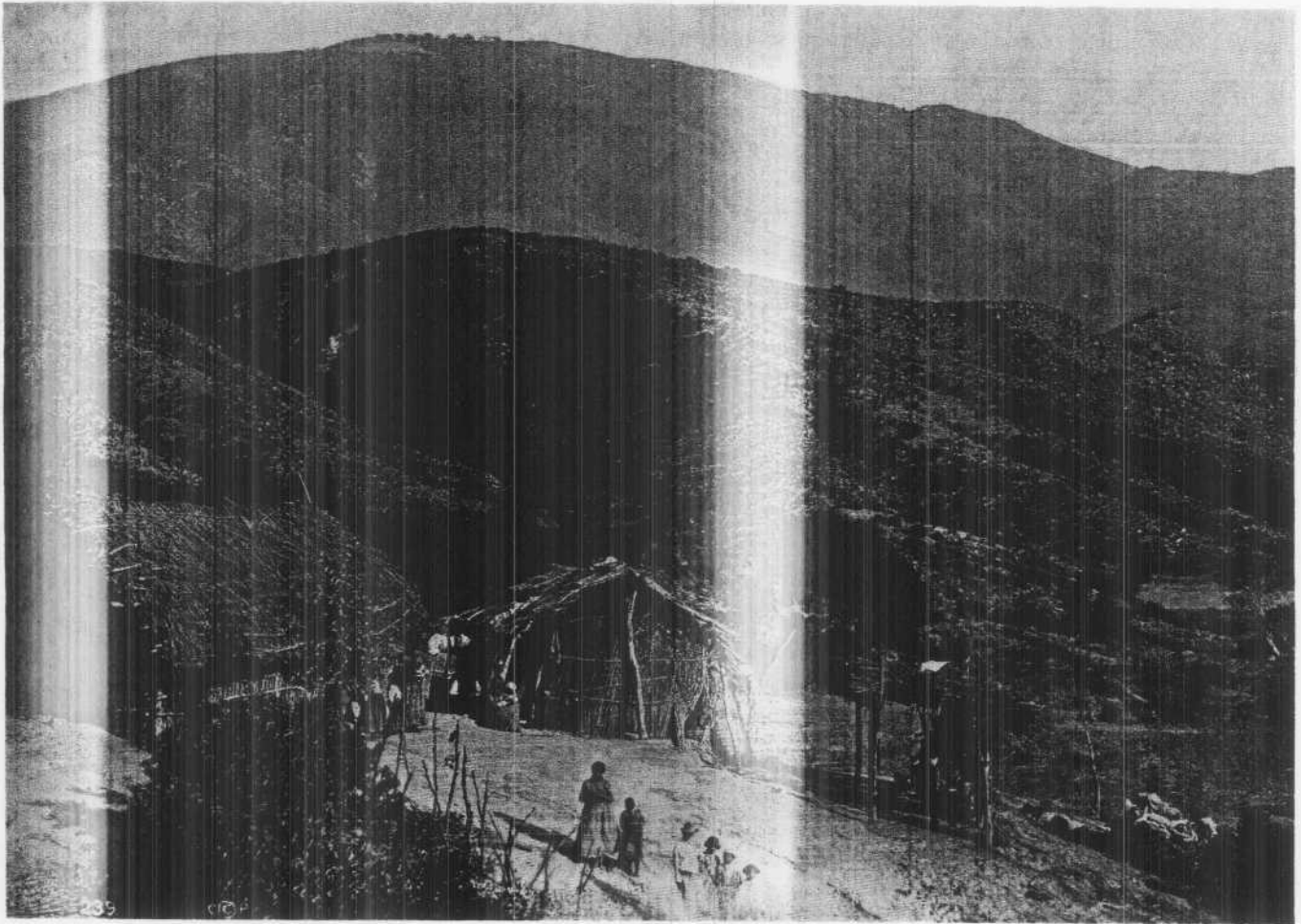
government. These pueblos were intended to be governmental units within the Mexican political system. Most of them disappeared under Mexican rancho pressures; Los Flores, for example, was sold to Mexicans.

Most Luiseño villages, however, continued to maintain their traditional orientation with the addition of wheat and corn agriculture, irrigation, orchards, and animal husbandry.

For the purposes of political and economic controls, the leadership roles that had been established in the mission period, such as *generales*, *capitanes*, and *alcaldes*, continued to exist and operate with political and economic, rather than religious, mechanisms. These new leaders operated in addition to religious leaders and acted as liaisons between the people and Europeans (fig. 9).

With the entrance of Anglo-Americans into California, Luiseños were displaced from more of their lands (for instance, Temecula, 1859-1877). Conflicts between Indians and encroaching Whites finally led to the investigation and establishment of executive-order reservations for some villages (for example, Pala, Potrero, La Jolla, Yapiche) in 1875. Other Luiseños were evicted from their homes and dispersed at random, some going to reservations, others to nearby towns or ranches.

Civil rights and federal protection were minimal until 1891 when the Act for the Relief of the Mission Indians established trust-patent reservations and initiated a bureaucratic management of them. Agents, teachers, medical personnel, Bureau of Indian Affairs day schools, and Indian captains, judges, policemen, and Indian courts were established. The stated function of this system was



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Fig. 8. View of Pechanga showing houses of the Temecula. Palomar Mountain is in the background. Photograph by C.C. Pierce, about 1895.

to develop a self-supporting population, which would eventually be assimilated into the mainstream of American life. Special educational institutions, day schools, and boarding schools such as Perris School, Sherman Institute, and the Carlisle School, and private boarding schools such as the Roman Catholic Saint Boniface were established to adapt Indian children to the American culture. Under the provisions of the Dawes Act a land-allotment program was established to provide land for individuals. During this time there was a concerted program against traditional authority by the federal government, which insisted that all tribally elected persons (captains, judges) must be approved by the local Indian agent. Furthermore, Indian policemen and other Indians were often employed in positions of power without regard to local feelings.

Indians continued to support themselves by farming, ranching, and various forms of wage labor, supplemented by hunting and gathering wherever still available.

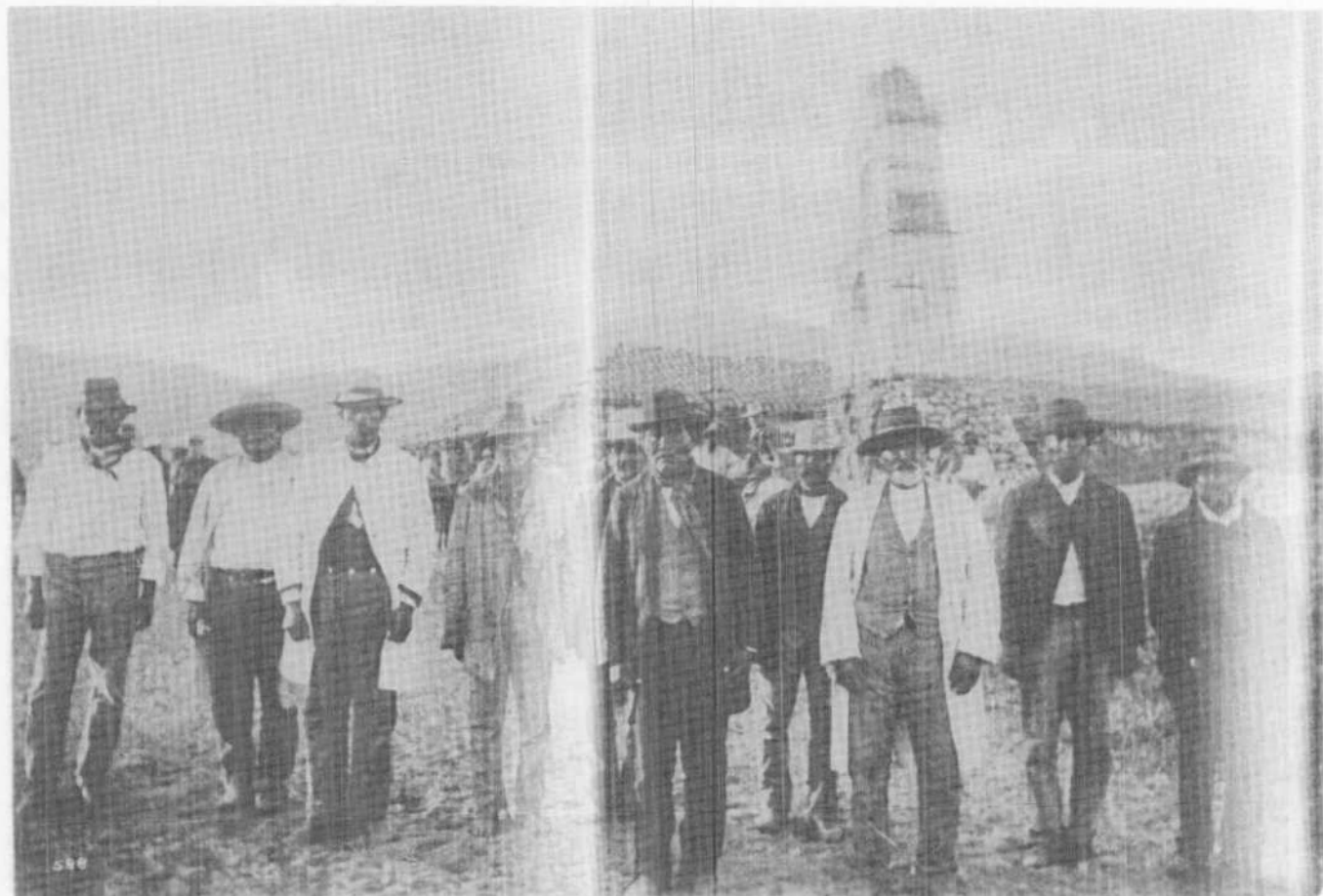
Some Luiseños vigorously protested the Bureau of Indian Affairs management of the reservation, and by 1919 the Mission Indian Federation and other instrumen-

tal voluntary associations were formed to solve new problems. In 1934 the Indian Reorganization Act was rejected by Luiseños because it did not allow sufficient home rule. Nevertheless, bureaucratic control increased as federal activities on Indian reservations were expanded. The complication of the Depression affected economic life and increased bureaucracy, but considerable support to Indians came from federal agencies such as the Civilian Conservation Corps Indian Service and from economic-aid programs such as the reimbursable cattle program.

Commencing with World War I, many Indians entered the service or migrated to urban areas for defense industry jobs. Reservation activities diminished, but personal incomes increased as new jobs were available and markets improved for agricultural products. At the end of the war a resurgence of farming and cattle raising by the returning servicemen, along with increased job skills and opportunities, led to higher levels of income for most Luiseños.

Pressures for termination of federal involvement in Mission Indian affairs, which had been building since the





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Fig. 9. Capt. Pedro Pablo and his headmen from Pauma at Pala for a tribal meeting. Photograph possibly by C.C. Pierce, about 1885.

1930s, reached a peak in the 1950s. Luiseños assumed active leadership, both for and against this program. It was vigorously discussed and partially averted. In 1953, with the passage of Public Law 280 (67 Stat. 588-590) federal services were reduced to the maintenance of the trust status of the land. A period of chaotic legal problems developed because Public Law 280 did not spell out the exact areas of responsibility of states and counties in regard to law enforcement and use of Indian trust lands. Neither the public agencies nor the Indians were adequately apprised of the new relationships of Indians to local, state, and other federal agencies and the consequent changes in responsibilities.

In spite of the confusion engendered by Public Law 280, or because of it, a resurgence of local self-government and self-determination occurred. Reservation groups began to write articles of association and establish formal membership requirements in terms of degree of relationship to original members. With the beginning of the federally funded programs in the late 1960s, such as low-cost housing, manpower training, and Office of Economic Opportunity grants, the Luiseño began establishing new forms of local organizations in order to participate and take advantage of programs. Since pro-

gram funding required large populations, new organizations were developed to include several reservations, Luiseños as well as others. Luiseño participation and leadership again became prominent in state organizations such as the Intertribal Council of California, county organizations such as the Tribal Chairmen's Association of San Diego County, and regional groups such as the All-Mission Indian Housing Authority. The Luiseño appear to be more generally involved with these types of organizations than most other Indian groups in southern California. Consequently an exceedingly complex proliferation of organizations, committees, and boards working with new governmental and private agencies has developed. Some reservations belong to none, some to one or several reservation-based groups, and some to all. Final authority on any reservation is the entire adult membership. These other groups have no authority inherent in themselves in regard to the reservations. Many of the same individuals sit on several boards, but this does not indicate coordination or closeness between organizations.

Some county or state organizations have had "an Indian" appointed in order to have some Indian input into the policy level: San Diego County Welfare Council,

County Human Relations Committee, County Office of Economic Opportunity, Public Employment Program, and some local school boards.

Then there are federally funded programs that have a board of directors elected from or appointed by various member reservations on the local level or from sections of the state on the state level. The Intertribal Council of California is an example of such an Indian organization. California Indians Legal Services is another organization funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity. It is given loose policy direction by a board composed of Indians appointed from various sections of the state and several lawyers appointed by the bar association. It hires lawyers and their staffs and consultants to provide legal assistance to Indians in California. The All-Mission Indian Housing Authority has all the powers of any "housing authority." It requires a legally certified resolution to join passed by the majority of members of a reservation. To have housing on tribal land under the All-Mission Indian Housing Authority, the tribe must develop a housing area plan and lease that portion of the reservation to the Housing Authority for 50 years.

United States Public Health Service, Indian Division, is responsible for safe domestic water supplies and sanitary disposal of sewage. Individual health is the individual's responsibility. California Rural Indian Health serves only the five reservations in the northern part of the county and receives federal funds through the State Public Health for transporting people to doctors and some health education classes. The South County Business Managers supervise an unfunded outpatient clinic for which they have obtained volunteer services. Mission Indian Development Corporation was set up by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to serve all southern California reservations but in fact serves only the Luiseño.

#### *Cultural Persistence*

Most Luiseño bands were in the 1970s enrolled on the reservations at La Jolla, Rincon, Pauma, Pechanga, Pala, and Soboba. In 1970 approximately one-third of the enrolled Luiseño resided on the reservations. Most others lived within a 20-mile radius in towns or on other reservations. A few lived in Los Angeles and other parts of California. Less than 1 percent lived in more distant areas. Some nonreservation Luiseño live in San Juan Capistrano and Oceanside. They are only vaguely organized as groups. The reservation groups are structured with elected councils, formal membership rolls, and articles of association.

Occupations are primarily in semiskilled or skilled categories, such as electricians, carpenters, cattle raisers, farmers, firemen, defense workers, domestics. Some are in professional positions such as teachers, professors, engineers, certified public accountants. Programs for the aged

and indigent, Medicare services, social security, and unemployment compensation are available on the same basis as for any other California citizen. Planning for improved housing and economic development of resources is actively taking place on all Luiseño reservations.

During the 1930s the Bureau of Indian Affairs day schools for southern California were gradually closed and before 1950 both grade-school and high-school students were in public schools. Educational achievement is highly valued and sought out. In the 1960s, numerous young people entered colleges throughout the state, and many adults were returning to college.

Most Luiseño in the 1970s were practicing Roman Catholics but retained an attenuated form of their pre-contact religion (fig. 10). Approximately 10 percent belong to Evangelical, Church of Christ, or other Protestant denominations. Pala Mission is active with the Verona Fathers servicing a Catholic chapel on each Luiseño reservation. A Roman Catholic elementary school has many of the Luiseño children enrolled at Pala. Major Catholic festivals are celebrated; and baptism, confirmation, marriages, funerals, and memorial services are important to most Luiseños. Protestant churches are active on La Jolla and Rincon reservations.

The original Luiseño culture persists in many forms, although it is sometimes not readily apparent to the outside observer. Philosophical assumptions (R.C. White 1957) are maintained as are certain rituals and shamanic practices. Surviving ceremonies include initiation for cult candidates, installation of religious chiefs, funerals, and clothes burning (R.C. White 1953).

While the Luiseño language is spoken by only a few elderly people, there is a revival of interest among the young and language classes have been organized. A language text has been written by a Luiseño, Villiana



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Fig. 10. Indian graveyard at Pala with personal possessions or gifts on top of the graves. Photograph probably by C.C. Pierce, about 1900.

Hyde (1971). Traditional amusements such as peon games and secularized songs and dances are continuing; Luiseño foods such as acorns, yucca, and wild game are still eagerly sought. Some traditional medicines and curing procedures are practiced, and traditional political concepts still function, although in new forms. Attitudes toward property, sexual roles, knowledge, power, isolationism, and leadership continue.

In the late 1800s fiestas celebrating saints' days for each reservation became a major activity for each Luiseño reservation, involving interreservation visitors for one, two, or three weekends of each year. These fiestas were active until about the 1920s when they were discouraged, sometimes forbidden, by the BIA. They had become a major mechanism for interreservation economic exchange as well as ceremonial, social, and political activities. They were revived after World War II on some reservations for social and fund-raising purposes.

A traditional feature indicating vigorous persistence is the peon game, a complex guessing game involving two competing groups of four players each and a referee supported by singers and magical formulas to acquire luck. To win the game, 16 counters must be acquired by guessing the ways in which black and white peons are held hidden in the hands by the opposing team. Large amounts of treasure goods and food stores were formerly wagered. Now large amounts of money are wagered on these games, which are played during fiestas. Teams represent families, and sometimes language groups or reservations. Both men and women play. The winning team and their backers are rewarded by large wagers. Individual players are renowned in the local Indian community if they possess peon skills.

### Synonymy

The Luiseños (both Juaneño and Luiseño proper) have been known by a variety of terms. The earliest use of the term Luiseño appears in Arroyo de la Cuesta (1821) and was used as the name for the language spoken by a group of Chumash living at San Luis Obispo Mission about 1821-1837. This term was later applied to the Indians living at San Luis Rey Mission (Coulter 1835:67). Pablo Tac, a young Luiseño man, gave several names for the inhabitants of Luiseño territory: Quechnajuichom (translated as 'the inhabitants of Quechla', that is, San Luis Rey), Sanjuanefios, and San Luiseños (Tac 1952:87). Coutts (ARCIA 1857:240) termed them San Luisenians, and variations of this term continue: San Luis Indians (Winder 1857:124), San Luis Rey (ARCIA 1872:682), San Luiseños (Bancroft 1874-1876, 1:460; Tac 1952:87; B.D. Wilson 1952), San Luisieños (Bancroft 1874-1876, 1:460). Kroeber (1907b:145) gives the terms Ghecham and Khecham (alternative spelling) for the Luiseños, the term being derived from *qéč* 'Mission San Luis Rey'; for

this Harrington (1933b:97) gives Juaneño *qé' eč*, Luiseño *qé' eš*. These terms appear to be the same as those given by Gatschet (1879:413) and Shea (1855:108): kechi and kechis respectively. In 1907 Kroeber termed the Indians living near Mission San Juan Capistrano Juaneño. Boscana's name for them, Acagchemem, appears to be a spelling of Juaneño *'axácmeyam* or Luiseño *'axášmayam* 'San Juan Capistrano people', derived from the name for the mission town, *'axáčme*, Luiseño *'axášmay* (Harrington 1933b:102). In the 1970s Luiseños tend to use the term San Luiseño when referring to themselves or to identify and call themselves by reservation or clan names.

### Sources

Historical sources on Luiseno begin with observations by Cabrillo in 1542 and Vizcaino in 1602. Later overland Spanish explorers (Portolá, Fages, and Mariner) described villages and activities. Mission records from San Luis Rey and San Juan Capistrano contain accounts of baptism, birth, marriage, and death. Ethnographic descriptions exist in the answers to *interrogatorios* as well as in various writings, of which Boscana's accounts (1933; see also Harrington 1934) are the most valuable. A neophyte's description (Tac 1952) adds further valuable ethnographic and historic data. Various archival resources were drawn upon by Engelhardt in his histories of various missions (1908-1915, 2, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1927). B.D. Wilson (1952) and the National Archives Luiseño files provide data about these people after the American conquest of California. In later years various federal commissions reported on the conditions of Luiseño peoples (Jackson and Kinney 1884; Smiley Commission 1891).

The earliest ethnographic account is that of Henshaw in 1884 (Henshaw 1972); the major ethnographic works begin with Sparkman (1905, 1908, 1908a), Du Bois (1904a, 1908a), and Kroeber (1906, 1908d, 1909b, 1917, 1925). They set the basic ethnographic frame to which other scholars have contributed. Gifford (1918, 1922) and Strong (1929) analyzed kinship, social organization, and ritual. Harrington, who collected extensively in the 1930s and 1940s, published (1933a, 1933b, 1934a) important new ethnographical and linguistic data. R.C. White (1963) established a new interpretation of Luiseño settlement pattern, social organization, and philosophy.

Major archival resources are: United States National Archives (War Records, Department of Pacific; Bureau of Indian Affairs files); John P. Harrington Collection, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution; Sparkman papers, Anthropological Archives, Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley; and the C.H. Merriam Collection, Archaeological Research Facility, University of California at Berkeley. Major collections of Luiseño artifacts are held at the Museum of

the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York; American Museum of Natural History, New York; the Smithsonian Institution; San Diego Museum of Man; Lowie Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley; and the Southwest Museum, Los Angeles. Other archival and

considerable photographic materials are available at the Huntington Library, San Marino, California; additional material can be found at the San Diego Historical Society Junipero Serra Museum, the San Diego Public Library, and in San Diego County records.