An Expedition to the Guaycura Nation in the Californias

Short Orientation
Chapter 1

A Short Orientation

On March 3, 1719, what the Jesuit missionary Clemente Guillén was to call, "An Expedition to the Guaycura Nation in the Californias," left the Royal Presidio of Loreto for the unknown south, and the land of the Guaycuras. We are going to go on another and more cerebral expedition to the Guaycura nation to try to rediscover something of its history and geography in this largely forgotten part of Baja California Sur, Mexico, which stretches from present-day Ciudad Constitución south towards La Paz, and at whose heart were the missions of Nuestra Señora de Los Dolores and San Luis Gonzaga.

At first glance such a project can hardly seem promising. One modern historian claimed that the mission of San Luis Gonzaga was the least mentioned of all the Jesuit missions in contemporary records, or by the old historians of the Order,[1] and described the country through which the Padre Guillén passed on a second expedition to La Paz as, "this broken and well-nigh impassable country, the worst in lower California."[2]

Even in Jesuit mission times it had a reputation as being both a rugged and sterile place, scarcely yielding its missionaries a crust of bread, and its Guaycura were seen as both primitive and intractable. Its missions were the first to disappear, and its history fell into oblivion. Even today traffic on the trans-peninsular highway speeds by to the west, but few strangers venture onto its dusty and rocky roads. The ancient heartland of the Guaycuras is all but forgotten.

Yet all this should not lead us to imagine that it does not have a history worth recovering. It has, indeed, a rich history that has been appearing piecemeal during the 20th century as important documents have been published, and it is a history that even has some notable features. Modern American California, for example, owes the Guaycura nation a special debt, for the suppression of its missions and the exile of its people were due, in part, to free up resources to found the new California missions in the north. Further, its missionaries have left us a portrait of the lives of the Guaycuras that allows us to see something of how ancient Americans must have lived. Our task, then, is to recover this history and assemble it into a whole, to begin to ask about its wider significance, and if we are lucky, to occasionally catch a glimpse of the magic that has drawn travelers to Baja California for generations. The land of the Guaycuras is, in fact, a microcosm of human history from its hunter-gatherers onward, and it turns out to be a surprisingly well-documented one so we are afforded the double pleasure of discovering a small piece of

history, and reflecting on what larger lessons it has to teach us.

Video

The video, ***An Expedition to the Guaycura Nation in the Californias***, is a visual companion to this book, providing vivid glimpses of the caves, missions and ranchos of the Guaycura nation. See back matter.

Acknowledgments

A mission era history of the Guaycura nation would not have been possible without the work of people like Ernest Burrus, Miguel León-Portilla, and W. Michael Mathes who published many of the documents that we will make use of here. The story of the missions of Los Dolores and San Luis Gonzaga naturally plays out against the panorama of Baja California Jesuit history as a whole, and our task in this regard has been made much easier by Harry Crosby's finely crafted *Antigua California*, and his *Last of the Californios* in regard to the time of the ranchos, a book which nurtured my fascination for Baja California long ago. Many librarians and curators helped me collect the materials that have gone into this book, and I owe particular thanks to the Interlibrary Loan service of the Klamath County Library, especially Inca Sefiane.

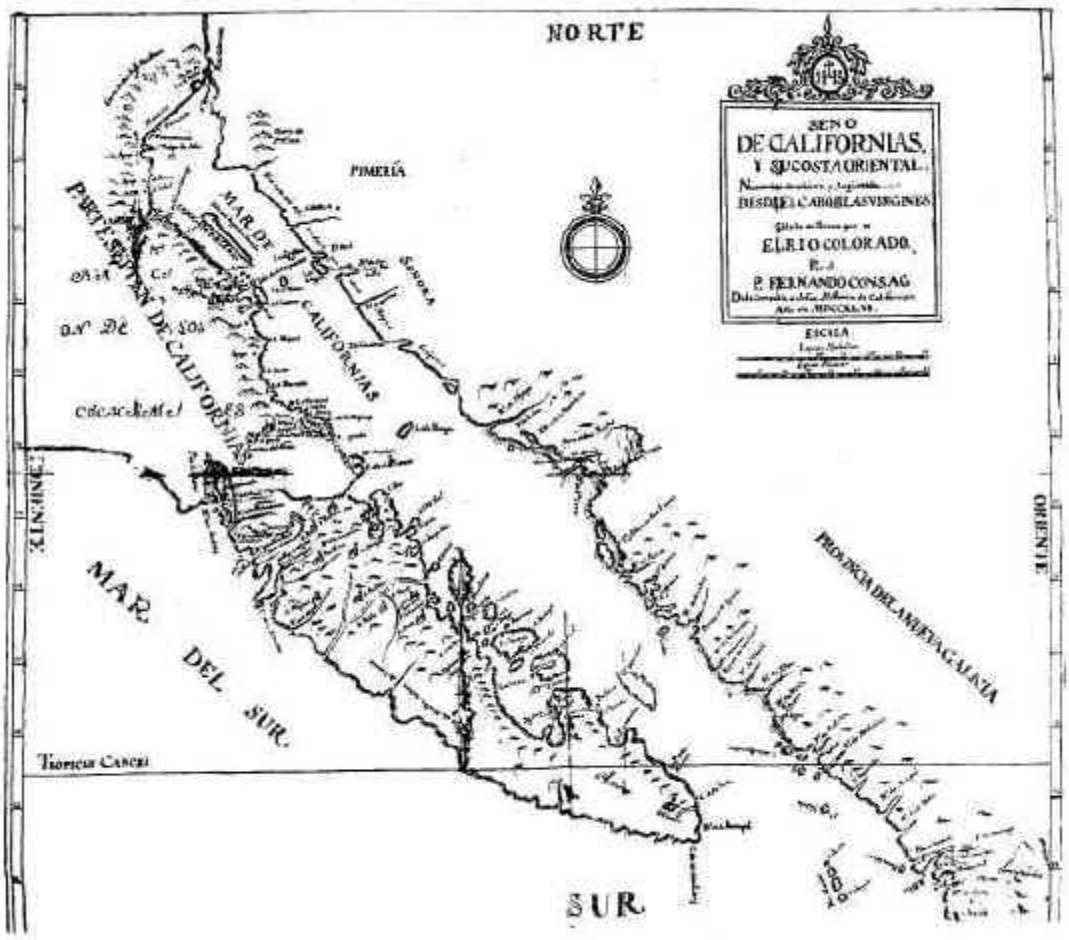
Hilda Silva Bustamente and her staff made us welcome at the Pablo Martínez Archive in La Paz, and she helped us obtain copies of important documents. Harumi Fujita and Quintín Muñoz Garayzar of the Anthropological Museum in La Paz encouraged our interest in the archaeology of Baja California, and Quintín traveled with us on our first visit to the rock shelters of the Guaycura nation, and he and his family have always made us feel at home.

Paul and Francisca Jackson have made our travels through Baja California Norte more pleasant, and the Madres Adoratrices of La Paz have always taken us in with warm smiles. Monseñor Juan Giordani who spent many years on the rocky roads of the Guaycura nation in his old pick-up truck building chapels in all its corners, right up until his death in January, 2001 at age 94, made us welcome in Las Pocitas, as Hermana Mercedes Hurtado Moreno does to this day.

And we owe special thanks to the people who live in the Guaycura nation today who over the years as we have traveled there have greeted us with the traditional hospitality of the sierras of Baja California.

A Note to the First Edition: We produced an experimental edition in November, 2002, and then an updated and reformatted first edition in October, 2003. For the most part, the changes in the text had to do with adding more material to Chapter 10, Archaeology in the

Guaycura Nation.



Map 1. Fernando Consag, 1746

Chapter 1

First Encounters

As far as we know, there never was a Guaycura nation, but rather, bands of hunter-gatherers, or rancherías, bound by linguistic and cultural bonds, and not above warfare among themselves. For Clemente Guillén, the Guaycura nation was these uncontacted bands who lived south of Loreto where the present highway leaves the Gulf coast and climbs into the Sierra de la Giganta, and north of La Paz, for this was to be his own mission

territory.

When Clemente Guillén set out from Loreto, the first mission and capital of California, in March, 1719, the heartland of the Guaycura nation had never been explored, but this is not to say its inhabitants had no knowledge of Europeans. In the early 16th century their land had seen the sporadic activities of explorers, pearlers, and the occasional pirate. Loreto had been founded in 1697, and word of it must have passed from Indian ranchería to ranchería.

The Spanish had been exploiting the oyster beds of the Gulf from their first voyages of exploration in the first half of the 16th century, which had included those off the Isla de San José and its smaller neighbor San Francisco just off the coast of Apaté where the mission of Los Dolores was to be founded, and the pearlers knew of its spring. Explorers had anchored in the bay of La Paz, or at the Cape, or along the West coast. The expedition of Sebastián Vizcaíno, for example, had sailed to the Bahía de Santa María Magdalena on the Pacific coast of the land of the Guyacuras, and had reported on fish traps made of poles that stretched for a mile there, and of a great number of Indians who had with them an incense made from the resin of the ciruelo tree.

Vizcaíno describes his 1602 expedition's encounter with the Indians of the Bahía de Santa María Magdalena: "There came out to the said ensign a large number of Indians from different places with their bows and arrows and fire-hardened darts, although in peace, they gave up their arms as a sign. They are well-formed people of good physique, although naked and living in rancherías; their ordinary food is fish and aloe root because there is a large quantity of them of many kinds, and they fish with weirs, and also have many clams and mussel."[1] The Vizcaíno expedition also anchored in the nearby cove of Santa Marina, "where Indians like the others came out to them, and as a sign of peace they gave them their arms, which are arrows and little darts of branches which they also use to fish."[2]

If nothing else, the Guaycuras of the interior must have heard of the massacre of the bay of La Paz Indians by Admiral Isidro de Atondo y Antillón on his ill-fated expedition of colonization to Baja California in 1681. As Padre Clemente described it: "As a result of this entry, some of the natives became more obstinate, rebellious, and averse to the Spaniards, because of the cruel action of the admiral, who as he withdrew and left a quantity of maize on shore, boarded his ships. As the Indians hastened to scoop up the grain, he fired a closely packed charge of small shot causing a large number of deaths among the natives. The massacre resulted in a horror of the Spaniards inherited from fathers to sons." The natives there, he goes on, are "completely unchecked, are most ferocious and angered because of Atondo's cruelty."[3]

The whole of the peninsula south of Loreto was going to prove to be difficult for the Spaniards to gain a foothold in, and just as difficult for them to keep. In July, 1704, for

example, when the Jesuit missionaries Juan María Salvatierra and Pedro de Ugarte, accompanied by the Spanish soldier Francisco Javier Valenzuela and two Indian interpreters, reconnoitered the Gulf coast south of Loreto, they were ambushed by the Monquí, part of the greater Guaycura family, and only a heroic one-man charge by Valenzuela, which so surprised and terrified the Indians that they prostrated themselves on the ground, saved the day.

The mission of San Juan Malibat had been founded among the Monquí at Liguí in 1705 by Padre Juan de Ugarte, and had always been rather ill-fated, and its history was not going to change. Ugarte had enthusiastically enticed the Indian children to dance and sing as they trod the adobe mud in order to make bricks for the church, and he had successfully confronted the local demon of the mountains *Monquimon*, but he had founded the mission in a location that lacked adequate water.[4]

Another entrada along the Gulf coast in 1706 by Jaime Bravo, Capitán Esteban Rodríguez Lorenzo and seven soldiers, along with some Indians, ended in disaster. Some of the soldiers came upon a fire where the Guaycuras had been grilling fish, and had left behind some fish livers. Despite the warnings of the Indians that these livers from the botete fish were extremely poisonous, they proceeded to sample them in various degrees. Two of them died.[5]

Clemente Guillén

Clemente Guillén de Castro (1677-1748) was born in Zacatecas, Mexico, and joined the Jesuits at Tepotxotlán in 1696.[6] Miguel de Venegas in his life of Juan María Salvatierra, the founding missionary of California, tells us that Salvatierra, when he met Guillén and Juan de Guenduláin as novices, prophesied: "You will both go to California, but one will remain and one will return." Guillén, after teaching grammar and reading philosophy in Oaxaca, was to request the California missions, and die there. And Guenduláin as a Jesuit *visitador general*, charged with inspecting the missions of the northwest province of New Spain, toured California and returned.[7]

But prophecy or no, Guillén's arrival in California was anything but propitious. He set out in 1713 with two fellow missionaries, Benito Ghisi and Jacobo Doye, but the boat they sailed on was so poorly constructed that its sailors feared to embark on it, and their fear was confirmed when it broke apart in a storm. Ghisi was caught below deck and drowned, and Guillén and Doye with some of the crew clung to the stern and were washed back up on the mainland.[8] This tragedy illustrates a constant theme in Jesuit mission history. They were dependent throughout their stay in California on supplies, including wheat and corn, from the mainland, and yet they often had inadequate transportation for those vital necessities. And the loss of this boat was to also delay the much desired opening of the

South.[9] Padre Clemente finally arrived in Loreto in 1714, and soon after was assigned to the mission of Liguí, some 20 miles to the south.

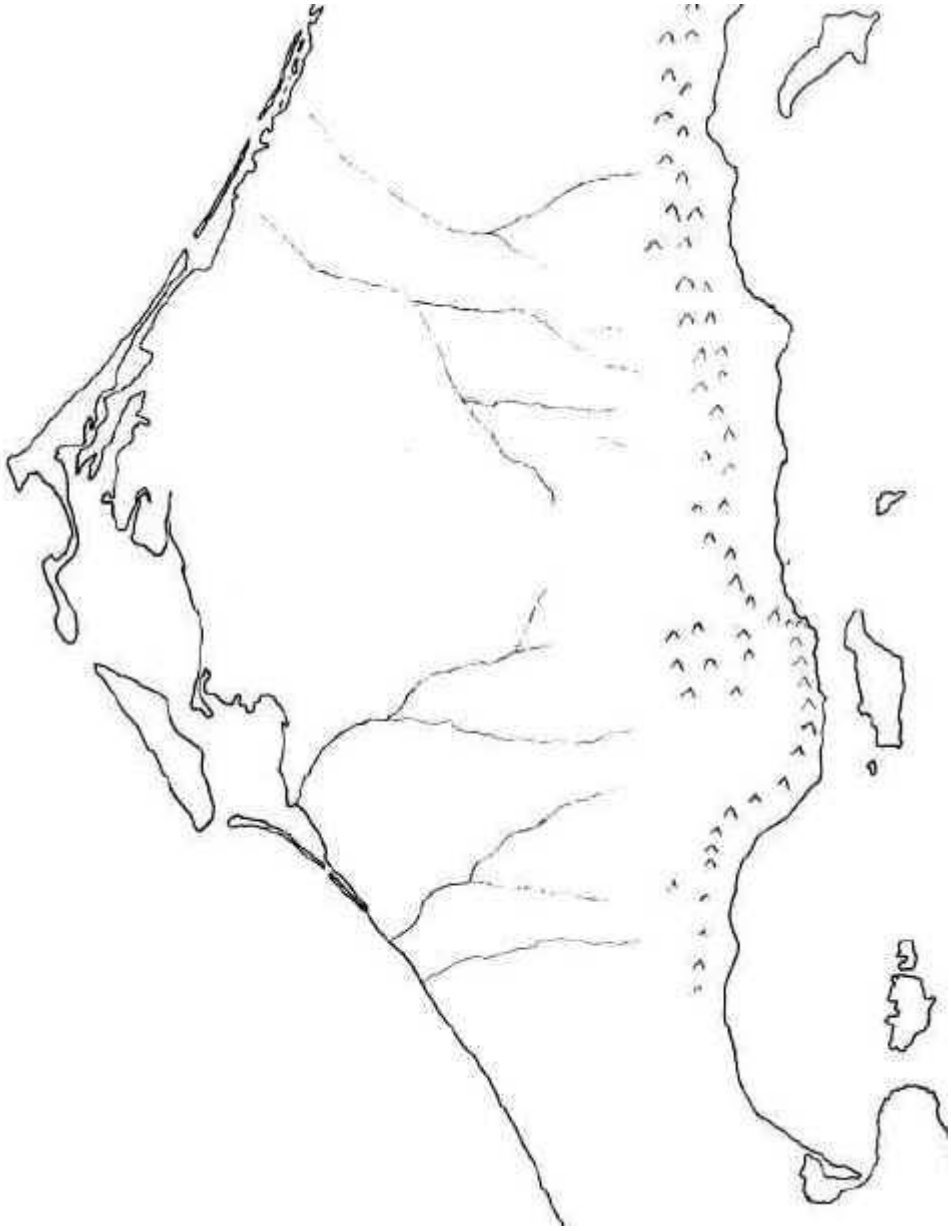
By the time Guillén arrived, it was without a resident missionary, and he, himself, was to remain there intermittently from 1714 to 1721. During this time the mission was subjected to a series of damaging raids by the Pericú from the Isla de San José who plundered the church, and who, in turn, were punished by a Spanish expedition from Loreto. The mission also suffered from a lack of alms, for its benefactor had gone bankrupt, as well as from a scarcity of fresh water. And most of all its neophytes had been reduced to a small number by repeated epidemics, and therefore could easily be taken care of by the neighboring mission of Loreto. Therefore it was decided to abandon the mission and found a new one.

In 1716, Salvatierra, along with Capitán Rodríguez and soldiers and Indian converts from Loreto, went to La Paz by ship hoping to open the south to missionary activity, and to find a port for the Manila galleons. With them were three Guaycura who had been captured before in the La Paz area, who they were going to liberate in order to show their good intentions. But the Loreto Indians ranged ahead of the Spaniards and encountered some Guaycuras, and as the Guaycuras fled, they trapped some of the women and killed them, effectively ending this attempt to open up the South.

But on the whole European activity was on the fringes of the Guaycura nation, and thus Guillén's first journeys had both the fascination and danger of first encounters for both sides. For the first time the Indians were to come face to face with the Spaniards and their weapons and clothes, their horses and mules, and their very desirable food and gifts. The Spaniards, for their part, had two goals. One was to expedite the discovery of a port for the supply of the Manila galleons who, after their long Pacific voyage, were in dire need of fresh water and food. The other was to prepare for the evangelization of the Guaycura nation.

Physical Geography

The land of the Guaycuras that the Guillén party was about to enter consisted of mountains to the east which often extended to the Gulf, and plains to the west. (Map 2) Water, while never abundant, was to be found more often in the east, while the western plains were much drier. The land was cut by a series of dry river beds, or arroyos, which sometimes contained springs, and on occasion filled with the roaring waters of flash floods. But periodic droughts could last for years. In terms of rainfall, it was a desert, but this desert of rock and thorns was filled in places with brush and small trees, as well as desert plants, and occasionally there was a small oasis.



Map 2: The Physical Geography of the Guaycura nation

The Expeditions of Clemente Guillén

Fortunately, Padre Guillén left us detailed descriptions of his two expeditions. Peter Dunne, a modern Jesuit historian, called these trip journals of 1719 and 1720 "long and prolix."[10] But that was only because he read them as a stranger would read a long list of place names in a country he had no personal experience of, rather like us reading a phone book. In actual fact, they are the practical notes of an explorer who is opening up a new land for those who will come after him. Read in this way they are a gold mine of

information not only for their occasional ethnological insights, but because they help us reconstruct a geography of the Guaycura nation, and glimpse this country at the moment that it was first revealed to European eyes. On both journeys, the Spaniards and their Indian companions from the missions to the north made use of local guides whenever possible, and followed the Indian foot paths from ranchería, or Indian gathering place, to ranchería, sometimes struggling to improve them to allow the passage of their horses and mules.

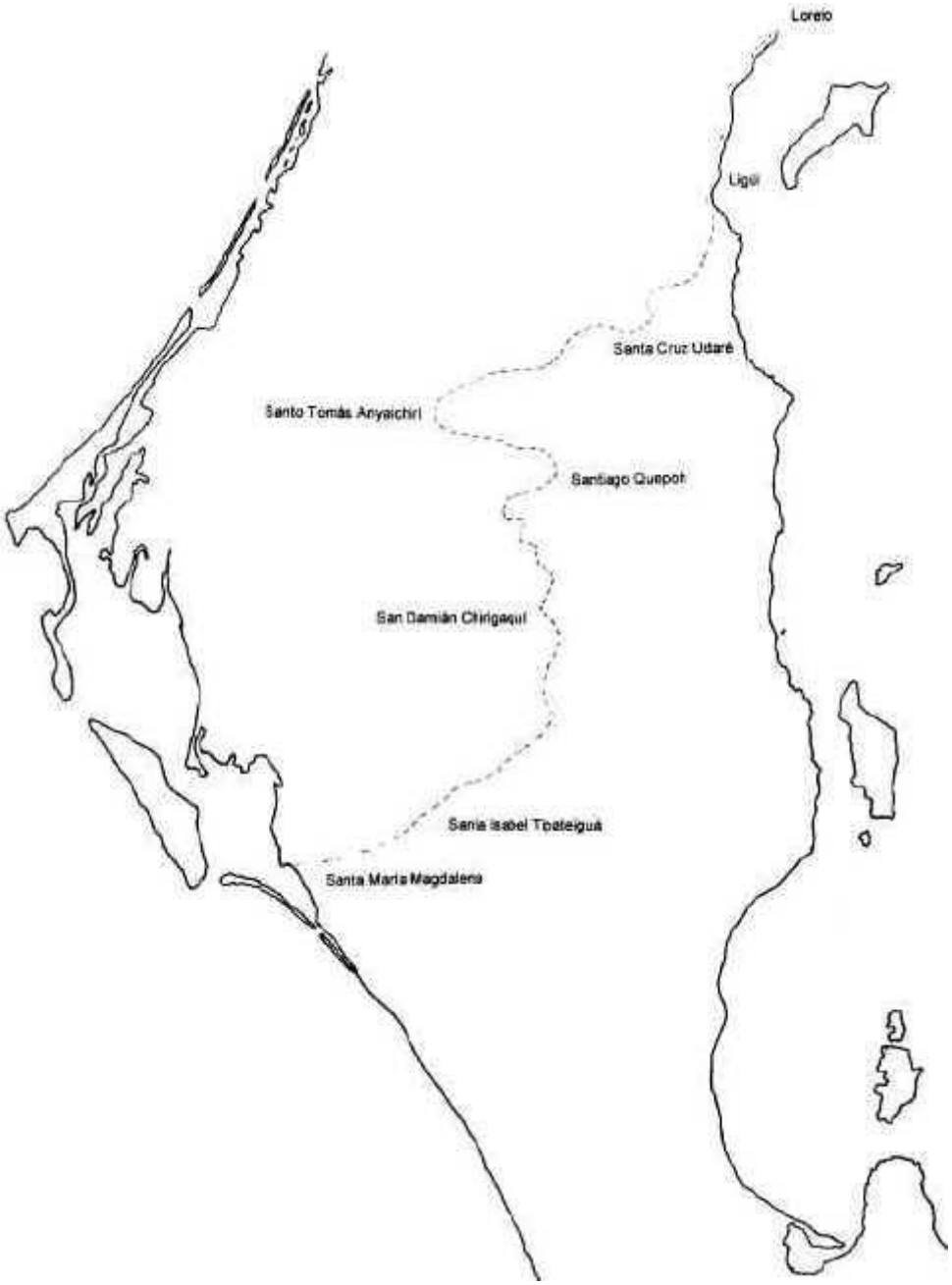
A Guaycura Geography

If we put the geographical information found in Guillén's expeditions, together with other early missionary accounts as well as surviving place names, we arrive at a Guaycura geography. (Map 3) The names in parentheses are rancherías for which only the Spanish names have come down to us. This map is, no doubt, skewed because we know the names of places where the missionaries traveled and recorded their journeys. This leaves the Pacific coast rather empty. Yet Guaycura territory on the west coast stretched down towards La Paz in the south and north along the west coast past San Javier. The rancherías are best thought of as the hunter-gatherer bands, themselves, and their favorite haunts which had water, at least in certain seasons.

Map 3. A Guaycura Geography

The 1719 Expedition

"An Expedition to the Guaycura Nation in the Californias," begins Padre Clemente's journal of 1719, "and the discovery by land of the great Bay of Santa María Magdalena on the Pacific Ocean. Under the command of Captain Don Esteban Rodríguez Lorenzo, the first conqueror of California, with a squad of twelve Spanish soldiers from the Royal Presidio of Nuestra Señora de Loreto and another of fifteen friendly Indians and two interpreters. Beginning on the 3rd of March of this year, 1719."[11] (Map 4)



Map 4. The 1719 Expedition

March 3, 1719. Captain Rodríguez leaves Loreto and goes to the ranchería of Nautrig, or Notri where the horses and mules are. He travels four leagues that day, which is roughly 20 kilometers, or 10 miles, but the length of a league in Guillen's hands was probably quite flexible and influenced by the difficulty of the terrain.[12]

March 4. The expedition goes up Chuenque Grade which falls precipitously into the

sea, and after 5 leagues reaches Liguí where they pick up Padre Clemente at his mission of San Juan Malibat.

March 5. "We left San Juan Malibat …"[13] They advance another 5 leagues climbing the Sierra de Santa Ursula and stop near the promontorio de San Nicolás. Both names appear unknown today, but the route seems to follow that of the present highway where it climbs into the sierra south of Juncalito.

March 6. 5 more leagues to Udaré which they baptize Santa Cruz Udaré and where they find some Guayacurans from Cunupaqui, home of one of the interpreters. The rancho of Santa Cruz is still active, and the name Cunupaqui (Cunopaqui) lives on as the name of an arroyo to the southeast. The Cunupaqui are invited to bring their children to be baptized at Cuatiquié.

March 7. 7 leagues following the arroyo of Santa Cruz brings them to Cuatiquié where they rendezvous with the Cunupaqui, baptize the children, and stay over.

March 9. 6 more leagues bring them to Anyaichirí (the present-day ranch of Andachire). That night a local Indian leader gives them a fervid oration about the dangers they face from the Indians in the south, all the while moving his bow and arrows in time to his words.

March 10. 5 leagues to Quiairá in the vicinity of Jesús María.

March 11. 4 leagues to Quepoh in the area of the present-day ranch of San

Miguel Quepoh. The Spaniards please the Indians by singing hymns.

March 12. 4 leagues to Querequaná (probably in the area of Los Cerritos) led by guides regaled with tobacco, knives, blankets and sack cloth.

March 13. 3 leagues to Tiguana.[14]

March 14. 3 leagues to Cutoiqué near Tepentu.

March 15. 6 leagues to Codaraqui which may be near modern Codey. The natives give them a visor, or crown, as a symbol of friendship.

March 16. 5 leagues to Chirigaqui which is the present-day mission of San Luis Gonzaga. The natives act suspiciously in the eyes of the Spaniards who are fearful of ambushes, but nothing happens. Here the soldiers are described as "cutting branches," that is, getting forage for the animals from mesquite or dipúa trees, and the Indians are living in huts (ranchos), which most likely meant flimsy low brush shelters, rather than more permanent homes.

March 17. They rest here.

March 18. Once again the Spaniards are suspicious because the guides who promised to take them to the south to Anirituguć, (Iritú?) which is to the south, guide them up a wash to the east for 2 leagues where they encounter a large number of Indians in the arroyo, with the women safely out of the way seated on a high bank. The expedition parades by them in good order. In this way they arrive at Cuedené, probably modern day Cuedán. There are 7 rancherías in the area. Guillén tells us the expedition has a "carriage," which W. Michael Mathes, the translator of this text into English calls, "an ammunition carriage, similar to a caisson."[15] This carriage probably made the trip more difficult, because the explorers were already using a great deal of energy to improve the Indian foot paths for their animals, and there is no evidence that it was used on the expedition to La Paz the following year.

March 19. West 5 leagues past 5 arroyos to Adagué, probably in the area of rancho San Andrés. They explore to the southwest down the arroyo, and climb a hill from which they see the mountains on Isla Margarita in the Bahía de Santa María Magdalena.

March 20. Arrive at San Joaquín (no Indian name given) one and a half leagues away, and see fenced areas that the Indians used in hunting rabbits.

March 21. 5 leagues to Santa Ana del Espanto passing rancherías. In one of them they see blood-stained and broken bows and signs of a human body being dragged. This is an indication of the warfare carried on by neighboring rancherías. During the night watch Ignacio de Acevedo claims to have seen a ghost in a tree.

March 22. Following the bed of the arroyo for 5 leagues they arrive at a little island in it, Santa Isabel Tipateiguá. An advance party has been exploring ahead of them and reporting back for the past few days in order to determine the best route to the bay. This party now comes upon Indians at San Benito Aruí, so busy hunting rats that they don't hear the Spaniards until they are on top of them. In surprise, they blow their whistles to alert their companions and threaten to fight.[16] The explorers calm them and give them hardtack and little gifts, and receive feathers and deer skins in return.

March 23. The whole party travels 5 and a half leagues to San Benito Aruí. The advance party reaches an estuary surrounded by thick mangroves.

March 24. Captain Rodríguez tries to find a route to the Bay of Santa María Magdalena. The Taconoparé come to camp and the explorers give them some striking feathers in order to encourage them to show them the way to a water hole on the bay.

March 25. There is a spring at Aruí, but the Spaniards go back to Tipateiguá where there is pasture for the animals.

March 26. *Cabo*, or Corporal Francisco Cortés de Monroy sets out to find a route to the bay and travels 17 leagues. Near some dry lakes they find some abandoned huts (ranchos) and fences (casillas) of cardon.

March 27. Monroy goes on and after 3 leagues arrives at the sea opposite Isla Margarita at one of the channels into the bay, and they see whales going in and out. Exploring the shores of the bay, they find an Indian trying to burn mangroves who guides them to the ranchería of Santa María Magdalena. There is a well there, and the explorers try to water their animals by scooping the water out with the Indians' containers made of roots and rushes. The Indians give Francisco de Rojas a mother-of-pearl shell, but say that it came from the Gulf. Monroy leads the expedition back towards Aruí.

March 28. Monroy arrives at Aruí, then goes on to Tipateiguá.

March 29. More explorations down the wash of Aruí.

March 30. Due to the exhaustion of the animals, the Captain decides not to explore further south towards Cabo San Lucas. They leave Tipateiguá and go 6 leagues to Santa María Tacanoparé.

March 31. The explorers take a more direct route and reach Quedené after 7 leagues.

April 1. They arrive at San Francisco de Buena Vista between Chirigaqui and Codaraqui on the Quedené arroyo. 6 leagues.

April 2. 7 leagues. Arrive at Cutoigué.

April 3. 3 leagues to San Andrés Tiguana and explore the area of the arroyo.

April 4. 3 leagues to Querequaná. Explore upstream.

April 5. More explorations of the Querequaná area.

April 6. 4 leagues to Santiago Quepoh. Explore 3 leagues to Tiqenendegá.

April 7. 1 league to Aenatá. Explore the area. The infants of Quiapá are baptized.

April 8. 6 leagues through heavy brush to Aquirí, stopping at Candapán, territory of the Indians of Anyaichirí. This is the same arroyo as Udaré, which is at the end of the Guaycura territory, "although on the opposite coast they extend further to the northeast."[17]

April 9. Arrive at Cajalchimín.

April 10. On to Omobichimincajal in the arroyo of San Javier.

April 11. On to Cajalloguoc in the same arroyo.

April 12. Arrive at San Pablo where Juan de Ugarte welcomes them.

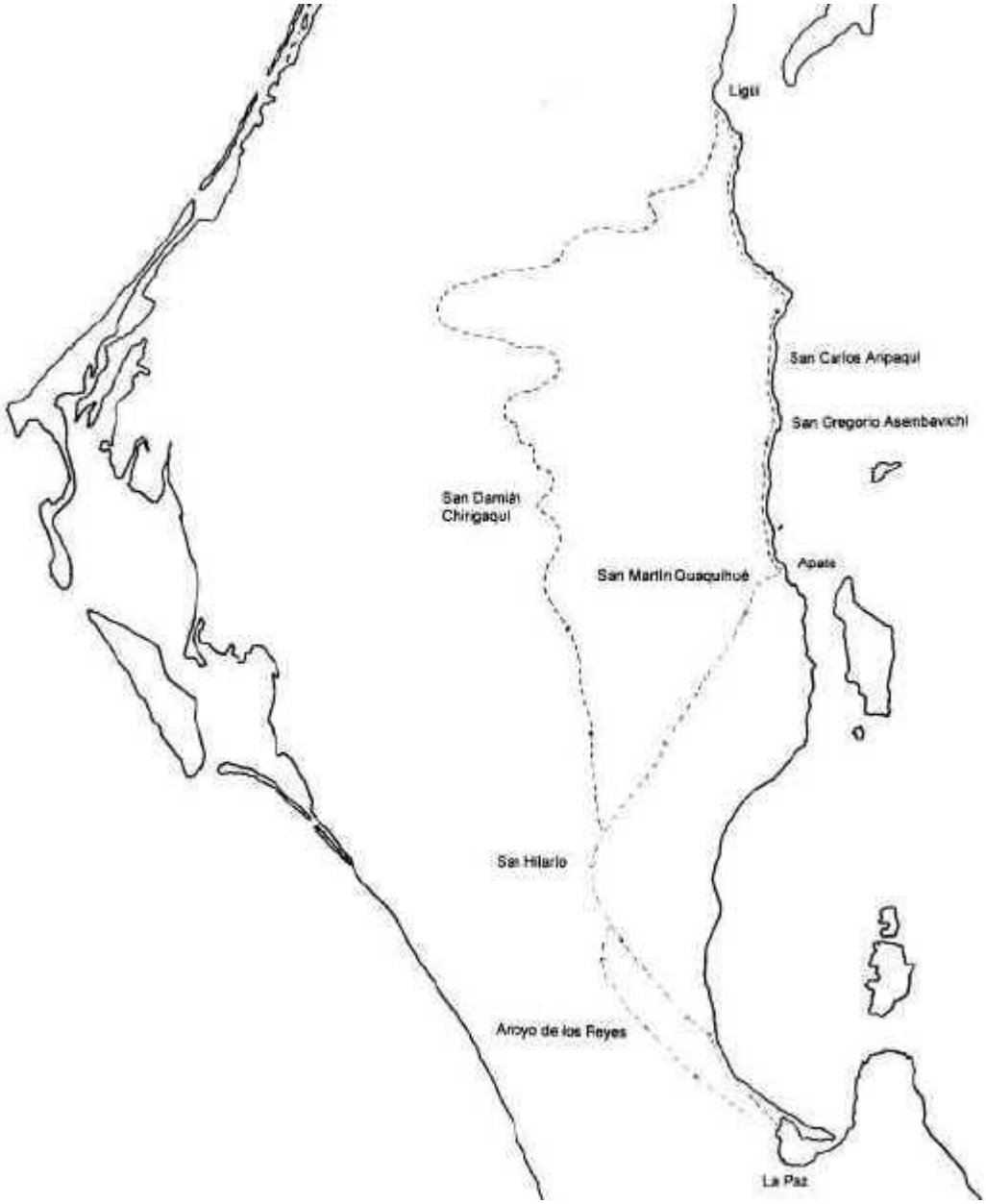
April 13. Pass through San Javier.

April 14. They descend the sierra to Loreto where they are greeted with joy.

While the trip to the Bay was a failure in terms of finding a harbor for the Manila galleons because of the lack of water, and thus the inability for a mission to be established there, the second objective had been achieved. Contact had been made with many rancherías in the Guaycura nation. The Guaycura country was now open for the establishment of a mission. Soon an ambitious plan was set in motion to open up the South. It called for the creation of not one mission, but two. Juan de Ugarte had just built *El Triunfo de la Cruz*, the first boat constructed in Baja California by laboriously hauling timbers from the Sierra de Guadalupe. Its first task would be to take Padre Jaime Bravo and Ugarte to the Bay of La Paz to establish a mission there while Clemente Guillén would lead an overland expedition to La Paz and choose an intermediate mission site along the way. Then La Paz would be joined to Loreto not only by the sea, whose storms often made travel precarious, but by land, as well.

The 1720 Expedition

"Expedition by Land from the Mission of San Juan Malibat to the Bay of La Paz on the Gulf of California, 1720."[18] It consists of 3 soldiers, 4 servants, and 13 Indians from San Juan Malibat and Loreto.[19] (Map 5) The actual manuscript of this diary, in contrast to the one of 1719, has enough corrections and signs of heavy usage to make us wonder if we don't have before us the original pages that Guillén wrote on this rugged journey. The title of the manuscript has crossed out *en Californias* and so matches the *en Californias* of the 1719 diary. Guillén gives as one of the soldier's names Ignacio de Rojas, but he inadvertently starts writing Ignacio, and then Acq_a_, which might be a clue to the name of one of the other soldiers on this journey. [20]



Map 5. The 1720 Expedition

Monday, Nov. 11. The expedition leaves Liguí and travels 6 leagues to Catechiguajá.

Nov. 12. They arrive at Pucá, the end of Laimón territory.

Nov. 13. The sea is rough, so instead of sending their supplies to Apaté, they make the fateful decision to transport everything overland by mule. In contrast to the El Triunfo de la Cruz which sailed to La Paz with a stop at the Isla de San José in 3 days, Guillén's expedition was going to take a total of 26.

Nov. 14. 7 leagues to Acurí where the Guaycura, or Cuvé, nation begins.

Nov. 15. 5 leagues to San Carlos Aripaquí over 2 difficult summits.

Nov. 16. To Asembavichí. (Timbabichi) 3 leagues. The explorers see saline deposits and grinding stones.

Nov. 17. 7 leagues to Cohué = Cogué. 2 more leagues exploring to Acui, a small water hole.

Nov. 18. Arrive at Apaté after 4 leagues. Thus far the expedition has been traveling along the coast. At Apaté Guillén finds that salt water has seeped into the wells, but about a league up the arroyo there is running water from two springs in a limestone mountain, and from water coming from higher up in the arroyo. There are also two patches of land along the arroyo that give the promise of irrigating crops. This is to be the site of the new mission of Nuestra Señora de Los Dolores. Padre Clemente writes: "All of this is the best area we have found."[21]

Nov. 19. But now the most difficult part of the journey begins. The way along the coast is blocked because the sierra falls into the sea. They are forced inland up into the Sierra del Tesoro. An advance party reaches Devá whose natives blow whistles in alarm, but the Aripaquí who are serving as guides calm them.

Nov. 20. The whole party goes up the 3 leagues to Devá, a place with grass and marshy spots.

Nov. 21. 3 leagues of difficult trail to avoid marshes in order to reach Quaquihué. (Kakíwi) They explore 2 leagues further toward Ichudairí. The route from here on is much harder to connect with modern place names.

Nov. 22. The explorers arrive at Caembehué after 6 leagues of difficult trail.

Nov. 23. Half league down a very rocky wash to Santa Felicitas. The Spaniards want to return to the coast in order to be sure they will find La Paz. An advance party goes out, but the guides take them by error 6 leagues to the northeast. From the top of a mountain they see San Evaristo on the Gulf.

Nov. 24. 5 leagues to Arecú. Then a party explores again toward the coast but cannot go through the mountains, and so they must head south.

Nov. 25. 3 leagues to Santa Catalina de los Miradores. The explorers try again to find a way to the coast with no success.

Nov. 26. 2 leagues to Los Desposorios de Nuestra Señora. Another attempt to reach the Gulf.

Nov. 27. They stay in camp to explore the mountains that prevent them from reaching the

coast. They sight the Bay of La Paz and its palm groves 12 leagues away. The rough terrain is taking its toll. Juan Antonio de Covarrubias collapses, probably from heat exhaustion. The advance party is out all night and limps in the next day.

Nov. 28. A rest day. A council is held about whether it is better to go back because supplies are getting low, or to push on to La Paz. They decide to go on despite the fact they will soon be reduced to eating agave and yucca, and even their horses.

Nov. 29. More explorations to find a way through the mountains.

Nov. 30. 5 leagues to San Andrés del Paredón. Some of the Indian guides slip away for fear of enemy rancherías and hunger.

Dec. 1. One and a half leagues along an arroyo to San Saturnino del Pedernal.

Dec. 2. Santa Bibiana de los Averías. 6 leagues. They found in "a small declivity a great many flints finer than any thus far found in this land."[22]

Dec. 3. 4 leagues to the northeast.

Dec. 4. 4 leagues to the north and then 2 leagues to the east and down a steep slope through the brush, and finally after 2 more leagues they reach the sea. They determine that La Paz is still off to the south. They arrive at San Xavier de las Batuecas.

Dec. 5. A half a league along the beach until a cliff forces them inland. They go 6 leagues, keeping to the beach when possible.

Dec. 6. 10 leagues. There are more cliffs, but between 3 and 4 in the afternoon they arrive at the estuary that separates them from La Paz and see that El Triunfo de la Cruz is still in port. Canoes transport them to the new mission site where they are greeted by Jaime Bravo. The men recover and are soon helping to build the mission. During the construction, a bell (cascabel) of "ancient manufacture" is dug up. Perhaps this was a small bell used as trade goods by previous explorers. [23]

Members of the Guillén party explore to the southeast and encounter a group of Indians who flee on their approach, leaving them wondering whether they were Guaycuras or Cubíes. The place where they came upon these Indians Guillén tells us was not a ranchería "because the natives did not have water, and they were only searching for food."[24] They go on another expedition to the west and northwest. They are not going to try to repeat the last part of their route to La Paz. Juan de Ugarte has sailed to Loreto and brought back supplies, and now he will return with some of the expedition's worn out Indian allies who are going back to the mission at Liguí. [25]

1721

Jan. 10. They leave for Liguí and go 3 leagues. Their supplies are transported across the bay

to spare the mules.

Jan. 11. They go up the arroyo de los Reyes 6 leagues.

Jan. 12. They continue along the arroyo, and after 4 leagues they realize they had seen part of this trail on their way south. They go 2 leagues further up into the mountains and come to a waterfall.

Jan. 13. They leave the arroyo de los Reyes and arrive at San Felix de las Coras. The people flee, leaving 3 children behind. At sunset men and women return to the ranchería. The women hide themselves, but one old lady comes down while the men are still up on the heights, shouting in Cora "which our friends the Cubíes do not understand."[26]

Jan. 14. 8 leagues finds them at San Higinio del Guaycuro which they characterize as a ranchería of Guaycuras, or Cubíes. They continue and encounter their old trail once again, having arrived at the arroyo of Santa Bibiana de las Averías below where they had passed going south. They call this new stopping place San Hilario.

Jan. 15. They explore down this arroyo and find a good supply of running water and land for planting. They return to San Hilario and follow their old trail 5 leagues to San Saturnino.

Jan. 16. They follow the old trail one and a half leagues and meet some Indians who guide them to Pacudaraquihué. They give the natives sandals, tobacco, knives and feathers, and receive, in turn, feathers, ribbons, braiding the Indians use in their hair, and flints. Then the Spanish make a mistake. One of the Indians tells them that he cannot come into the ranchería because his father-in-law was there. This was probably some sort of taboo. The Spanish laugh and the Indians are later hostile to them.

The explorers are looking for a better route and ask the natives to lead them to Chiyá. Perhaps the Spanish had heard of this place which was to become the second site of the mission of Los Dolores when they were passing through the area around Apaté.

Jan. 17. Thirty Indians from Pacudaraquihué accompany them to Remeraquí, and when they near it they string their bows and run to the ranchería. Tension is in the air. One of the Spaniards spurs his horse and jumps over a large clump of brush to impress the Indians. The Spanish present the Indians with feathers which are a sign of friendship. The Indians respond with ribbons, feathers, braided cord, and lances with flint tips.

Jan. 18. The Indians come to the camp and ask the natives who are with the Spaniards to run, for it is the custom for those receiving a visit to go out and meet the visitors, and then for all of them to run to the ranchería. The Spaniards, however, are suspicious of the invitation. Tension builds. Indians follow the Spaniards instead of going ahead of them. One jabs the Corporal's horse. Another jabs the horse of another soldier. One of the Indians with the Spaniards is asked where the Spaniards' bows are and whether they are

women, and whether the Spaniards are afraid, and if afraid, why did they come? In this way the explorers reach Aripité. The Spaniards want to go on to Cuedené, and after some hesitation, 30 Indians go with them, but the Spaniards worry that others have remained behind to plot an attack. On leaving Aripité they see a pitahaya cactus broken into pieces and some of the larger parts of it pinned to the ground with sharpened sticks. This is understood as a declaration of war. They go on to Anirituhué, leaving many of the Indians from the previous ranchería behind. They exchange gifts and receive arrows and little flint-tipped lances. They go on to Cuedené and then to Chirigaguí, passing 2 rancherías along the way for a total of 12 leagues.

Jan. 19. They leave early and pass near Codaraguí, then pass Cutoihuí and Tiguaná without finding people because in this season they are in the mountains collecting agaves. They arrive at Guerequaná for a total of 12 leagues.

Jan. 20. 4 leagues to Aenatá, passing Quepoh and Fiquenendegá.

Jan. 21. 5 leagues to Quatiquié, passing Onduchah, a branch of the Anyaichiri people and Candapan.

Jan. 22. 6 leagues. Arrive at Udaré where 3 of the Indians who have accompanied them are from. The head man of the Anyaichirí is there, and the three report the hostility of the Pemeraquí and Aripité. In the most silent part of the night the head man makes an oration against these Indians. This was, perhaps, the same head man who had given an oration at the beginning of the 1719 expedition. (March 9, 1719)

Jan. 23. After 8 or 9 leagues they arrive at Liguí.

Guillén's trip journals contain a wealth of topographical detail, only hinted at this summary, and it would probably be possible to reconstruct the routes of these expeditions in detail, and attempt to follow them out on the ground. Such a modern expedition to the Guaycura nation would not only be an exciting adventure, but could possibly provide a rich harvest of information about the Indian rancherías and the early ranchos that followed them.

These first encounters generated strong and conflicting emotions on both sides ranging from fear to exhilaration, and what was set in motion was the collision of two cultural universes, not only in the material sense, but much more profoundly in an inner psychological sense. This collision will now start to play itself out against the stark background of infectious diseases that might have been introduced into the Guaycura nation by these very expeditions.

An Expedition to the Guaycura Nation in the Californias

Chapter 2: Misión Nuestra Señora de Los Dolores

The missions of Nuestra Señora de Dolores and San Luis Gonzaga still dominate our historical awareness of the Guaycuras, for it has been from the writings of the missionaries that we have derived most of what we know about them. It comes as a bit of a shock, then, to realize that this mission era in the Guaycura nation lasted just 47 years in contrast to the rancho era, which has already lasted more than 200 years, and the prehistory of the area which, no doubt, extends back many thousands of years. The Jesuit mission story centers principally around three Jesuit missionaries: Clemente Guillén, whom we have already met, Lamberto Hostell, and Jacobo Baegert.

Clemente Guillén

On Guillén's return from his expedition to La Paz, he confers with his superior Francisco María Píccolo. Píccolo wants him to take over the mission of Loreto when he dies, and he wants to establish a new mission between Liguí and La Paz. In 1702, Píccolo had written an enthusiastic description of California which hardly matched the facts of the matter. As Harry Crosby put it, he described the California peninsula "in terms that would make a modern real estate swindler blush,"[1] and when it came to this new mission his enthusiasm had not abated. He writes on July 17, 1721: "a beautiful and spacious area has been found, suitable for a mission, because of the large number of natives living in the vicinity and the lands watered by nine springs which produce a large volume. And as Father Clemente also visited the place, I authorized him to plant some corn (since it was easy to secure irrigation water for it) and to prepare the area for establishing Mission Dolores. Thus, the missionary who goes there will find it off to a good start and with peaceful natives. I hope that you can send me Father Cristóbal Laris to take charge of this new mission of Dolores… it is most imperative to settle the area between these missions and El Pilar de la Paz, a distance, as all maintain, of more than 100 leagues. Recently, a contingent of 8 soldiers, who drove some colts and horses to

Father Jaime at La Paz, took 29 days to reach him and 18 to return, traveling the entire time through the lands of unconverted Indians."[2] The trip to La Paz actually took 26 days going, and 14 days returning, and, as Bravo has told us, there were 3 soldiers and 4 servants.

It is Guillén, however, who will actually found the mission of Los Dolores at Apaté in August, 1721, "in order," he writes later, "to reduce to the obedience of the Holy Church and His Majesty the numerous and barbarous Waicura nation."[3] The mission is to be supported by a donation of 10,000 pesos by Marqués Joseph Villapuente, and he may have brought with him some of his converts from Liguí.[4]

Guillén's capsule summary of the objectives of the mission symbolizes the general Jesuit mission program and its drawbacks. The Indians are to be eventually encouraged to leave their scattered rancherías for the mission and its stations, or pueblos, where they will learn not only how to be Christians, but subjects of the Spanish crown. But the mission, sometimes poorly sited as was Liguí, itself, is then left with the intractable problem of trying to feed and clothe the Indians, which is a task they often cannot adequately carry out on their own for want of suitable land, sufficient water, and trained workers. This leaves them with the need for continuing subsidies in the form of supplies from the mainland that have to be shipped to California. The Indians thus gathered together begin to rapidly lose their own culture, and sometimes even their language, and become prime targets for European infectious diseases.

Despite Padre Píccolo's fulsome praise, the mission site at Apaté was never an optimal one, but the springs and the bit of land that could be irrigated, together with its closeness to the sea which would facilitate communication with Loreto, induced Guillén to first put the mission there. The majority of the Indians, however, as he would soon discover, were up in the Sierra del Tesoro, in Chiyá, and beyond.

1725 Letter to Casafuerte

On Sept. 25, 1725 Clemente Guillén wrote from Loreto to the *Virrey* Marqués de Casafuerte in his new capacity as *padre visitador*, or superior of the California missions, a job he was to keep until 1728. The letter illustrates a basic trait of the Californian missionary enterprise, which is the close alliance of missionary activity with military force. "Experience alone has shown that, unless force backs up reasoning, missionaries can accomplish little or

nothing."[5] He wants 25 more soldiers to be added to the 25 that are stationed in California. This will further the cause of opening more missions in the south, and thus create a refuge for the Manila galleons, as well. To build his case he recounts recent problems and squirmishes with the Indians in order to demonstrate the need for this police force. Capitán Rodríguez, for example, had been fighting the Uchití around La Paz who had murdered several people. He had been "seriously wounded by an arrow which pierced through a leather jacket of six layers." But incidentally, we are also given some more facts about the land of the Guaycuras.

"On August 24 several Indians were seized in the mountains of Chiyá who had slain natives of other settlements. On the 25th of the same month, other Indians were arrested who were guilty of similar crimes. In the vicinity several such charges are being investigated.

"Most recently, on September 17, several Indians from the west came to Loreto complaining to the captain that the natives of the other settlements had slain one of their men. They insisted that either the captain would see to it that justice was done or they would take vengeance into their own hands. Nearby similar charges are being investigated."[6]

It may be that the Indians described as being from the west of Loreto were Cochimí, but it is also possible that they were Guaycuras whose territory in the west extended considerably further north than in the east, as we saw. Guillén also talks about the prevalence of stealing in the missions, and writes: "if elsewhere, the theft of a horse or a beef does not render impossible the administration of the Sacraments, here where pasture lands are so insufficient for the herds, and thefts so frequent, the time will come when the barbarous licentiousness of the Indians will render all orderly government difficult or utterly impossible."[7]

1730 Informe

In 1730 Guillén wrote an *informe*, or report on the state of his mission at the request of Padre Visitador General, Joseph Echeverría who had arrived on his rounds at Loreto on board El Triunfo de la Cruz on Oct. 27, 1729.[8] As one of the more experienced missionaries, he also met with Echeverría and some of his fellow Jesuits at San Javier to discuss the creation of the post of *procurador*, or a procurator in charge of the material needs of the California missions who would be stationed at Loreto.[9] This report comes in two parts: first a letter dated June 18 at Dolores,[10] and then the official report

dated June 19 at the same place.[11] In the letter Guillén tells us that he has recently returned from Cunupaqui where he had performed 8 baptisms and regularized some marriages, and he had baptized others at Dolores. But the bulk of the letter is concerned with a gruesome murder case in which a couple, Thomas and Rosa Ivañes, were killed by an 18-year-old convert, Francisco de Borja, and his gentile companion from Chiyá. They were apprehended – the companion at La Resurrección – and sentenced to death. Guillén went to La Resurrección to confess Borja and baptize the Chiyá. Borja was hanged, but the job was botched by the Indian executioners under the direction of Cabo Acosta, and he revived when lowered to the ground. Guillén was unable to watch further while he was finished off. After this fiasco, the death sentence was suspended for the Chiyá.

In the process of telling this story, Guillén mentions two other soldiers named Espinoza and Gracián, as well as the rumor of an Indian uprising at Dolores. The Indians deny the conspiracy, but they flee because they were stealing and slaughtering steers, horses, mules, burros and goats; some 10 or 12 steers are missing, as well as many horses, oxen and mules, including one belonging to Padre Nicolás Tamaral which Guillén fears has already been converted into the substance of an Anirítugue Indian, or one from Acheme. Some of the thieves from Chiyá and Achére have been apprehended. Almost all the rancherías in this region are in need of punishment except Deverá and Cunupaquí, although they have other faults.

Guillén goes on to say that the Indians, as punishment, have started a road of 8 leagues but have not wanted to finish it.[12] He also writes to the Visitador General that Juan Manuel, who had been lent to him, is now coming to Loreto with these documents, and Guillén hopes that his salary will be augmented because he has worked so well. Signed Clemente + Guillén

Guillén's official report covers a period from Feb. 19, 1722 to June 19, 1730. Why does it start in 1722 rather than August 1721 when the mission was founded? We don't know. Perhaps that is when Guillén started performing his first baptisms in the area, and thus initiated the mission book that registered these kinds of events. By far the most fascinating part of this report is a census of the rancherías in the territory of Los Dolores, giving us the names of its rancherías: *Dolores*, Akiá, *Cunupaqúí*, Deverá, *Aripaquí, Atembabichí,* Atiá, *Cogué*, *Quaguihué,* Guachaguí, Iriguái, Cuenyágueg, Michiricucurébe, *Achéme,*
Chiyá, Achére, Atiguíri, *Anirítúgue,* Michiricuchayére, and *Hnyaichiri*. The names in italics are all located on the map of the Guaycuran rancherías. The location of the others are unknown. Later on we will look at the census

numbers.

Guillén's informe might have been influenced by the letter he had written the previous day about the murder of Thomas and Rosa, for he begins it by talking about the "barbarous and murderous" nature of the Cubí that Echeverría, himself, had already experienced. They killed not only those of the other shore, i.e., the west coast, but each other. Of the 9 boy assistants at the mission, 7 claimed to have fathers who had been killed, and the Cubí killed not only men, but women and children, as well. They have wiped out a ranchería, and most of the ranchería of San Carlos, and have tried to do the same elsewhere. They are also great thieves, and "harmful to our people wherever they encounter them, and little fruit can be expected of the adults without subjecting them to reason and good law enforcement." In Guillén's judgment neither the Mexican nor the Peruvian Indians, or any other, lives in conformity to good reason and law, much less to Christianity if not by subjection and fear. Left to their own nature, without punishment and the lash, and the Spanish officials, "we would see what 200 years of instruction is worth."

He goes on to tell us he cannot call the Indians to his mission very often, because if he does he has to feed them, and he doesn't have the resources. Nor can the Indians bring the food with them, for they have to hunt it each day in the mountains. And even if he had the energy to make more frequent visits to their rugged sierras and cliffs, he couldn't do it without doubling the cost of animals, servants and supplies. So each year he makes one or two visits to these many and distant rancherías, and if he can call them at most once or twice to the missions he can do no more – at least without a larger income. Thus, because of the barbarity and poverty of the mission, the number of Christians has grown very little. Each of the rancherías of the mission, although small, is divided into two or three parts, and they go their separate ways to live in different parts of the sierra, and so it has not been easy to determine the exact number of catechumens. They move around a lot, and one day they are at Chiyá, and the next at Achére, and although the minister will advise them to gather together where he is going to see them, only rarely does it happen "unless they know that a lot of food is to be distributed."

The Christian rancherías gather for doctrine, Mass and confession, and come the few times they are called, and notify the missionary when someone is sick, for they know they will be inevitably punished if they do not. The Christians and non-Christians hear doctrine and instruction when the missionary visits them. There is, despite this, one or another Christian

delinquent who has fled from the assembly of the Church and the visit of the minister. To remedy this, a squad of soldiers from the Royal Presidio is stationed in the mission territory, along with other friendly Indians, the most faithful sons of the mission, who punish them. The Corporal in the fulfillment of his office has already punished some, and is continuing, and it is hoped that it will bring about much good for the Indians and the increase of Christianity.

For now, Guillén tells us, there is a decent chapel, and not a few Church ornaments which are being kept for the furnishing of the new Church which is being made.[13] In the temporal sphere there is more lack than excess. There is a planting, although small, but it is hoped that time and work will increase it. Beyond the 20 rancherías of this mission and those of La Paz, the Cubí nation has more or less as many, which cannot be part of these missions. They are too far away and are at odds with each other. "Only some pertain to the mission, the 20 we have spoken of. All the rancherías together amount to 1,300 or 1,400 people, and it would be a great chore for the missionary to take care of them. Since the other rancherías are so distant, there ought to be a new mission. I have placed at La Resurrección the catechist Lorenzo and when I have finished instructing the few that are here I will go, God grant, to this other place in order to finish the instruction and baptize the others. (Signed) Clemente + Guillén"

"P.S. I have just received a letter from Cabo Rojas who tells me that the catechist is attending to his office of instruction with punctuality. See the letter with other news."

1731. On January 1, the Spanish soldier Pedro de Ribas arrives at Los Dolores on a cattle drive from La Purissima to San José del Cabo.[14] In the same year the Uchití invite the Los Dolores Indians to a festival, and then attack them.

The Great Rebellion, 1734-1737

The great rebellion of the Pericú and some of the Guaycura in the area of La Paz and further south from July 1734 to January 1737 dominated the history of Baja California during those times, and its aftershocks continued to be felt in the years that followed. The history of the rebellion is well documented by the eye-witness account of Padre Sigismundo Taraval who had been the missionary at Todos Santos when it broke out. The Guaycuras in the La Paz region and the Pericú had never been as tractable as the Cochimí to the

north, but this time they launched a full-scale attempt to free themselves from the yoke of the missions, an attempt that soon engulfed the four missions to the south: Nuestra Señora del Pilar at La Paz, Santiago de las Coras, San Joseph at Cabo San Lucas, and Santa Rosa at Todos Santos. The spark that set off the conflagration was when an Indian named Chicori from the ranchería of Yeneca near the Cape grew angry at the missionary's refusal to allow one of his wives to return to him after her baptism. He was joined by a shaman from Anicá near Todos Santos, and a former Indian governor, that is, leader of a ranchería, called Botón from Santiago who had been removed from office by its missionary.[15]

Two soldiers were murdered in September, and in the beginning of October Padre Lorenzo Carranco of Santiago and Padre Nicolás Tamaral of Cabo San Lucas were killed, and Taraval fled to Los Dolores. The whole mission of Baja California was in turmoil until 1737 when the rebellion was finally put down, and the mission of Los Dolores, still at Apaté, was thrust out of its obscurity and onto center stage, and so the history of the rebellion provides us with a small but important harvest of facts about our chosen area.

Los Dolores came to the forefront in virtue of its location as the southern-most mission still in Spanish hands, and therefore it became the headquarters for the attempts to regain the South. Its prominence was augmented by the fact that Clemente Guillén was the padre visitador when the rebellion broke out – a term that ran from 1732 to 1735 – and was to play a central role in this drama.

Taravel tells us that the mission at La Paz had 800 inhabitants belonging to 3 groups who lived in 7 rancherías. They were the Callejues who were related to the Indians of the mission of Los Dolores, the Uchití who, though they were supposedly a branch of the Guaycuras, spoke, according to him, an almost wholly distinct language. And there were the Island Pericú. The Uchití were further divided into the Aripes, Coras, Periúes, or Vinees, as well as those called the Uchití, themselves.[16]

Once Padre Taraval heard of the death of his fellow Jesuits, his soldiers urged him to flee across the potentially hostile Uchití territory to La Paz where they might find a canoe to go on to the Gulf islands and then up to Los Dolores, and this is what they did. The alternative was to try to reach Los Dolores by land. "This would entail severe hardships, since the distance there from La Paz is about 60 leagues over almost impassable roads…"[17] When Guillén finally hears of the rebellion, he sends a canoe with some of his Indians and 2 soldiers who, Taraval tells us, "served as guards in the two pueblos of his mission."[18] Just what pueblos, or visiting stations, were

important enough to have soldiers we are not told. Capitán Esteban Rodríguez was stationed at Los Dolores with a squad of soldiers and one of Indian archers, and the mission was fast becoming the center of Baja California. Soon an advance base was set up at La Paz and Spanish troops and their Indian allies were on the road between the two missions.

"Los Dolores hummed with a babel of tongues and cultures. The heretofore sheltered Cochimí from San Javier and Comondú rubbed shoulders with Pericú from the region of Cabo San Lucas, Guaycura from the area of La Paz and the Magdelena plain, and Yaqui and Mayo from the Jesuit missions across the gulf in Sonora."[19]

The Spanish camp in La Paz was rife with rumors, including one that said the Callejues, who had remained loyal to Padre Taraval, were about to go over to the enemy and bring their relatives, the Indian allies from Los Dolores, along with them. When the Uchití attack, the rumor ran, the Los Dolores Indians will give their war cry and slaughter everyone inside the fortification. This story was confirmed by "Luis Gonzaga, interpreter and captain at the mission Dolores."[20] Captain Rodriguez checked out the rumor and found it baseless, but the jittery soldiers insisted that Luis Gonzaga was young and a favorite of his father and might not know what was really happening. The overriding fear, in their mind, was that not only would Los Dolores fall to the rebellion, but the whole north would revolt, as well. Indians and soldiers travel by sea and by land from La Paz to Los Dolores to counteract this possibility.

As the rebellion progressed, the west coast became the only place that had not been searched for the rebels. This, we are told, was the ancestral home of the Uchití and their relatives still lived there. "Certainly down near the shore stood a ranchería whose inmates spoke the same language as did those of mission Dolores."[21] The Spanish, therefore, decide to search this area and then proceed on to Los Dolores. They spy a band of Indians, but most of them successfully flee except for some women and children. They go on to Los Dolores, reaching the mission on April 6 after 15 days. In another expedition from La Paz 5 canoes under Sergeant Don Pedro de la Riva (Ribas) travel to Los Dolores in good weather in 3 days.

Rumors still persist that trouble is brewing at Los Dolores. Two messengers arrive from Padre Clemente. "They brought information to the effect that he had questioned not one but two Indians from the mission who had reported and confessed that all the natives at mission Dolores with the exception of two rancherías had rebelled and were making and supplying the rebels with arrows, and that others had assembled nearby to attack the mission." Pedro

de la Riva examines one of the messengers with the help of "the most loyal interpreter available at mission Dolores, who was called (for the edification of the others) Antonio Xardón…"[22] The rumors continue and Taraval comments: "There might be, as a matter of fact, a deep-seated unrest, for, after all, we are dealing with the Vaicuros, who are Indians among Indians, and it is a well-known fact that little or no reliance can be placed on what comes from their lips."[23]

Francisco Cortés de Monroy, *alférez*, or second in command under Capitán Rodríguez, arrives at Los Dolores to find that the unrest has deepened. The captain of the ranchería of Chiyá who was called Julián, had fought bravely alongside the Spaniards in La Paz and almost died when an arrow struck him in the mouth and came out near his ear. He spent his spare time making projectile points and bringing stones for the fortifications and gun carriage. When he returned to Los Dolores he tried to restrain his ranchería, but some of the men went out to where the livestock grazed and killed some animals. They devoured several horses. When Monroy arrived at Los Dolores he sent for Julián who was afraid to come before him because he feared that he would be blamed for the misconduct of the men in his band, which included his son. Monroy sought him out and reassured him, and learned the names of the ring-leaders, and Julián helped him capture some of them. He told Monroy that his son deserved to suffer with the others, but the Spaniards felt he was less guilty, so punished him less. Apprehending the other culprits was a difficult undertaking because of the rugged terrain around Chiyá, and the bravery of the Indians.[24] Eventually 8 men were caught and shot since there was no means of executing them in some other way. "The sentence was carried out July 1, up in the sierras near the mission, and in fact almost in the heart of the conquest made in the Californias."[25] The final ringleader who had escaped was captured a month later and executed. This was, indeed, draconian punishment for the eating of some horses, but it has to be seen against the Spanish fears of rebellion at Los Dolores. The Guaycuras, themselves, evidenced a certain stoic view of death. The 8 men who were to be executed asked some of the soldiers: "When are they going to kill us? What are they waiting for? Go on and kill us now!"[26] Yet the relationships between the Indians and the soldiers had not always been grim. Before Monroy came the Indians had been treated as friends and played chess with the soldiers.[27]

Midway between La Paz and Los Dolores lived the unconverted Pecunes and Catauros who had not participated in any real way in the rebellion. They led the Spaniards to rebel rancherías, and eventually the soldiers captured a shaman of the Aripes who had with him "some of the implements of his

trade," and who had played a leading role in the rebellion.[28] His implements were broken, and since he, himself, would not cooperate in coming with them, they ordered the Pecunes and Catauros to shoot him with their arrows, which they did, and his body was strung up by way of warning.[29] The Spaniards traveled along the Gulf and then along the Pacific coast, making a circle through the land of the Uchití, and finally returned to Los Dolores. Since they had rebel prisoners with them they learned about the water sources in these little explored Pacific regions which the Pecunes and Catauros appear to have shared with the Uchití.

Some of the friendly Callejues who had been prisoners of the rebels escaped when the Spaniards had attacked them with the help of the Pecunes and Catauros, and went to the ranchería of Uriguay and then on to Los Dolores. Taraval also tells us about a famous woman shaman who was honored and followed by both the men and women in her ranchería. "Our men seized all the appurtenances of her superstitious practices and all her trinkets, which consisted of bits of wood, sticks whose points were carved to represent faces with prominent noses, a long bent rod that was said to cause fruits to grow, a stick with holes so it could be entirely covered with feathers, another with a figure shaped like a ferule, another fan-shaped, and many others with hooks or points, and some whose purpose we could only conjecture. Our men secured many such objects which the commander ordered to be made into ramrods for guns, pistols, and blunderbusses for, being of wood, they were quite suitable for this purpose."[30] Taraval also recounts how one of the former Indian governors of his mission at Santa Rosa was called Juan de Eguí.[31]

A New Mission

Miguel de Venegas, the first Jesuit historian of Baja California, tells us that Los Dolores, administered by Clemente Guillén, was the mission most in need in the south. It was very sterile and lacking in water, and "scarcely can succeed a very scanty sowing of a *fanega* (1.6 bushels, or 1.59 acres) of corn." Guillén "gets a little wine from a small vineyard that he has planted." On the other hand, there are many parishioners since the mission embraces all the Indians who live in those lands from the east coast to the west, which is called the *contra-costa*.[32]

Since Guillén came there he has been catechizing and baptizing the rancherías that are being discovered as his forces permit, but because of the extent and roughness of the land he has not been able to reach all of

them "up until the past year of 1734," Venegas tells us, in which he spent several months among the gentile bands of the west, catechizing and baptizing their inhabitants, and leading to the faith the major part of those nations. But so excessive was his work that he became gravely ill. Indeed, as Guillen's 1730 informe indicates, he realized that a new mission was needed as early as 1730, if not before.

Guillén, himself, wrote to Jaime Bravo sometime before June 27, 1734 asking for a leech, i.e., a doctor, for himself, who Bravo sent.[33] These circumstances led the fathers to decide to divide the area in two, and to form another mission to be called San Luis in memory of its benefactor, Señor Conde de Santiago, Don Luis de Velasco. But the establishment of the mission was held up by the need to find a suitable place and the rebellion in the South. And what was needed, as well, was the right man for the job, Lamberto Hostell.

An Expedition to the Guaycura Nation in the Californias

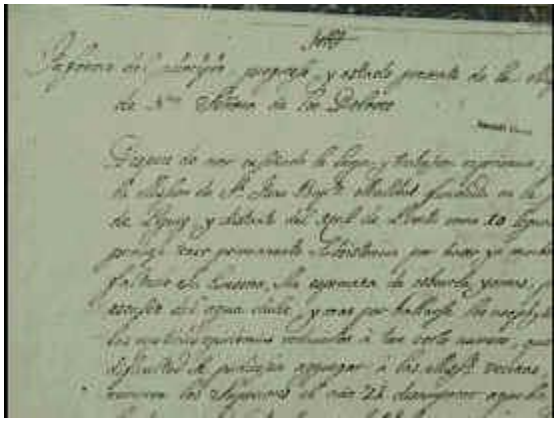
Chapter 3: Misión San Luis Gonzaga

San Luis Gonzaga today

Guaycuran mother and child

Mission San José del Cabo in 1769

Guillén Informe of 1730



Guillén Informe of 1744

La Pasión in 1950

Lamberto Hostell

Lamberto Hostell was born on Oct. 18, 1706 in Bad Münster-Eifel near Bonn in the lower Rhineland Dutchy of Jülich.[1] He joined the Jesuits at Trier on his 19th birthday and finished his theological studies at the Colegio Máximo de San Pedro y San Pablo in Mexico City in early summer, 1737. Before the end of the year he had arrived in Baja California. His exit documents from Spain described him as of "average physique, fair-skinned, blue-eyed, blond hair, beard."[2]

He was assigned to establish the new mission among the Guaycuras and went to Los Dolores to learn the language and help Clemente Guillén who, Hostell tells us, "was on the verge of collapse under the weight of his apostolic tasks."[3] Hostell writes of the country and its people, in a letter to his father: "The land is wild, rough, dry and utterly unproductive. The inhabitants are savage and barbaric tribes, similar to other humans in outward appearance (except for their chestnut-brown complexion and pierced noses and ears). Because of their primitive habits, however, they deserve to rank below animals rather than be considered equal to other humans."[4] He tells us in this same letter that within a year some of the Indians who were to become the founders of San Luis Gonzaga mission received baptism, and that he would have actually begun building the new mission had he not had to accompany the Father Vice Provincial on his travels, and then take care of the mission of San José for two years.

"Finally, in the year 1740, I began to work with such success that I brought together 700 Guaycuros in three settlements, namely, San Luis Gonzaga, San Juan Nepomuceno, and Santa María Magdalena. This coming October I shall attempt to find out whether two pagan tribes, the Ikas and the Huchipoies, are ready to receive the gospel and are willing to accompany me westward to the village which would be the fourth established by me. I have many reasons to be optimistic in their regard."[5]

Although Hostell was assigned to create the new mission of San Luis Gonzaga in 1737, he was away at San José from August 1738 to November 1740.[6] The mission was sited at Chiriyaki, a place well known to Guillén from his earlier journeys of exploration. Hostell describes it in his informe of 1744: "The weather is quite hot in summer and temperate the rest of the year. It has a very small but ever-flowing spring of water which irrigates some lands covered with reed-grass and also this farm which has been cleared and cultivated. Until now it has not yielded more than 25 fanegas of corn and 10 of wheat. It is not known whether it will produce more in the future. At any rate the recent rains which have been more copious than usual created a torrent which carried away the cultivated soil and left the rocks of the arroyo where the plot of land was situated. Thanks be to God, Who wished this to happen; and, if He so wishes, can easily remedy it." [7]

We can piece together some idea of Padre Lamberto's missionary activity among the Guaycuras.

1737. He converts several adults who go to the mission of Los Dolores at Apaté, an incident he had already referred to in his letter to his father.

1738. Hostell goes on an expedition into the mountains of the north, "and a fairly large number of pagan families were thoroughly instructed and received holy baptism."[8]

San Javier is thrown into turmoil by rumors that the Guaycuras of Los Dolores are plotting to come and kill the padre and sack the mission. Soldiers investigate but can find no basis for these stories.[9]

1739. Hostell is away, but Guillén brings over "to the mountains of the west a considerable group of pagans of the Bay of Santa María Magdalena; they were baptized at a spot called El Espíritu Santo. In 1740 others came to be converted at Apaté."[10] The mountains to the west probably refer to the mountains of Chiyá, and so Espíritu Santo was probably located in the Chiyá area.

Guillén writes three letters (April, May, and September) to the procurator of California Ignacio María Nápoli about a canoe

that Nápoli and Jaime Bravo have helped him acquire for Los Dolores. In the April letter he mentions he is instructing 29 adults at the ranchería of Tegacua on the Bay of the Magdalena. The September letter mentions a rumor of unrest among the Indians of San Luis Gonzaga.

1741. Hostell has returned, and he goes "to the mountains in the west, to a site called Acheme, about 16 leagues from Apaté. About 80 pagans gathered, all coming here from the western coastal area. After thorough instruction lasting nearly 3 months, they were allowed to receive the holy Sacrament of baptism. In May of that same year the missionary went to the Bay of Santa María Magdalena and instructed there the poor old Indians, too blind and weak to be able to go to Acheme."[11]

On July 21, 1741 Hostell was in Loreto making his profession in the presence of Padre Guillén.[12]

La Pasión

The site of the mission of Los Dolores at Apaté had provided food for only 2 or 3 months out of the year, and Guillén was dependent on what could be purchased with the revenues from the founding grant, and on help from other California missions. Miguel del Barco comments that corn was sown in the first year, but from 1740 and for years before then there had been a small sowing of wheat which had been used to make hosts for the missionary, and the rest had been given to the Indians.[13]

As Guillén gained experience, it had become clear that the mission really ought to be moved into the sierra, but this move was delayed by the rebellion in the South and the inclination of some of the Guaycuras closer to home to follow its example, as we saw. Guillén had also told us that at the beginning of his stay at Apaté the process of exploring the territory of the mission and converting the local bands could not quickly take place because of the mission's lack of resources. But perhaps there was another reason, as well. In the list of missionary assignments kept by the Mexican province of the Jesuits, we read an entry for the year 1723 that has Guillén assigned to Guaymas on the west coast of the Mexican mainland.[14] So it is possible that just as during his residence at Liguí, Guillén was

absent for part of the early years of the founding of Los Dolores.

The mission was finally moved 10 leagues into the sierra on Sept. 7, 1741, the Vespers of the Nativity of Our Lady. It was now located at Tañuetiá, or the abode of the ducks, a location that had been already baptized La Pasión. And now all the attendant labor of building a new church and outbuildings had to be taken on again, Padre Clemente tells us, and all the supplies from Loreto had to be carried up the steep grade to the new mission site.

We can assume that life at Los Dolores followed the usual mission pattern of Apaté and elsewhere in Baja California. The neophytes were fed when they stayed at the mission, and a good deal of the resources of the mission went into clothing them, as well. How, indeed, could they be good subjects of the King if the men went around naked, and the women nearly so? More of the mission's resources were spent on the sick, the soldiers in the missionary's escort, the ranch hands who took care of the mission's herd, and so forth, and since food was so limited, the Indians only came in turns to stay at the mission, which probably amounted to one week a month at the new Los Dolores, and during the rest of the time they gathered their "herbs, roots, seeds, wild fruits and fished and hunted."[15]

It was in 1741, as well, that Guillén urged the Indians, who were still scattered in their rancherías, to group together in 6 pueblos, or visitas, at a comfortable distance from the mission so they could, no doubt, come in turn, or be visited more easily by him. And he gives us a valuable census of these pueblos: Los Dolores, itself, now at La Pasión, Immaculate Conception, Incarnation, Trinity, Redemption, and Resurrection, perhaps the Resurrection we met before. But we don't know where any of these pueblos were located. He also gives us the figures for the new mission of San Luis Gonzaga which is comprised of: Bahía Santa María Magdalena, San Luis Gonzaga, San Juan Nepomuceno, Jesús María, and the West Coast. We will analyze the actual numbers later. He also found the climate in the sierra healthier than that of Apaté, for the heat weighed him down less both mentally and physically. From 1741 to 1743, he is once again padre visitador.

Miguel del Barco on La Pasión

Miguel del Barco, himself a Jesuit missionary in Baja California and one of its earliest historians, writes: "Padre Clemente Guillén founded the mission of Nuestra Señora de Los Dolores on the beach at Apaté on the Gulf of California, which was the mission headquarters for two years until the Indians of this mission (which occupied a large territory) had been reduced and baptized, and then it was moved so that they could more easily and without the labor of going down to the beach would be able to come to the headquarters, to another place up in the sierra called Tañuetía in the language of the Indians… The only thing left to note is that at this same place from the first years of the mission it had carried the name of La Pasión del Señor. And since it is on the road from Loreto to the South, this site was very well known by the name of La Pasión. After, although the headquarters was moved to it, not withstanding, this name prevailed; the way it is usually referred to in California is not Los Dolores like the other missions, which are called after their patrons, but commonly it has retained the name La Pasión."[16]

This move of Los Dolores after two years is not supported by any other historical evidence that I am aware of, and it appears to go against the informes of Guillén. Barco, himself, writing of the year of 1746, describes San Luis Gonzaga "as 7 leagues to the west of the headquarters of Los Dolores, established before this time in La Pasión, as I said above."[17] It is not likely that this refers to a move that took place in 1723, i.e., two years after the founding at Apaté, but to the move of 1741, and somehow the manuscript ended up saying 2 instead of 20 years. Finally, Tañuetía, as Barco gives us the name, should probably be Tañuetiá, that is, accented on the last syllable like many of the Guaycura place names in the area.

Descripción y Toponimia

One of the most valuable documents in terms of mission geography is *Descripción y Toponimia Indígena de*

California.[18] It carries no mention of its author, but someone has written 1740 on the top of the manuscript. Miguel León-Portilla, who published it in 1974, reasonably suggested that the author is a non-Jesuit from the way, for example, he writes: "padre lego" or " lay father" which is a contradiction in terms, instead of "hermano coadjutor," and its author may have even been the first captain of California, Esteban Rodríguez, for he was a person of wide knowledge of Baja California, and the author says that where he didn't have direct experience, he learned from soldiers who did.

And León-Portilla surmises that the illustrious Capitán might have written it at the request of Miguel Venegas, the Jesuit historian who was soliciting information for his *Noticia de la California* which he finished on Aug. 5, 1739. Therefore, the manuscript might have been written before 1740, or arrived after Venegas had finished his work, and it is true that Venegas apparently had access to a diary of Rodríguez. There is, however, internal evidence that indicates that these pages were written after Sept. 7, 1741, as we will see in a moment, and that makes it unlikely that it is a document solicited by Venegas, though it still may be the work of Rodríguez.

The text, itself, is a description of the principle roads and places of Baja California with some indications of the original Indian names. We will restrict ourselves to our chosen area about which the author tells us that from La Paz to Dolores there is a road of 50 leagues, and this is an area populated by the gentile Pirús, or who are also known as the Piriuchas, or Guaicuras, and along the road there is a watering place in the arroyo of Los Reyes, and at Guadalupe which is another arroyo with carrizo from which you go to San Hilario, which is the largest arroyo and in which can be found a vein of flint of many colors. From there a road leads to the narrow arroyo where Las Liebres is to be found, along with sufficient water. 5 leagues after that we arrive at the very big arroyo of La Pasión which the natives call Chiyá.

Then our author writes: "Here there is a new mission which before was Rancho Dolores… From La Pasión one goes to Dolores traveling 12 leagues in the middle of which is found at

the side of the road (the right) San Juan which its inhabitants call Quaquiguí, a stopping place with water and people who receive their doctrine at Dolores. It does not have a church or a pueblo. Los Dolores maintains itself with only a somewhat small spring. It is little more than a league from the beach… The natives who dwell there are called the Apaté, and so they call the place.

"From here one leaves for Loreto by the road along the beach some 10 leagues to arrive at San Carlos where there is water and a bed of pearl-bearing oysters. (placer de perla) Leaving the coast you ascend the sierra, and after 6 or 7 leagues arrive at an arroyo (the name of which in the language of the natives is … and I don't remember) which flows to the other coast, and since it is on high land, flows, as well, to the east coast and joins the sea at the very big bay of Agua Verde. From this stopping place one goes to Santo Thomás by way of a very great ascent and descent, and arrives at an arroyo that has the same name and which is filled with water which drains towards the other coast; the country is very sterile and rocky. From here you go to San Hilarión, another arroyo with water, less inhospitable than the preceding one, but bad country not much good for anything. The arroyos are about 5 leagues from each other.

"From this place you leave and descend to Liguí which is on the coast and was and is a mission, although without a father and with very few sons because they have been moved to Loreto. It is a population with cattle and horses and is some 6 leagues from San Hilarión."[19]

Later he describes the various population centers and says of this area: "from this one (the mission of La Paz) to Chiyá (La Pasión it is called) is a land of gentiles, and the latter has many people under the care of the father minister. The natives of this nation are called Chiyás, and it has other rancherías that are located in the arroyo below and make up the number of people in this mission, which are many. There are many gentiles on the other coast, and from it begins the part that touches the jurisdiction of the presidio of Loreto.

"Next is Los Dolores with which it shares a father (con que tiene padre) and administers the native ranchería and that of

San Juan Cuaquigiú, that of San Carlos and others, which comprise a sufficient number of people."[20] When describing the coast in the vicinity of the Islas de San Francisco and San José and Los Dolores, he mentions a San Hilario somewhere in the area.

The 1740 date that appeared on the top of the manuscript was probably placed there by someone other than the author, and appears to be too early since we just saw how the text reads concerning La Pasión: "Here there is a new mission which before was rancho Dolores" which clearly seems to refer to the reestablishment of the mission of Los Dolores on Sept. 7, 1741 at La Pasión. If this is true it would make it unlikely that this was a document requested by Venegas who had finished his work more than two years before.

It is interesting to note that our author tells us of a Gulf road going from Los Dolores 10 leagues to San Carlos, perhaps the road Guillén mentioned in his informe of 1730, and it is possible that traces of this road could be rediscovered today.

It is worth looking at the manuscript of this document which has two parts, the first of which is what Miguel León-Portilla published. The whole of the first part appears to be written by the same person, but just before the last page the handwriting becomes more condensed at the words *dividida la conquista en dos provincias*. The change in handwriting appears to reflect the duality of this first part in which the geography of the missions is covered twice.

The second unpublished part of the manuscript, written in the same hand, might well help to explain this duality, for it appears to be the original draft of the second section of the published manuscript, but what interests us is the fact that it contains some information about the populations of the missions not in the published version. It tells us that La Pasión has a Father minister with 200 people, more or less, in his care, and Los Dolores has a Father minister – a fact apparently altered in the final version – with some 300 people, and a visiting station at San Juan Quaquigué some 7 or perhaps 9 leagues away.

1742. Hostell tells us that several Indians were converted at La

Pasión.[21] The change from the conversions at Apaté to La Pasión indicate the transfer of the Mission of Los Dolores inland to its new location at Chiyá, or the arroyo of La Pasión.

1743. Hostell searches out "several unconverted natives in the vast expanse of some 80 leagues along the west coast from the arroyo of Santa Rosalía, a spot beyond Mission San Javier, as far as the arroyo of La Pasión which empties into the Bay of La Magdalena, opposite the southern portion of the large island." Hostell "reached their homeland in October by following the arroyo of Cocloraki, which flows between the arroyos of Santa Rosalía to the north and of La Pasión in the south. Three and a half days of difficult traveling brought him successfully to Titapue. The route lay through a level area, it is true, but arid, thorny, and devoid of pasturage and fresh water. Because he reached the site on the feast of Saint Luke, it has been known ever since by the name of that evangelist. It is about 2 leagues from the beach. It has a very deep well of saltpetrous water, which is dipped out in jars and pans for the animals to drink."[22]

This is the area of the Uchití, and the Ikas, the Añudeves and the natives from Ticudadei have joined them. They speak a language that is different from "Guaycuro," but are receptive to the Gospel and have been invited to La Pasión which they have come to several times since December of last year, and then baptized.

While Hostell was at San Lucas he had to hear confessions at the bay. He went without drinking water for 24 hours until he reached the sands of Aburdebe. He returned by way of the arroyo of La Pasión, and by the beginning of November was back in Los Dolores. The natives are now at San Luis, San Juan Nepomuceno, and at Santa María Magdalena. The number of adults and children baptized from July 14, 1737 to the present, Sept. 28, 1744, is 488.

To Hostell's mind, the rebellion of the Pericú in 1734, 1740, and 1741 has been counterbalanced by the conversion of the Guaycuras. They take care to make a worthy confession and receive communion frequently, and make efforts to better their way of life.[23] The men go about naked, and the women wear aprons of palm leaves or woven rushes. He adds to the end of this 1744 report an edifying story of conversion. In May

of 1741 he was at the Bay of Santa María Magdalena when a pregnant woman came to him and wanted to be baptized, but she needed more time to be prepared. He was afraid that after he departed she would kill her child, according to the universal custom of the tribe, and thus make its baptism impossible. He promised to offer to Our Lady the Mass to be said on the following Saturday if the child would be born before he left. The evening of the day upon which he made his promise the woman went into labor and the child was born the next morning, and baptized.

The Changing of the Guard

The rough life at Los Dolores took an increasing toll on Guillén. Padre Sebastián de Sistíaga, writing on Sept. 19, 1743 to Padre Provincial Cristóbal de Escobar y Llamas from San Ignacio in his capacity as padre visitador, comments: "Father Clemente Guillén is now very old and very feeble, because of his many and continuous strenuous efforts and because of the many illnesses he has suffered. Hence, he is physically unable to take care of his mission. He writes to inform you about the state of his health so that you will dispatch someone here to take over the burden he can no longer carry.

"Besides this urgent need, there is danger that Father Lambert Hostell fall ill and become incapacitated. He will have to take care of the difficult mission he has begun because Father Clemente can no longer do so. The latter, in mentioning how painful his illness is, adds that the land and searing climate aggravate the condition of his liver. His Reverence seems to be hinting that, since he can no longer attend to the duties of a missionary, he would gladly retire to a better climate. I think that Your Reverence in your charity should grant him this favor and send another here, bringing with him the authorization for Father Guillén to return to the Province."[24]

Another source of information about San Luis and Los Dolores comes from the documentation generated by the visit of the Jesuit Visitador General Juan Antonio Baltasar:

"Mission San Luis, on December 9, 1743. On visiting this

mission, I learned that since 1743, when its more permanent status began, Father Lambert Hostell, its missionary, had in the account of its annual alms 4,381 p 2. This entire sum was spent on the upkeep of the missionary, the church and natives. Nothing is owed to the church; the mission owes to the Loreto treasury, at the close of the year, after the accounts were adjusted, only 49 p 6.5. It has two dependent stations of nomadic natives for a total of about 180 families.

"Mission Los Dolores and La Pasión, on December 9, 1743. On visiting this mission, I learned that since 1740 Father Clemente Guillén, its present missionary, had to its credit from its annual alms the amount of 3,826 p 7.5. All of it was spent for the maintenance of the missionary, church and natives. No one owes the mission anything; whereas the mission owes the Loreto treasury at the end of this year, according to the adjusted accounts, 15 p 1.

"Possessions: some cows, a few goats, a team, a small irrigated field, a diminutive vineyard, and a canoe.

"In its territory there are 8 settlements (bearing the names of several saints) numbering about 200 families."[25]

These reports are augmented by Baltasar's 1744 general report on the missionaries.

"Father Clemente Guillén is a venerable old man. The very sight of him inspires respect for him. He is working in a very poor mission. His health is broken; his vision is gone. I think that it would be most appropriate for Your Reverence to write him expressing the gratitude he deserves for his work and devotion, and offer him the consolation of retiring to the school of his choice, where he can get well and continue to live. In his present mission, he can not move a step, and the missionary assigned to assist him is very busy in taking care of Guillén's mission, his own, and a third one he has just begun. You might add in your letter, if you so care, that in case he can not go to a school he may retire to Loreto, which has comfortable living quarters. Here he could be taken care of without any responsibility on his part of administration. But you must add that this is not just an offer but a command, so that he will choose what he realizes is best for his health and

strength. Otherwise, if the choice is left to him, he will perhaps choose what is most difficult. Such a choice would not be to the advantage of the good administration of that mission of Los Dolores of the South.

"Father Lambert Hostell, who has been Guillén's companion for the last several years, is among the best, most virtuous and capable ministers in our missions. He has put up with Guillén's whims and is doing the work of many men. Besides carrying the burden of Mission Los Dolores, he takes care of the nomadic natives of Mission San Luis. And on the Bay of Magdalena which opens into the Pacific Ocean, he has begun a third mission …"[26] Baltasar also singles out Guillén and Hostell, among others, as being eminent linguists.

Guillén's 1744 Report

Guillén, himself, in his informe of 1744 tells us that the Indians, without force, or material inducements, have listened to the call of the Gospel. They have put aside their superstitions and diabolical instruments like capes made out of human hair and tablets, and have given up polygamy and the sacrifice of their first-born, as well as their continual discords and wars, and now practice the exercises of Christian piety as if they had been raised in the faith, that is, they hear Mass, recite Christian doctrine morning and evening, confess their sins each year and before marriage, and not a few of them do so, as well, before the principle feasts of the year. They received the sacraments when in danger of death. The text continues, rather strangely to those accustomed to modern Catholic eucharistic practices, to tell us that the Indians have not received Viaticum, that is, the Eucharist at the time of death, because Guillén had not found them capable of it.[27]

The trials of Guillén's ministry, he tells us, were due to the roughness of the land, the poverty of the mission, the rude and small capacity of the natives, and the sheer physical difficulty in contacting them. He had to "search them out in the caves, peaks and mountains, and to speak to them almost one by one, and in this way to learn with great care their uncultured language, different from all the other California

languages, and teach various ones Spanish in order that they could be teachers and interpreters." This he did, he tells us, at the price of his health. But Guillén was left with the consolation of having populated heaven with the souls of many children who died soon after being baptized, and "flew to glory." And there were adults, as well, to which he attributed a high degree of probability that they, too, had gone to heaven. Guillén tells us, for example, that a catechumen in 1743 suddenly got sick, was baptized and died in the grace of God. These and other graces he felt came through the intercession of Our Lady of Sorrows. In 1744, for example, during the novena before the feast of the Assumption of Our Lady on August 15, there was such an abundance of rain that there was pasture for the animals and a harvest of seeds for the Indians, the like of which hadn't been seen in past years. This, incidentally, gives us a glimpse into how close to the bone the resources of this mission were.

Two points in these informes of Guillén and Hostell require comment. If Guillén cannot see, he cannot have written his 1744 report himself, and even some of the phraseology strikes the ear differently with its author referring to Guillén in the third person, i.e., "the known zeal of P. Clemente Guillén." Instead of being signed Clemente + Guillén like the one of 1730, it reads, "now in charge of this mission is P. Clemente Guillén." The most likely candidate for the actual author is Lamberto Hostell, perhaps writing it together with Guillén. Hostell in his own informe writes concerning San Luis Gonzaga and its mission stations: "I have given their statistics in the account of the mission of Los Dolores…"[28] When we compare the handwriting of Guillén's 1730 report to his 1744 one, we see that they were, in fact, written by different people.

The second point has to do with the proposed west coast mission of La Santíssima Trinidad. Despite Hostell's high hopes, it never developed. Miguel del Barco in his own informe of March 1744 writing about San Javier, tells us "in the west along the beach of the sea lives some few families of the Guaycura nation which will be collected at the new mission which is to be founded between other people of the same language almost south of this mission, and in between it and

that of San Luis.[29]

Without the new mission, the west coast Guaycuras drifted north and east to San José de Comondú. From 1744 to 1762, and especially after 1752, Crosby estimates 200 Guaycuras arrived at San José. If earlier in 1730 a soldier had been stationed at San Miguel de Comondú to ward off their depredations, now they were welcomed to supply labor for the fields left underutilized by the decline of the Cochimí. 1752 saw the baptism of the son of Rosalía , a Guaycura whose deceased husband had fled San Luis Gonzaga. Perhaps he didn't care for the new regime of Jacobo Baegert that we will see in a moment. 1753 saw the baptism of the son of Miguel Carrillo, "Capitán de los Waicuros," and Antonía, his wife. This influx of the more uncouth Guaycura somewhat disconcerted the missionary of San José, Francisco Inama:

"The latter tribe, recently converted, came to us here from the coastal lands along the Pacific Ocean. They keep me busy because of their ways, which are still rather savage. They are accustomed to sleep on the sand under the open sky, and it has cost me no little effort to get them to live in a hut. In order to protect their sick from sun and wind, I had them brought under a roof; but this proved a source of greater suffering than the illness itself.

"If a horse or mule, overburdened by its load, died, they would enthusiastically plunge in and devour the carrion, utterly disregarding all my sermons against such a disgusting habit. They are now, however, approaching a better way of life."[30]

Inama, somewhat new to the Spanish language, following the rule that if a neophyte died without the last rites a written explanation had to be given,[31] described the death of the Guaycura Juan Peraza "*…habiéndose acostado bueno, amaneció muerto*," that is, "because having gone to bed well, he awoke dead."[32]

By 1746 Guillén finally retired from Los Dolores and was officially replaced by Lamberto Hostell. He went to Loreto where he helped hear confessions and filled in when the missionary was away, and he also made use of his talent for languages by learning a new one in order to instruct and hear

the confession of an old Indian woman who had come to Loreto where no one was able to understand her language, and was unable to return to her own land. And Barco adds a curious line that Guillén had had no particular inclination for the remote Indian missions.[33] A little late for that. Guillén died in 1748 and was buried at the church in Loreto.[34]

The modern Jesuit historian, Ernest Burrus, places Padre Gaspar Trujillo at Los Dolores for a short while in 1748 during this transitional period, probably on the basis of Jesuit missionary assignment records.[35]

Juan Javier Bischoff

Hostell's move to Los Dolores left an opening at San Luis Gonzaga which was filled by Joann Xaver Bischoff. Bischoff had been born in Glatz, Bohemia in 1710 and had entered the Company of Jesus in 1727, and came to work in Baja California in 1746.[36] His exit papers from Spain described him as being of "small stature, fair skinned, blond, blue eyed, thin beard."[37] At San Luis he built a house and church out of adobe and remained there until 1750, after which he went on to serve in other Baja California missions.[38] Baegert tells us that Bischoff was still converting Indians in 1748.[39] Bischoff was also known to train the Indians in choral singing, like Padre Pedro Nascimben, who once averted the punishment of his Indians by having them greet the padre visitador with beautiful singing, and so it is possible that his little church in San Luis rang with litanies.[40]

1750s

The best source of information on Los Dolores in the 1750s is Hostell's second letter to his father, and the account of the mission he sent to his fellow Jesuit, Josef Burscheid, both written on January 17, 1758.[41]

Hostell writes to his father, "contrary to my hopes, the mission of La Santíssima Trinidad, about which I wrote to my devoted sister, could not be established for lack of provisions and funds." He has given over to Bischoff the mission of San Luis, having taken care of it himself since 1746, along with Los Dolores from where he is writing this letter. Los Dolores is 5

hours away from San Luis. "Twelve hours from here I have a plot of productive land where I discovered a small well. I have planted some wheat and corn in the hope of eventually saving me and my Indians from having to endure such acute hunger as in the past." The Indians grasp the meaning of the Gospel more readily than those in other areas. "They are deeply interested in their eternal salvation and, except for a few light-headed individuals, persevere steadfastly in their faith. This they profess not merely by word of mouth, but also by their edifying conduct."[42] All told, he has baptized 2,000 and brought the people he had assembled for La Santíssima Trinidad to Los Dolores, at least some of them. Others were distributed in the other missions.

Particularly interesting is Hostell's report to Father Josef Burscheid of the same order and province. "The land itself is so rough, dry, stoney, and thorny, so wild and sterile that, despite all our diligence, it does not furnish us with sufficient sustenance." But Hostell says that there had been an abundant harvest of souls, and he has always enjoyed good health. His native charges "easily and quickly understood the truths of our holy Christian faith and fulfilled their duties diligently and exactly." Their conversion was easier because they had no formal idolatry. "They had no temples with idols, no images of their gods, no worship of idols. In their entire vocabulary they did not even have a word to express God or a divinity; we are obliged to use the Spanish word Dios."[43]

"In the beginning, we missionaries were of the opinion that they paid homage, as though to idols, to certain small wands, the tip of which contains the image of a savage or bearded man; but the natives corrected our wrong interpretation, and informed us that they used these staffs merely to heighten their mirth on days of feasting and rejoicing. They call these wands "Tiyeicha" in their language, which means "He can talk." I thought that perchance the infernal spirit participated in their celebrations and even spoke to them through such objects; but they assured me that they have no dealings with the enemy of their souls, and that they have neither seen him at any time nor heard him speak."

"Among their most solemn days of celebration is that on which they pierce the extremities of their children's ears and noses. After having their sons and daughters prepare themselves for this event through three days of fasting, on the fourth they all gather, especially their conjurers who convene in large numbers, all attired in capes woven from human hair. They carry in their hands the aforementioned wands, also the small tablets into which they have scratched some rude figure(s) with a sharpened stone, used instead of a chisel or knife. Such figures have no idolatrous or superstitious meaning. They adorn themselves in the finery mentioned, but which as Christians they completely put aside and also throw away without reluctance their wands and tablets."[44] The pregnant women practiced abortion whenever they had eaten meat slain by a lion or wildcat, and mothers strangled their newborn "in order to preserve its life or form."

The 14 missions contain slightly more than 6,000 people, and, "My Guaycuro Indians alone make use of 4 different dialects. The same is also true of other missions. As a matter of fact, it not rarely happens that in one household the husband speaks one language and the wife another. Our older missionaries attribute this linguistic diversity to the fact that new groups of natives repeatedly descended from the north, bringing with them these different languages."[45]

In 1759 another brutal murder galvanized mission Los Dolores. Since the mission had few fields, and those it had were very distant, and so weren't of much benefit, Barco tells us it received alms from other missions, as well as maintained itself by buying supplies with its annual mission funds. To receive these supplies it had a big canoe whose *arráez*, or captain, was an Indian from Ahome in Sinoloa called Vicente. Vicente got along well with both the missionary and the Indians, but one day returning from the south with 10 or 12 Indian rowers, they put in to land either because of bad weather, or to rest, and Vicente tried to break up a fight between two of the Indians. One of them turned on him and began throwing stones at him, and finally killed him. The Indians, because of their fear of punishment, hid his body, broke the canoe into pieces, and threw the mast and some of the sails in the water near a cliff. They went back to the mission and pretended they had been

shipwrecked. But eventually the truth came out, the Indian who had killed Vicente was executed, and the rest punished. Padre Hostell did not have the heart to try to acquire another canoe, and perhaps faced similar problems, and so he brought in all the supplies after that by pack trains. This took 6 days from Loreto, and 8 or 10 days from San José in Comondú.[46]

Jacobo Baegert, writing in September of 1761, tells us that this boat incident happened "last year," and gives us some additional facts. The boat was returning from San José del Cabo with meat, lard, raw sugar, corn and several dishes of Chinese porcelain. The murderer was shot, but the ringleader "escaped and spent the nights in the house of the missionary, a place of security and liberty, where he stayed three whole months," stealing fruit and seducing Indian girls with it.[47]

Baegert tells us this story in the context of the three murders that had taken place at Los Dolores since he was at San Luis. This was one of them, and another involved an 18-year-old boy who had served as a page of the missionary since childhood, committed adultery, and fearful of being reported, invited the husband to a game on Ascension Day, and knifed and beat him to death in the presence of a 14-year-old Spanish boy. Baegert insists that the Indians brought up in the mission from their youth are "the worst and most malicious."[48]

This leaves us with two questions. How could the Indian involved in the boat incident hang around the mission so long without being apprehended? Baegert points to the laxity of the soldiers and the collusion of the other Indians, but we can certainly ask where Padre Lamberto was during all this. The second question has a wider import. Why were the Indians raised at the mission considered the worst? We will look at that issue later.

In our story up until now mission affairs have been in the foreground, and we have learned about the Guaycura in that context. But now we are fortunate to encounter a unique collection of writings in the history of Baja California that describes mission life at San Luis Gonzaga, and the Guaycura, as well, in rather meticulous detail. These are writings that have won the appreciation of anthropologists because they give us a picture of the Guaycura, but have raised

the ire of others because of the unflattering portrait they paint of them. It is time to meet Jacobo Baegert.

An Expedition to the Guaycura Nation in the Californias

Chapter 4: The Guaycuras at Misión San Luis Gonzaga

Jacobo Baegert

Johann Jakob Baegert (1717-1772) was the third and final missionary at San Luis Gonzaga. Born at Schlettstadt (Séléstat) Alsace, France, he entered the Jesuits in 1736.[1] On his departure from Spain to the new world he was described as of "poor physique, fair skin, corpulent, thin beard and thick lips."[2] The final lap of his journey to Baja California which took on and off more than two years, was a three day trip in a canoe carved from a single log. He arrived at Loreto and set out on May 26, 1751 on a 30-hour mule trip to San Luis.[3] Baegert had wanted to come to California, for he pictured it in his imagination as the very embodiment of a foreign mission posting,[4] and when he was in Mexico City he had copied the 1746 map of Fernando Consag (Map 1) which, in fact, would have told him very little about the place he was going to.[5] The scene that greeted him, therefore, must have been somewhat disconcerting and even disillusioning, a feeling that was only going to grow deeper. The adobe church that Bischoff had made was in ruins from a storm. The priest's house was floorless with a straw-thatched roof, and although Bischoff had built a new house, it was windowless, "a veritable hole," Baegert called it, and he tried to put it right by adding windows, paving and stuccoing it, and painting it white.[6]

The general setting of the mission was not Baja California at its best. It suffered in comparison to La Pasión with its surrounding hills, and to Apaté with its view of the Gulf. Baegert has gone down in history with the reputation of having been a misanthrope, and there was a streak of that in his nature. But he was more of an omnivorous critic, willing to criticize just about everyone: the Indians, the soldiers, the Spanish-speaking Jesuits of Baja California, and the lifestyle of the

Europeans he was later writing for. But he was a lot more than that: well-educated, a dedicated reader, and most important for our purposes, a keen observer who has left us a detailed picture of the world he was now entering. These descriptions were written down first in nine letters to his brother, George, in Europe who was also a Jesuit, and one letter to his mother, then, after the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, in his *Nachrichten*, or *Observations in Lower California*, written in part to combat the erroneous views about Baja California that circulated in Europe. [7]

"Now then! Those who have ears, listen! What is California? Nothing but innumerable stones and these you find in all four directions. It is a pile of stones full of thorns…"[8] "I had the four walls of my cemetery filled in almost to the top with soil, to lessen the work of the gravediggers and to spare the iron tools," he tells us, and he was amazed that his horses would browse on the surrounding brush, thorns and all. And the earth even resisted roads: "When, with a great deal of labor, and after removing shrubs and thorn bushes, a path has finally been cleared across such a mountain, the first or second rain storm often carries the thin cover of soil away, leaving only bare and uneven stones as the future road."[9] It is a place of drought punctuated by flash floods. But Baegert tells us he was rarely ever cold, and although the heat could be fierce, especially from July to October, he enjoyed the climate.[10] "Three assets which appear beneficial to man's life and his body are a sky that is clear night and day almost throughout the year, an eternal, general aridity, and a gentle, air-cleansing and continuous breeze. Therefore, the only thing I could have wished to carry with me from California was the unique climate."[11] It is a land of "everlasting sunshine… There is an incredible and unspeakable lack of water."[12]

But even in his first letter to his brother on Sept. 11, 1752, he writes that he can now understand why all missionaries who come to the Indies and North America feel lamentably cheated: "And one imagines if one comes to a mission, one would meet there well-dressed people living together in huts, living on agriculture the way people do in Europe. And so you can say Mass in a nice way, can hear a lot of confessions on Sundays and holidays and give communion, can sing vespers and the *Salve* (*Regina*) and could have a lot of enjoyment with them, and so on. Or if one would receive an order to found a new mission, after some years, one would be able to establish in this way a little market town. However, with these ideas one is again cruelly cheated, but again it is not your fault."[13] He is being drawn into a conflict he will never resolve between his dream of a European village and this very different world of the hunter-gatherers.

He continues in this same vein in his letter of Oct. 4, 1754. "I always have been curious to learn about peoples, countries, and maps, but I wonder if there is under the sun a more miserable country, and on this globe a more pitiful people than this. I doubt it strongly."[14]

Perhaps if the reality had been closer to what he had imagined Baegert could have thrived, but as it was, his disappointment expressed itself in critical comments. But he did have energy and organization. He built a new priest's house out of stone paved with flat rocks that he found when building a road three hours away. He cut its foundation out of solid rock. He designed and supervised the building of a small stone church that still stands today. He tells us he started the house and church March 1753, and finished the house and its additions July 1754, but the church

was delayed because he couldn't find a bricklayer. The one who built the house "I do not want to live with, or him with me."[15] The church was not to be finished until the end of 1758.

He learned the language and fancied himself rather proficient in it. But we are left with the impression that he was socially isolated. This was true in regard to his fellow missionaries. He considered, for example, the Latin of the native Spanish-speaking Jesuits to be full of barbarisms.[16] He was isolated, as well, from the Spanish soldiers stationed at the mission, and most of all, from the Indians he served but disliked. The exception to this self-imposed solitude was his neighbor Lamberto Hostell for whom he had warm feelings.

On Feb. 17, 1755 Padre Visitador José de Utrera visited San Luis, noting that he had been preceded by Padre Visitador Agustín Carta on Dec. 22, 1752. He checked the accounts and writes that the mission has "352 cattle, large and small, 200 sheep and goats, 60 riding animals, 14 almudas of wheat, and 6 of corn have been planted, and a bit of sugar cane. There are 80 families, totaling 352 souls, in 4 rancherías which are San Luis, San Juan Nepomuceno, La Magdalena, and SS. Trinidad." They speak Guaycura. There is a house of rock and lime made by P. Baegert, and he is making a church out of the same material; the church is served by one exit; but has good vestments of all colors. There are 3 pairs of silver cruets. It appears to have been founded July 1738. "Padre Baegert is writing a grammar and vocabulary of this language which is spoken here and in La Pasión, and in Todos Santos."[17] The visiting station of La Santíssima Trinidad was probably all that was left of the mission that had been proposed before.

The next day Padre Utrera visited La Pasión, again noting the previous visit of P. Carta on Dec. 26, 1752. He checked the books which showed arms from other missions, and inventoried the mission: 240 riding animals, 650 cattle, 490 small animals, 40 burros, and a small vineyard that yielded 4 tinajas of wine. One fanega of corn has been planted, and 1 1/2 of wheat. There are 160 families, 624 people in 6 rancherías: La Pasión is now the mission headquarters and the center of the priests, Los Dolores (which was the center before on the California Sea and where there is a house and canoe, and the place is called Apaté), La Encarnación, La Redención, La Resurrección and La Magdalena. Guaycura language. The house is short. There is no church yet. A room substitutes for it. There are good vestments: 2 chalices, 2 pairs of cruets.[18]

In 1756 Baegert went to the west coast to try to find water for the Indians there by digging wells, but he was unsuccessful.[19]

The Mission

The mission was naturally the focus of Baegert's life, and it didn't have much competition. Aside from mission buildings, "there is nothing to be seen in California which bears a resemblance to a town, a village, a human dwelling, a shack, or a doghouse."[20] And "although the homes of the missionaries were poorly furnished and the kitchens badly equipped, the churches were richly decorated and the vestries well supplied with everything."[21] The money for the adornment of these mission buildings came from their annuities, and the sale of what they could produce. The

missionaries brought in from the mainland "white wax, a few pairs of shoes, some chocolate which everybody thinks he is entitled to drink," and now one year a surplice might be ordered, or some other priestly vestment; "the next, a stole; the third, a choir cope, a bell, a carved or painted picture, an altar or something else for the Church. The remainder, which usually made up three quarters of the entire consignment, consisted of all kinds of blue and white, coarse and rough cloth, to cover the naked Californians."[22]

The new church at San Luis had on its wall 10 paintings in gilded frames and a fine statue of the Most Holy Virgin standing on the tabernacle.[23] The tabernacle had no consecrated host in it, that privilege being reserved for the head mission in Loreto. It also had two other pictures, as well as a huge picture of St. Aloysius, i.e., San Luis Gonzaga, painted on the end wall of the choir behind the tabernacle, and two other pictures on each side of the altar.[24] And Baegert tells us that no mission had less than three bells.[25] On Dec. 23, 1758 Padre Lamberto sang the first Mass there.

In contrast, the missionary's home was quite humble. "The missionary's kitchen contained a copper pan, a small copper vessel in which to prepare the chocolate, both tinned for the first and last time when they were bought in Mexico; two or three pots made of clay and goat manure, unglazed and only half baked on charcoal in the open air; a small spit, which often remained unused for half a year; and some cow bladders filled with fat. In the rest of the house were to be found a crucifix, some paper pictures on the wall, an adequate library, two or three hard chairs, an equally hard bed without curtains, or in its place, a cattle skin on the bare ground."[26] He planted a little garden where he grew beans, turnips and cabbage, as well as watermelons and other melons. He was dependent on the mission spring which emptied into a natural well 30 or 40 feet across. He planted and irrigated a little field of wheat, and he also grew sugar cane which he sold to the mission soldiers and herdsmen, and used the money to buy corn for his herdsmen. "Also, one should know that I have in California in my mission, besides a herd of 400 goats and sheep, over 700 cows, bulls, oxen, horses and colts running around. In spite of this, I put up with porridge every night for over two months. My little animals collapsed because of hunger and in the sun roast beef does not taste good to me even at noon."[27] To protect his herds he needed five or six herdsmen who first "rode a week in one direction and then a week in another, in order to herd the animals together, and the cattle hardly paid for the bread of the cowherds and helpers."[28]

For the space of six or seven years he planted six or seven small pieces of land here and there, and gathered several thousand bushels of corn and wheat. "Yet," he tells us, "most of the time I had no bread in my house. And when I wished to honor a guest, I had to request a fowl from one of my soldiers – who kept a few chickens on his own corn ration – while I saved my wheat and corn for needy Indians. In my kitchen I also used suet, even on days of fasting, because I had no butter. In many years I hardly tasted meat other than that of lean bulls, which were killed every fourteen days. I never had veal. I seldom saw my roasting spit on the table, although more than once I saw maggots there."[29] And the crops were periodically assaulted by locusts. [30]

But even this relative abundance of food was not to last. The thieving "of the Indians from my

own and another mission forced me to do away with" the herds of animals.[31] The Indians "again went too far" and pulled up his sugar cane before it was ripe. "They cannot give up stealing, just as the cat cannot help catching mice… They stole the unripened figs from some trees which I have here; they forced me to tear out all melon plants with still unripened fruit; they took 150 pounds of sugar… reduced 400 goats and sheep to such a small number I had to give the remaining ones into the care of my neighbor. Partly my own Indians, partly those of the neighboring mission, killed over 400 horses and cattle."[32]

And Baegert didn't care much for the soldiers stationed at the mission. "They know nothing of military exercises… They are in every respect inexperienced, ignorant, and clumsy fellows born in America of Spanish parents."[33] They serve on horseback or mule and must keep five mounts which they have to buy, as well as their weapons – sword, musket, shield, and armor made out of four tanned layers of white deerskin, and their food and clothes. They guard the missionary and go with him on all of his travels.[34] But it was not the soldiers' lack of education and culture that bothered Baegert the most. It was their behavior.

"I have only four louts as soldiers to guard and protect me, who are my dependents. They are often relieved and are kept in strict order by their captain so that they cannot at all, neither days nor nights, go for a walk when they please but have to stay in their quarters. "In spite of that I discovered in four years alone more than twelve whore-mongers and seducers of Indians girls, even though not virgins, who were all publicly thrown in prison and several were cashiered and exiled across the ocean by their captain."[35] In only a few years, he tells us, he had to send "at least two dozen of these men back to Loreto."[36]

In this kind of setting, along with his feeling of failure in his ministry to the Indians, he took refuge in his routines, persevering without a sense of joy. He had his friend, Padre Lamberto; he had his house and courtyard; he had his work at the mission and his visits to the sick, and he had his books. Baegert tells us that given the rocky land and the intensity of the sun, he didn't "leave the house merely to take a walk. All my promenading during that time had to be done in the little walled court before my house, and only after sunset."[37]

He spends his time left over from the Indians reading and doing small craft work. "As the sun at all times burns down from the ever bright sky, and everything everywhere is covered with stones and thorns, I less and less feel the desire of leaving my house or setting one foot outside the yard except to visit sick people."[38] "In my library I have 78 works and volumes, among them are 46 in French… With these books I spend my spare time."[39] And he even writes to his brother in 1761: "I can assure Your Reverence that from the moment when I entered the ship in Genoa up to this day, I have not experienced in any way what might be called recreation or any other diversion."[40]

And it was definitely more than the weather – weather he had praised, and winter weather that could be superb – that kept him inside. He writes: "I am unable to praise those among whom I lived for seventeen years and, consequently, had enough time to become thoroughly acquainted with them. I must, rather, admit with great sorrow that, although I have used many means to

educate them, together with the seed of the Divine Word, which was preached to them so many times, my labor has borne little fruit."[41] He is not sure if other Indians are better. "It can also be that they are the same all over America, and that they get worse and more godless after being baptized… You may find among so much evil also something good, only if it is that a missionary in such a small mission of a few heads can "shove off" into Heaven at least ten souls."[42]

Baegert found himself faced with difficulties, even when it was a question of his sacramental ministry. There were problems with hearing confessions and, as we will soon see, there were problems that arose in caring for the dying, as well. He wondered if he had to create a "new theology" since his Indians after confession were continually falling back into the same sexual sins. He went ahead and absolved them, reasoning that in some fashion they could be considered in danger of death if they were to fall sick far away from the possibility of the missionary helping them.[43] The result of this conflict is that he appears to have been less willing to give his parishioners communion than the other missionaries, as we will see from the remarks of Padre Visitador Ignacio Lizasoáin.

Baegert strikes us as someone rather humorless, or perhaps better, someone whose humor comes out in the form of a rather sardonic, biting wit. Yet he soldiered on: "Several times I could have changed my post and gone to another place where, I am sure, I would have found better food and many other things I did not have, but it was not very hard for me to resist the temptation. In California the missionary has small regard for temporal goods or personal advantages."[44]

There certainly wasn't much of either to be had in Jesuit California. They had gone out of their way to try to maintain not only religious but civil control in order to avoid the exploitation of the Indians by Spanish colonists, as had happened in other parts of the New World. The missions were supported by revenues generated from investments in Mexico, and never came close to paying for themselves. "If one shared the money among the Indians and their families spent by the king for California since 1701, and the foundation and the interest, they and their descendants could become knights of the Holy Roman Empire and drive around in coaches in the Wetterau."[45]

The missionaries could hardly help living a rather penitential life, willingly or not, given the settings of most of the missions and the work they were called on to do. And to this some of them added their personal penances: "There were those who abstained from wine, although they had the best that was grown in California, who rarely took off their *cilicium* (i.e., hair shirts) and slept every night on the bare floor or on the altar steps, or those who for days and nights tended the sick in uncomfortable sick-houses, depriving themselves of their only bed and offering it to a sick person. Some even had scruples about acquiring the necessary clothing and food for themselves for fear they might thereby deprive the poor Californians. Others, who never had a kitchen of their own, ate as their chief meal a thin piece of bone-dry meat warmed a little in the community copper kettle used for preparing Indian corn for the Indians."[46]

But good intentions, even heroic intentions, were not enough, at least from the human perspective. Christianity remained in large measure, at least in Baegert's mind, something imposed from without. "I am firmly convinced that if the thirteen missionaries, spread out in the twelve missions in California, would leave the country, from that hour Christianity would vanish and not one child would be baptized in the future. Such is my abysmal judgment."[47] And the missionaries, themselves, armed with these good intentions, failed to see that they were the unwitting instruments of the destruction of the Indians. They could not see the connection, at least in any efficacious way, between their presence, and thus the presence of the whole colonizing community, and the terrible epidemics that decimated the tribes, and neither could they distinguish clearly between preaching the Gospel and making the Indians subjects of the Spanish crown. The Gospel came freighted with all sorts of social and cultural baggage. The missionaries, for the most part, were in no real position psychologically to sympathetically try to understand what the Indians actually believed, or appreciate the value it had. Further – and this is a common trait of the times – they were quite willing to use force, if not to impose belief in Christianity, to impose its morality and the culture they felt went with it on the Indians.

Los Dolores

Padre Jacobo leaves us a collection of small glimpses of Los Dolores from 1751 onwards. There were wild ducks to be found there in several swamps,[48] and a few fish and carp, and if its missionary would simply catch enough fish for 6 days just for his own kitchen every bit of fish life would disappear from his district.[49] Two creeks come together, he tells us, at Los Dolores, but after an hour you can't find them.[50] And there are mountain lions, and one invaded Los Dolores while he was visiting, and attacked a 14-year-old boy in daylight in front of everyone,[51] and Padre Lamberto once found a whale on the shore that was 20 yards long.[52]

Los Dolores was roughly a 5 to 6 hour trip away from San Luis Gonzaga, and the two missionaries used to take turns visiting each other every month. Padre Lamberto "is a man full of love for the poor Indians and kindly toward me. He pleased me a lot with grapes, pomegranates, figs, and so on."[53] "My neighbor lives 6 hours away in a valley full of mountains and hills. When I visit him and stand on a rim from where one climbs down into the deep valley, then I see in a half circle more than 10 dozen hills lifting up their heads. According to their appearance, one may call them bells or sugar cones."[54] Here he is referring to the locally made raw sugar, or *panocha,* which was cast into the form of truncated cones. Baegert lived at Los Dolores for several months after arriving in Baja California, probably to learn the language and get oriented, but he complains that although the room he had was paved, the mice ran around in daytime and chewed up his bed covers.

Sometime during Baegert's stay in Baja California there was a smallpox epidemic in Los Dolores.[55] This smallpox epidemic had kept its missionary "almost constantly on horseback."[56] In another place Baegert tells us that "in 1763 a traveling Spaniard who had recently recovered from smallpox presented a shred of cloth to a native. Within three months this gift caused the death of

more than a hundred people at a small mission, without mentioning those who were cured thanks to the untiring efforts and care of the missionaries. Not one of them would have escaped unharmed had not the majority run far away from the hospital as soon as they realized the contagious nature of the disease."[57] This, too, probably refers to the same incident.

Padre Juan de Armesto, the procurator of California, came to visit both missions. Armesto was procurator between 1747 and 1752.[58] On Aug. 15, 1754 Baegert made his final profession there, with Padre Lamberto presiding.[59] Baegert described flash floods that could be heard half an hour before they arrived, and periodically destroyed the California mission gardens and orchards. "Thus it happened that in 1763, when I visited a mission and tried to find an orchard containing 15 or more very large fig trees and as many pomegranate trees, which I had seen more than 100 times in the previous year, I could find neither the trees nor the land upon which they had stood only two days before my visit."[60]

In his letter of Oct. 7, 1755, he tells us that he had gone to Los Dolores on October 2 to assist Hostell with solemn confirmation, and to help hear confession. Hostell, who was to serve as padre visitador between 1755-1757, wrote to his father on January 17, 1758: "A few years ago I traversed for a third time all of California – a truly strenuous trip – in order to confer the sacrament of confirmation on nearly 6,000 prepared to receive it."[61]

The Guaycura Indians

Mission San Luis Gonzaga consisted of 360 Guaycuras, yet in another place he puts the number of people in his mission at 1,000, and 6,000 in Jesuit California. Perhaps he is including the rancherías along the west coast that have not actually been incorporated in San Luis. In any event, his 360 are spread out over 20 hours traveling time, all the way to the Bahía de Santa María Magdalena. They are divided into three brigades, as he calls them: one to the north, one toward the east, a third to the west on the shore of the Mar del Sur.[62] Santa María Magdalena to the west is the richest because they have an abundance of fish and turtles. They fish standing or sitting on rafts of reeds – sometimes made of two bundles of reeds with a piece of wood between them – with wooden spears, but don't use fish hooks or nets.[63] It used to take 8 hours to reach the western group, "but this year I straightened and cleaned the road or path which curved a million times."[64] He tells us that there are 150 people on the west coast.[65] If we follow Hostell's remarks, the one to the north was San Juan Nepomuceno, and the one to the east probably Acheme.

And these brigades which are equivalent to the pueblos are composed of various bands: "the *Paurus, Atschémes, Mitschirikutamáis, Mitschirikuteurus, Mitschirikutaruanajéres, Te ackwás, Teenguábebes, Utschis, Ikas, Anjukwáres, Utschipujes*, all being different tribes, but hardly amounting in all to 500 souls."[66] And he tells us, "My Ikas in California spoke a language different from the rest of the people in my mission, but I am quite sure the whole nation of the

Ikas never numbered 500 persons."[67]

Baegert was not only a keen observer about what went on around him, but he reflected on its implications. He found shells inland that still maintained their colors, and concluded that "where land is now there was once the sea." "My suspicion is that California arose long after the great flood out of the salty ocean water by and by through the force of an underground fire."[68] And he even speculated about where the Indians had come from, and he came up with four theories that have a surprisingly contemporary ring, and have been brought forth during the course of the 20th century. They may have come from across the Gulf, or from crossing the Colorado River, or by crossing the Gulf in the north where it is narrow and full of islands. But the theory he leans towards is that nobody would have come to California if they had not been "forced and pushed." "I believe, therefore, that the first California Indians, pursued by their enemies, entered this peninsula on foot and from the north in search of a safe refuge."[69]

The Guaycuras have brown-black skin,[70] or "dark chestnut, or clove-brown… shading almost to black in sun and to a swarthy or copper-red complexion in others."[71] They have pitch dark eyes and black straight hair, which the men wear to their shoulders, and the women in some places wear much shorter,[72] and even the children are born with a full head of hair and with light skin. Some are tall, some are small, but none are fat. They are well proportioned and athletic, and walk perfectly upright. The men are beardless with scanty eyebrows, and "the angles of the eyes towards the nose are not pointed, but arched like a bow."[73]

The men go around completely naked, while the women string beads of reeds on cords to hang from their waist to create garments that reach to their thighs, or knees, or ankles, and wear untanned deerskins behind. They never wash, or wash with urine. They lay in dust and ashes, and sometimes he can't recognize people he knows well. Baegert tells us they pierce their ears, but not their noses: "In earlier times, both earlobes of newly born male children were pierced with a pointed piece of wood; later on, the openings were extended by inserting bones and pieces of wood, so that the ears of some natives almost touched their shoulders. Nowadays they omit this custom…"[74] Hostell has already told us in his 1758 letter to Joseph Burscheid that the Guaycuras pierce both their ears and their noses. Perhaps this, too, was a custom that was dying out, yet still continued in Los Dolores, or the Los Dolores Guaycura differed in this practice from their San Luis neighbors. "The women sit with legs stretched out, the men cross them in the Asiatic manner."[75] The men carry things on their heads, but the women carry them on their backs, supported on a rope that goes around their forehead. Their forehead is protected by a piece of untanned deer skin which reaches above their head, and makes them appear like they are wearing a headdress.[76]

"Their household utensils – if I may call them that – consist of bows, arrows, a stone instead of a knife, a bone or a pointed piece of wood for digging roots, a turtle shell used as basket or cradle, a large gut or the bladder of an animal for fetching water or carrying it on trips, and finally, if luck is with them, a little knitted sack, like a fish net, made of the above-mentioned aloe fibers or the skin of a wildcat, in which they keep and carry their provisions, sandals, and all kinds of filthy old

rags."[77] "With their knives and shears, which are sharp stones, they cut reeds, sticks, aloe, disembowel and strip animals, yes, even use these same instruments to cut their own hair close to the skin…"[78] They use six foot long bows[79] with serrated triangular arrowheads[80] that look like a snake's tongue, some of which are made of flint.[81]

And Baegert describes their daily schedule. They sleep until hunger makes them get up. As soon as they are awake they start eating, laughing, chattering and joking. Then the men get their bows and arrows and the women their yokes or turtle shells tied to their forehead. They wander around in little groups, and still they are laughing, chattering and joking. They find mice or rabbits or deer, dig up some roots, rest a little in the shade, "all the while their tongues keep wagging." They fool around, walk back, and where there is water cook and grind their food, "constantly chattering, they eat as long as something is left and there is still space in their stomachs,"[82] and this they do day after day, month the month, the whole year. In short, the Indian "jumps up when it is cold and runs the whole day with bow and arrows through the hills and valleys, through stones and thorns, in order to catch some vipers or a few bats."[83]

The Indians "dwell, eat, sleep, and live all the time under the free sky, in open fields, and on the bare ground. Yet, by using brushwood, they construct in winter, when the wind blows somewhat sharply, a kind of wall in the shape of a half moon, two spans high."[84] Occasionally, to shelter the sick from heat or cold, they make low brush shelters, and they do the same at the mission.[85] They make fire by twirling a pointed stick between their hands which fits in a hole in another stick laying on the ground.[86] They live "in cleft rocks and caves, and that only when it actually rains and if such places are close at hand. However, there are not many of these caves, and they cannot be found everywhere."[87] They are exceedingly good runners. One 14-year-old boy, for example, had covered on foot in 5 hours, a distance of more than 9 hours.[88] They make sandals out of two pieces of deerskin by passing a string between "the big and small toes and around the ankles."[89]

"Their food is poor, but it is very cheap, and it keeps the Indians healthy. They grow strong on it and live to a very old age." They eat yucca, agave, and water reed roots. They throw their meat into the fire, and indifferently cook it so the outside is charred and the inside is raw and bloody. They gather all sorts of small seeds, even extremely tiny ones, and they gather pods from shrubs and trees. They toast the seeds by shaking them, together with hot coals, in a turtle shell or a woven mat.[90] But all this doesn't amount to much. "The seeds and pods which a man can collect with much toil during a whole year may scarcely amount to twelve bushels."[91] Remarkably, they don't use salt, but enjoy it like candy when it is given to them.[92]

They are omnivorous eaters, eating all sorts of animals and plants and insects, but large game did not make up a large portion of their diet. "As far as the natives are concerned, let us suppose that 100 families killed 300 deer in one year (which, however, is not the case). This would provide only three meals per family in 365 days and would help very little to relieve the hunger and the poverty of the natives. The hunt after snakes, lizards, mice, and rats, which they practice with much zeal, is far more remunerative and provides their kitchens with a great many more roasts."[93] But the culinary high point of the year is the harvest of the pitahayas, the succulent

cactus fruit they loved so well, and with good reason. Baegert also does not fail to report on the second harvest of the pitahayas, that is, the harvesting of the seeds from the fruit that had been eaten and excreted. "At the time of the *pitahayas*… the California Indians can go for several days without drinking water. At other times, while traveling in waterless territory, they carry water with them, either in a turtle bladder or in dried intestines, which are, as a rule, thick as an arm."[94]

While the material life of the Guaycuras was difficult, and their diet was, no doubt, often meager, Baegert remarks about how happy they were. "He is with his way of life always in a good mood and has a funny humor, and his nature is content with a few things – what more does an Indian want? It also must be admitted that in truth they are really happy because they are content as they believe they do not miss anything."[95] Elsewhere he remarks: "I know of no others under the sun which have such a good disposition and laugh so heartily as they do."[96] This happiness on the part of the natives, however, did not seem to give Baegert pause when he coerced them to live another kind of life that did not agree with them.

At times he refers to their skin color in a way, i.e., "black heads,"[97] that leads us to wonder whether he was, indeed, a racist, but that does not seem to be the case. He writes, "They are endowed with reason and understanding like other people, and I think that, if in their early childhood they were sent to Europe, the boys to seminaries and colleges, and the girls to convents, they would go as far as any European in mores, virtues, in all arts and sciences. Many good examples of that can be found in different American provinces. Their animal-like stupidity is not inborn but grows slowly, just as intelligence does with others, and becomes more pronounced with the years."[98]

Some had learned trades by simple observation. There appears to have been an Indian who did some of the masonry work on the mission, but as Baegert notes, he did not think about building something more substantial for his own family. But for many others he felt that as time went on the talents they had received from God and nature, like other people, "are likely to rust and become rustier and rustier with every day for lack of experience."[99] He is viewing them across the cultural divide which rarely gets bridged. He simply can't understand why they are content with the way things are and are not interested in becoming Europeans. They, on their part, probably couldn't grasp very well just what mission life was about.

Some Indians count only to 3, and not beyond 6 in any event. A number beyond 6 is just designated as "much." They are fearless in climbing to the top of giant cardon cacti, or riding half-wild horses on terrifying trails, or going out to sea in their flimsy-appearing rafts, but "laziness, lying and stealing are their three hereditary vices."[100] They are strong, but they resist working at the mission. They have to be driven to it, and they often pretend to be sick, and so Baegert calls Sunday "the day of miracles" because the sick are suddenly better because they don't have to work. To his mind they are prodigious thieves, as we saw, who have forced him to do away with his garden and sugar cane, and his herds of animals. They have little conception of time, and for the most part confine themselves to "a little while ago," or "long ago,

which might indicate 1 or 20 years – it makes no difference to them."[101]

Baegert tells us: "They never take pains to reflect."[102] "I once asked a native woman who understood Spanish (it must have been during the pitahaya season) why she had not done the penance imposed on her after her previous confession (and which may have consisted of reciting one or several rosaries). In good Spanish she replied, "De puro comer," "Because I was eating." I asked another woman, a rather intelligent person, what she had done or thought before my arrival at the church. The blunt answer was, "Nothing." She did not have to swear an oath; I believed it."[103] The cultural divide was also a psychological divide.

It wasn't as if Baegert with his inquiring mind never tried to fathom the inner life of the Indians, as these questions imply. But he was so positioned as to make that a difficult task, and even one that they would resist, and he never really succeeded. Why should they trust him with their deepest religious secrets when he was instrumental in destroying their religion? "I have often asked several to tell about their old customs and various observations, but all questioning was for nothing and they very fast cut me off with their *ci perthe risi*, that means "who knows?" And even if they had confided in him, he would have had a very hard time understanding that world.

But he found out from Padre Lamberto that they had initiation rites for the girls and boys when they came of age, and someone else told him that they broke the spines of the dead, rolled them in a ball and buried them so they would not get up again.[104] They still had the custom of wrapping up the dead in deer skins or other materials, and sometimes they did it so quickly that the person had not yet expired. He observed them putting shoes on the feet of the dead, which to his mind indicated that they were preparing them for a journey.[105] Some of them, when they were ill and in danger of death, did not want to come to the mission. When Baegert asked them why, he was told that "they considered it a mocking of the dead to bury them with the ringing of bells, chanting, and other Catholic-Christian customs."[106] They had songs they called *Ambera didi*, and a dance called *Agenari*. Baegert in his typical fashion likens the singing to whining, and the dancing to foolish "jumping and leaping before and behind each other and around in a circle." These dances that could last all night was something he disapproved of because they led to "great disorder."[107] Elsewhere he describes this as "general prostitution" when the neighboring tribes got together,"[108] and wife-switching.[109]

On special days they painted themselves red and yellow, colors they obtained from burning stones.[110] And while when Baegert asked them about God and the soul he never got anywhere, he did manage to piece together a few of their beliefs. "Some of my parishioners believe themselves to be descendants of a bird, others of a stone which was lying not far from my house, …"[111] In a similar story the human race came out of the mating of *Emma*, the devil, and a bird, *Joeminini generis*, but the bird somehow had been a woman. He was also told that people first came from the north, and that all animals, wood and stone had once been human beings.[112]

Baegert's natural rivals were the shamans who thought of themselves as pitahaya makers, exorcists and doctors. They go into a cave and talk with a different voice and pretend

they are talking with Emma. "They hide in their mouths or between their fingers a stone or bone and exhale on the patient here and there and finally bring forth what they have hidden, and tell them that this had stuck in their body and caused the sickness."[113] They would wash and lick the patient, and blow at him through a small tube, and sometimes they would cut open the infection and make small cuts in the middle of the person's face, as well.[114] And their reward is a meal of a few bats. The Guaycuras, according to Baegert, had little notion of medicine, and their universal remedy was to bind tightly the affected part. They also practiced "bleeding and cupping and extract thorns and splinters from their hands and feet" with their sharp stone tools.[115] In time of mourning they cut their hair, which was given to the shamans for wigs and long capes, or mantles, made entirely of human hair, which they wear during ceremonies, and "the missionaries burn a great number of these garments at all the newly established missions."[116] When they were mourning they would lament and beat their heads with sharp stones until they bled. The Indians objected, at times, to Christian burial and tried to avoid it, as we saw. Perhaps they felt it was a mocking of the dead because the Christian ceremonies or singing contrasted too strongly with their traditional mourning rites. [117]

Another Jesuit missionary described the Guaycuras – perhaps the people of San Luis and Los Dolores, or perhaps those of La Paz, or a composite of all of them – like this: "They are generally of a somber complexion and of medium stature but robust and sturdy. Their nature is wild, cruel, and haughty; they do not know how to conceal their intentions or feelings and are inclined to quarrels and murders. In order to incite the men to take revenge on their enemies the women, in addition to their cries and tears, prick and wound themselves on the head with a sharpened bone so that the men will be aroused by the sight of blood to spill the blood of the enemy. Those of this tribe who have given themselves over to the care of the Missionary Fathers show a capacity to learn whatever they are taught, and it is this group which is used to pacify and reduce the others. For this reason murders are now uncommon."[118]

Baegert calls the Guaycuras "a people without government, police, religion and laws…"[119] "They neither pray to the true and only God, nor do they believe in false deities."[120] They practice polygamy, and a man used to marry all the sisters in the family, and the son-in-law could not look at his mother-in-law, or his wife's female relations at certain times. When they are present he has to hide himself. [121] Here we can recall the incident on Guillén's return journey from his expedition to La Paz, in which the Spaniards laughed at an Indian who could not be in camp with his father-in-law. Perhaps here, too, it was really a question of the Spaniards misunderstanding father-in-law for mother-in-law. When they visit, they say nothing, and neither do they greet anybody, and when they dislike something they spit sideways and scrape the ground with their left foot. [122]

They appear to have no real conception of marriage. When they come to the mission to be married no one comes with them. They show no joy, have no special meal unless the missionary gives it to them, and wander off apart afterwards. They didn't even have the word "to marry," "which now is expressed quite ingeniously in their language by the words *tikére undiri*, that is, to touch each other's arms or hands."[123] Finding a mate was made more difficult

because in most missions the males outnumbered the females.[124] Baegert tells us that "many native women never bear any children; others, and not a few, bear only one."[125] His 90 married couples have few children. Occasionally a woman will bear eight or ten, but only one or two will reach maturity. The women are careless before and after birth, and sometimes practice abortion.[126]

These, then, are the Indians who the Jesuits here in the Guaycura nation have been trying to integrate into their missions. The missionarys' plan was not only to bring the Gospel to the rancherías, but, as we saw, to consolidate the rancherías into pueblos, or visiting stations, placed strategically around the mission headquarters. But the whole mission enterprise generated very human but tragic paradoxes. The intelligence and zeal of the missionary and even their individual virtue goes hand in hand with social catastrophe. Literally their good intentions lead to disaster for the Indians.

Baegert, himself, realized there couldn't be many Californians because of the nature of the country, and therefore its limited carrying capacity. This number was diminished to some extent by the warfare between the different bands, but the missionaries were witness to a precipitous decline in the number of Indians. The very mission enterprise, beginning with the initial contact, right through the consolidation of the Indians into pueblos, is going to stand in direct relationship to their decline. The missionaries certainly understood that epidemics were sweeping the Indians. How could they not? But Baegert says, "But I leave others to divine why, after the discovery of (America)… its inhabitants have decreased and daily continue to decrease." But we have to remember that the missionaries were only beginning to have a clear idea of the nature of infectious diseases, for Baegert continues, "This is even true in those provinces where the Europeans have not ruled and are not yet masters, and where the Americans have not been hurt and have retained their liberty."[127] This lack of medical understanding explains why a little later when he is talking about plague and general contagious diseases, "which occur not infrequently,"[128] he does so in the context of explaining why the missions could not be consolidated, for in this case a single priest could not take care of so many sick parishioners. Baegert, himself, however, told us the story of a Spaniard who had suffered from smallpox and then had given a piece of cloth to the Indians, which led to an epidemic that killed 100 of them. But what is much less excusable than his lack of understanding of infectious diseases was his attitude about the disappearance of the Indians: "The world misses little thereby and loses nothing of its splendor."[129]

San Luis Gonzaga more or less followed the basic Jesuit mission pattern. Baegert's "brigades" of Indians would take turns coming to Chiriyaquí to participate fully in mission life. He tells us that the group from the Pacific Coast came to the mission every 3 or 4 weeks, and stayed for 14 days, after which they were replaced by another brigade. Elsewhere he tells us that these groups stayed for a week. Perhaps the Magdalena group stayed longer because of the distance they had to travel.[130] Their schedule: Mass at sunrise, during which they said the rosary, and before and after Mass they were taught Christian doctrine "by being asked questions in their own

language."[131] This appears to have been teaching them one of the creeds or something like it. Then the missionary talked to them for 30 to 45 minutes explaining these Christian doctrines. Then they are dismissed. "From the church they run helter-skelter as fast as possible into the woods to look for some food."[132] At sunset the bells call the Indians back, and they recite the rosary and a litany, and recite Christian doctrine again. The bells were also rung at other times during the day to remind everyone to pray. If they work, they are fed *atole*, a gruel of ground corn.[133]

From each band Indians were chosen to be fiscals and magistrates. They were in charge of collecting the Indians of each brigade and bringing them to the mission, and when at the mission, making sure the Indians entered the Church at the proper time. They also helped the Indians review their catechism, observe the times of silence, punish minor offenses, and report major ones. Mission attendance for the Indians was definitely not a voluntary affair. "They have to be forced with threats or even with thrashing not only to work, but also to go to Church, to follow Christian dogma, and to pray."[134] In addition to thrashing, punishment included hobbling with foot chains and shaving the head of the Indian, and painting his body, and leading him around on a donkey.[135]

One of the missionary's principle duties was to visit the sick because under the theology of the times, this was essential to do so before they died if the person was not yet baptized if they were to be saved. It was also of great importance, if they were Christians, that they go to confession and receive the last rites of the Church, and thus increase their chances of going to heaven. The presumption here was that in most cases the Indians, because of their incessant sexual misbehavior, were in a state of serious sin. This imperative of visiting the sick was enforced on both missionaries and Indians alike. The Indians knew they would be punished if they did not report the sick people among them. The missionaries, themselves, knew they would be held to account if a sick person died without them being in attendance.

Baegert tells us of some of the long journeys he undertook to fulfill this obligation, and incidentally, about the lack of hospitality from the Indians he suffered along the way. But the Indians were not above taking advantage of the situation. It was as if they realized that they had this one power, their own illnesses, by which they could compel the missionary. So the missionaries were called out to visit people who were not seriously ill either by a fear of punishment or even out of mischief. In one case Baegert was called out to minister to a young man who was feigning illness, but since he was more familiar with mortal illnesses in cows than in humans, rolled on the ground and mooed. Baegert was going to punish him severely for this deception, but he ran away, and after that carried the name Clemente Vaca, that is, Clemente the Cow.

The Indians had to dress up when they came to Church. The men got a piece of blue cloth, six spans long and two wide, which they used like a loin cloth. They also got a blue woolen short skirt if the missionary had enough cloth. "The women and girls, however, are provided with a roughly woven, thick, white veil of wool, which covers the head and all of the body down to the

feet." Sometimes the women also got skirts, jackets, and shirts, and the men trousers and long coats. "However, as soon as they leave the church, the women throw off their veils and the men their long coats because these coverings are too cumbersome and an awful impediment to their wanderings, especially in the summer."[136] No doubt these garments were, for the most part, highly impractical, and a substantial portion of the mission revenues were spent on buying the cloth. The Indian men, however, apparently went out of their way to wear their cloth trousers, although Baegert tried to convince them to make garments out of deerskin. Indeed, they would "trade about a dozen of these skins for one pair of old cloth trousers which are torn up within three months."[137]

Lamberto Hostell was padre visitador from 1755 to 1757, and from 1764 to 1766, and Anastasio Verduzco by 1766 was the *mayordomo*, or foreman, of Los Dolores.[138]

1762 Visit of Lizasoáin

Padre Visitador Ignacio Lizasoáin visits California and stops at San Luis and Los Dolores.[139] The mission has 90 families, 240 confessions, few communions, no catechumens, and 300 people in all. "This mission is composed of 3 pueblos: the headquarters San Luis, San Juan Nepamuseno, (as he spelled it) and Santa Magdalena, and is 40 leagues distant from San Javier and 8 leagues from the mission of Los Dolores. Minor livestock few, major livestock none. (Baegert has done away with them because of the thieving of the Indians, as we saw.) It only has 60 saddle animals.

"Mission of Los Dolores, missionary Padre Lamberto Hostell, families 132, widows 27, widowers 34, confessions 369, communions 133, catechumens 0, individuals 573, goods and fields, cattle 0, mules, horses and oxen few, it is distant from San Luis 8 leagues."

This is a rather meager census, but Lizasoáin adds something to his report that is very valuable. It is his itinerary traveling through this area.

"Feb. 15 from San Javier to La Presentación 5 leagues.

16. From La Presentación to the arroyo called El Pozito del Miguel 9 leagues.

17. From this arroyo of Miguel, eating in the arroyo called Jesús María and sleeping at the arroyo of Quepó 13 leagues.

18. From this arroyo eating at the beginning of the plains of San Luis 10 leagues, and sleeping at San Luis which are 14 leagues.

20. From San Luis to La Pasión 8 leagues of good road.

22. From La Pasión to Guí 4 leagues.

23. From Guí eating in the arroyo and sleeping at San Hilario 16 leagues.

24. From San Hilario in the afternoon to a plain without water 6 leagues.

25. From this plain eating at Salto de los Reyes and sleeping at the mouth of the arroyo 11 leagues.

26. From this arroyo eating at Los Aripes and sleeping at Pavellon without water 15 leagues.

27. From El Pavellon eating at Muela and sleeping at Nuestra Señora del Pilar 15 leagues."

Coming back he passed through the same country, but by a different route. He slept on the plains near La Paz on Mar. 9, and on the 10th went from the plains to eat in a dry arroyo near the canyon of Los Reyes, and to sleep in the middle of this canyon 13 leagues.

11. From this canyon to eat at Salto del Conejo and to sleep at Guadalupe 14 leagues.

12. From this arroyo of Guadalupe to eat at Los Paderones and to sleep at the plains of Las Liebres 13 leagues.

13. From the plains to eat at La Pasión 8 leagues.

15. From La Pasión to sleep at the third arroyo 13 leagues.

16. From this arroyo to sleep still in the arroyo 14 leagues.

17. From this arroyo to the Playa al Rincón 13 leagues.

18. From El Rincón del Marquéz to Loreto 7 leagues.

An Expedition to the Guaycura Nation in the Californias

Chapter 5: The Guaycuran Language

The native languages of the Baja California peninsula have often been divided into three families: the Yumans from San Javier north, the Guaycuras from Loreto down and including the La Paz area, and the Pericú in the Cape region and the Gulf islands. But early missionary accounts differ among themselves, as do modern scholars. William Massey, the pioneering archaeologist of Baja California Sur in recent times suggests, in fact, two families: the Yuman and the Guaycuran, and he divides the latter as follows: [1]

Guaicurian Family

Guaicura	Huchiti	(Uchití)	Pericú	
	Guaicura	Cora		Pericú
Callejue		Huchiti	Isleño	
		Aripe		
	Periúe			

In this schema the testimony of P. Sigismundo Taraval played an important role. He wrote, as we saw, about La Paz: "Comprising this mission were some 800 inhabitants who were scattered throughout seven rancherías, belonging to three main groups. One of these groups, which was related to the Indians of Mission Dolores, was that of the Callejues; another was the Huchitíes, which though reputed to be a branch of the Vaicuros yet speaks an almost wholly distinct language; the other was a small ranchería on one of the neighboring islands, belonging to the Pericúe nation. The Huchitíes group included four rancherías: the Aripes, Coras, Periúes, or Vinees, and those who are called by antonomasia the Huchitíes. These are the men that rose and, as will be related, started the rebellion."[2]

But Massey's classification of the Pericú being part of the Guaycuran family rather than a separate one has been called into question.[3] Don Laylander in a detailed review of the evidence, relying particularly on Padre Ignacio Nápoli's account of the Cora, concluded that the Cora were, in fact, identical to the Pericú and linguistically distinct from the Guaycura.[4]

Concerning our Guaycuran territory served by the missions of Los Dolores and San Luis Gonzaga, historical testimony has been more straight-forward and consistent. These people spoke Guaycura, which was the same language spoken by the Callejues in the south. But there was considerable diversity in the Guaycuran family of languages. The Monquí to the north at Liguí and Loreto appeared to have been Guaycuran speakers who spoke a tongue quite distinct from the Guaycurans in the south. We can recall how Guillén on his 1719 expedition took interpreters with him, and he clearly marked the linguistic boundaries between the Guaycura nation and the Monquí.

To the south of the Guaycura nation the Periué, Aripe and Uchití spoke Guaycuran languages which probably differed significantly from the Guaycura to the north of them, and the Monquí.

Miguel Venegas will write, for example, "The people understand one another only in some few words, which mean the same in the three languages of Loreto, Guaycura, and Uchití, and those words are very few."[5] This kind of linguistic diversity suggests either that the original Guaycura had been in Baja California for a long time, or that different Guaycuran bands had originally immigrated to the peninsula.

The Uchití

One Guaycuran tongue was spoken in the mission territory of Los Dolores and San Luis, but there were some interesting anomalies. We saw how the Guillén party on its way home from La Paz in 1721 encountered a ranchería whose people spoke Cora, and one old woman who spoke Guaycura, as well, translated. If we accept Laylander's identification of Cora and Pericú, then we can understand their presence as an indication that Pericú territory once extended further north than La Paz, but was compressed into the south by the arrival of the Guaycuras, leaving this isolated pocket of Pericú speakers, as well as the islands in the Gulf as far north at least to San José, still part of Pericú territory. It is possible that the same kind of phenomenon might account for the fact that the Cochimí territory extended south to San Javier, while the Guaycuras still lived to the west of it, and the Monquís to the east.

But there also appears to have been another non-Guaycuran speaking group in the Magdalena Bay area. Hostell in his informe of 1744 had written about Titapue near Magdalena Bay: "The pagan Uchitíes dwell in this area. The Ikas, Añudeves, and the natives from Ticudadei have joined them. The missionary found all of them well disposed to listen to the holy Gospel, as they informed him through the interpreter of their language, which is very different from Guaycuro."[6] Ernest Burrus who translated this text felt that Uchitíes was equivalent to the original Spanish text Huicipoeyes, and to Baegert's Utschipujes.[7]

Laylander suggests that Uchitíes is distinct from Huicipoeyes, and that Ika and Añubeve are place names like Ticudadei, and therefore we might not be faced with a major language division, but rather, a question of dialect. Guillén, for example, in his first expedition reports an incident which took place on Magdalena Bay. Monroy and his party came upon an Indian setting fire to a stand of mangroves: "he was caught by surprise and ran to hide behind a mangrove. The interpreter spoke to him, and the Indian answered, his language not being any other, I do not understand this language. They asked him about the water hole and people, and he answered that here there are no people, I live here alone; nor is there water and I do not drink it here."[8] Surprise, fear, and a somewhat different dialect rather than a distinct language could have come together to create this situation.

But it is still a real possibility that we are dealing with a distinct linguistic group. Place names in the Guaycura nation appeared to be named after the bands that lived there, or perhaps vice versa, so this kind of distinction does not rule out a group speaking a different language. Hostell

in his letter to his father of 1743, as we might remember, writes: "This coming October I shall attempt to find out whether two pagan tribes, the Ikas and the Huchipoies, are ready to receive the gospel and are willing to accompany me westward to the village which would be the fourth established by me. I have many reasons to be optimistic in their regard."[9] This new mission was never created, as we saw, but perhaps part of the motivation for creating it was not only the distance these natives lived from San Luis Gonzaga, but conceivably a difference in language, as well. Elsewhere Hostell writes: "My Guaycuro Indians alone make use of four different dialects. The same is also true of other missions. As a matter of fact, it not rarely happens that in one household the husband speaks one language and the wife another. Our older missionaries attribute this linguistic diversity to the fact that new groups of natives repeatedly descended from the north, bringing with them these different languages."[10]

Baegert leaves us a general comment on the four languages of California beyond Guaycura: "These are the Laymóna (Monquí) in the district of the mission of Loreto, the Cochimi in Mission San Xavier, and other languages toward the north, the Uchitíes and the Pericúes in the south, and the still unknown language spoken by the tribe which Father Linck visited on his trip."[11] Then he reports: "My Ikas in California spoke a language different from the rest of the people in my mission."[12] It is interesting to note that Baegert clearly distinguishes Guaycura from Uchití and Pericú. So both Hostell and Baegert, who knew Guaycura well, claimed that the Ikas spoke a "different," or "very different," language. This leads us to the tentative conclusion that there was an enclave of non-Guaycuran speakers in the area, or groups that belong to the Guaycuran family but spoke a very different dialect. Let's see if we can refine this hypothesis.

Could they have been Pericú speakers isolated in that area like the Coras we saw before? This does not appear likely because Hostell at the beginning of his missionary career had spent two years at San José, and thus we would imagine he knew something of the Pericú language and would have recognized it when he heard it. Taraval in describing the rebellion in the south and how the Spaniards searched for them leaves us some very interesting remarks that appear to throw light on this question. The Spaniards had been searching all over for the rebels: "Inasmuch as they had gone out and made a complete circle through the country of the Pericúes, had traveled overland from Dolores to La Paz together with the soldiers and Yaqui Indian allies, had searched along the entire coast bathed by the sea and gulf of the Californias at the time the commander went with the Dolores Indians to Loreto, there remained of all the enemy country only the far coast, that along the South Sea, which our men had not seen, traveled over, and passed through in safety. This had been accomplished, too, without harm to the faithful, and always to the damage of the unfaithful and the insurgents. Furthermore, the lands of this remote coast were the ancestral lands of the Huchitíes and, according to reports, some of their relatives still lived here. Certainly down near the shore stood a ranchería whose inmates spoke the same language as did those at Mission Dolores."[13] Taraval concludes: "Then after they had inspected all this territory they planned to continue on to Mission Dolores."[14] It appears that the only way to made sense out of this passage is to imagine them traveling north along the west coast toward the Magdalena Bay area. Later the soldiers, for example, made another foray from Los Dolores,

itself, in which they encountered the Pecunes and Catauros halfway to La Paz who aided them in killing the shaman of the Aripes, and we are told, "since they had explored the coast along the straits, they returned by way of the South Sea and finally returned safely to Dolores."[15] So according to Taraval, the Uchití once lived in the general area where Hostell encountered the Huicipoeyes speaking a very different language, and therefore it may be that Burrus was correct in thinking that the Huicipoeyes, and Baegert's Utschipujes, were equivalent to the Uchití. This would fit with Taraval claiming that the Uchití were a branch of the Guaycurans and spoke a very different language from them. Then it is possible that the Uchitís gradually moved further south, leaving some scattered bands of Uchití speakers in the Magdalena Bay area.

The Cubí

Guillén, himself, leaves us two terminological riddles. In the first he tells us when he traveled south of Liguí on his expedition to La Paz, "Here the territory of the Guaycura, or Cuvé, nation begins."[16] It seems that this name might have been used as an equivalent for the Guaycuras as a whole. Or less likely, it might have referred to a ranchería, and while there is no Cuvé ranchería that has come down to us, there is an Acuré. The word Cuvé, itself, does not seem to appear elsewhere.

The second riddle is more complicated and revealing. Members of the Guillén party to La Paz explored to the southeast, and came upon a temporary camp whose inhabitants fled, so "they did not know if the people were Guaycuras or Cubíes."[17] The implication is clear that Guaycuras are not Cubíes.

In a second incident we just looked at, on their return home from La Paz they came upon a ranchería where the people spoke Cora, "who our friends, Cubíes did not understand. However, the old woman, it appears, called to them in their language. The woman also knew the Guaycura language because she spoke well with our men."[18] The old woman speaks Cora to the people in the hills who the Cubíes cannot understand, and speaks Guaycura, as well. Are there three languages involved here, or two? That is the question. We saw that Cora could be Pericú, but there might be two other languages involved here: Cubí and Guaycura. Guillén had Cubí in his party for the return trip, and may have recruited them from the southeast of La Paz to fill the places left vacant by his Indian allies who had returned north by boat. In regard to the incident southeast of La Paz, M. León-Portilla suggests that the Cubíes could be related to the Uchití who lived in that area.[19]

In a third incident, the day after leaving the Cora ranchería, the explorers arrived at a place they called San Higinio del Guaycuro where they found just two women and some children. And Guillén writes: "We found a ranchería of Guaycuras or Cubíes."[20] It is not likely that, given the previous usage, Cubí was being used here simply as another name for Guaycuras, and so it opens up the possibility that Cubí could be living this far north of La Paz, that is, in the area of present-

day San Hilario.

The Cubí show up in one other document, Guillén's 1730 informe addressed to Joseph Echeverría where they dominate much of the text. "Your Reverence," Guillén begins, "has already well experienced how barbarous and murderous are this Cubí people (gente Cubí). They have already dared to kill those of the *otra banda* (i.e., the west coast) as you just saw." They fight among themselves, and the Cubí "of that part" are responsible for the deaths of the fathers of the seven mission boys. They have finished off one ranchería, as they did with San Carlos, and tried to do with others. "They are great thieves, and harmful to our people…" "For the barbarousness, then, of these Cubíes Indians is distinct from those of the north of this land, and at one accord, or half in accord, with the La Paz mission. The poverty of this mission prevents them from being called there often, and only a few visits are possible to so many and so distant rancherías." Later, in the same document, Guillén writes: "Beyond the 20 rancherías that belong to the mission and those of the mission of La Paz, this Cubí nation has as many rancherías, a few more or less, which can belong to none of these missions; for they are very distant and distinct among themselves. The 20 previously mentioned alone can pertain to the mission, and if all were reduced, would number 1,300 or 1,400 people, and the mission would have a lot of work in administering to them."

It appears that the Cubí should be taken as part of Guillén's own mission territory, but not be identified with the Guaycuras. They seem to represent a rather distinct group of as yet unevangelized rancherías. It is likely that these Cubí were related to the Uchití found to the southeast of La Paz, and may have even spoken a Uchití dialect. Later, in a letter Guillén wrote on April 16, 1739, he tells us he had received a letter from the south about the disobedience of the Uchití and the Cora, indicating that he knows the Uchití under their usual name, and strengthening our feeling that they are in some way distinct from the Cubí.

It is worth trying to fit these remarks about the Cubí into the context of the better known history of the Uchití at this time. We read, for example, "The fierce and defiant Uchití continued to harass all those around them. Capitán Rodríguez and some eight to ten soldiers spent six months, from March to September of 1729 trying to pacify the Uchití and protect the neophytes of La Paz, Todos Santos, and Santiago."[21]

In 1730, Venegas tells us, Capitán Rodríguez accompanied P. Visitador Joseph Echeverría on his rounds of visiting the missions in the south, and of founding S. Joseph, and the captain "visited all the missions in the south in order to pacify their inhabitants." But it was still necessary to return in 1731 to punish "certain rancherías who had acted treacherously against their Christian neighbors."[22] Venegas goes on to explain that these were the gentile inhabitants of the sierra on the contra-costa, and neighbors (confinantes) to the Christians of mission Los Dolores. Due to an ancient offense, they sought vengeance by pretending to be very friendly with their Christian neighbors (vecinos), and invited them to a feast and dance, as rancherías were accustomed to do

with each other. While the Christians were dancing, their host loosed on them "a rain of arrows, darts and stones," killing 10 of them while the rest of the wounded and maltreated returned to the mission.[23] The captain sent his alférez with 14 soldiers and 15 Indian warriors from Loreto and Los Dolores to punish them. But they had difficulty finding them in such rough country. But with the aid of their Indian allies they captured some of them who were brought to Loreto for punishment.[24]

While we could suppose, as we could do with the accounts of Taraval, that these Uchití were living along the Pacific Coast of the Cape region, the link to Los Dolores seems to imply a closer locality for some of them. Venegas clearly indicates that they were the neighbors to the Los Dolores rancherías, and this makes more sense than imagining the Los Dolores Indians taking a long trek to the Cape region in order to attend a fiesta. The story also implies that the language differences between the Guaycuras and these Uchití could not have been so great as to have precluded these kinds of festivities.

It is becoming easier and easier to imagine that the Cubí of Guillén's informe are part of the Uchití, and while there is no need to deny the Uchití inhabited a territory between La Paz and Todos Santos, and on to the Pacific Cape region, we are faced with the intriguing possibility that related groups existed north of La Paz, perhaps both on the west coast and on the east coast. "Close relationship between the Uchiti tribes at La Paz and to the north," William Massey writes, "is indicated by marriage of Aripe women to Periúes. *Periúes, Tepajiguetamas, Vinees, Cantiles*: The natives of La Paz referred to the Indians living to the north as the Periúes, or as the Tepajiquetamas, Vinees, or Cantiles. The last name is derived from steep cliffs in the land of the Periúes. Inasmuch as Taraval lists the Periúes as a Huchiti rancheria, all these groups may be taken as Huchiti bands living beyond the great escarpment northwest of La Paz Bay. When Venegas (and later Clavigero) spoke of "Uchities" who were particularly troublesome in cutting land communication between La Paz and Loreto, he undoubtedly referred to these Huchiti-speaking groups."[25]

If the Cantiles were Uchití, or Cubí, then it would be more understandable how they could have attacked San Carlos, as Guillén tells us in his 1730 informe, which was further north on the Gulf coast, rather than having to travel up from the Cape region. In regard to the marriage of the Aripe women to the Periúe men, we can recall Hostell's remark that sometimes husbands and wives spoke different languages, and it may refer to this variation in dialect among different Guaycura bands. The author of *Descripción* tells us that the Callejúes, Aripes, and Uchití all speak one language, "although it varies in some and many words by which one can be distinguished from the other, but they understand each other."[26] It is in this way we can understand the incident of the Guaycuras of Los Dolores, who spoke the same language as the Callejues, going to the festival of the Uchití, and understanding them. We are also told that the Periúes speak the language of Los Dolores.[27] These appear to be the same people who Rodríguez called the Pirús, or Piruchas.[28]

There is a final interesting postscript to this Uchití connection with the Guaycura nation.

Guillén, as we saw before, when he retired to Loreto learned another language to help an old woman who could not return home. This language, we are told elsewhere,[29] was Uchití. Miguel del Barco tells us that about this time the Uchití were almost completely wiped out.[30] This would account for why she could not return home, and was isolated in Loreto among the Cochimí speakers and perhaps some Monquí who were now conversing in Spanish. Could it be that she was a Uchití speaker from the west coast of his original mission territory, and therefore he had a special feeling of solicitude for her? His learning of Uchití would have followed his original path of learning Monquí, then Guaycura, and finally another distinct dialect of the Guaycuran language.

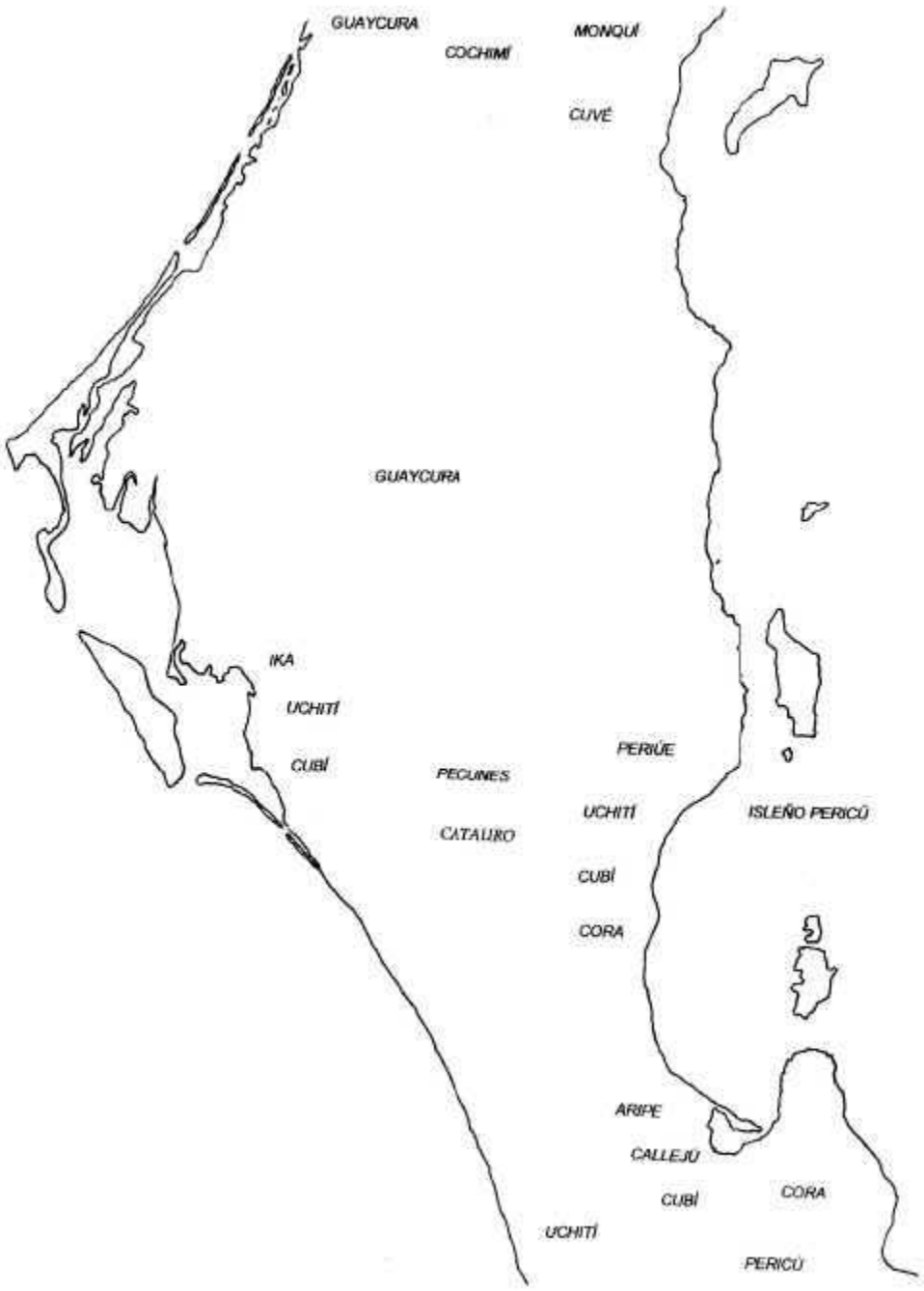
In summary, it appears we have three basic language families: the Yuman starting with the Cochimí, the Guaycura, and the Pericú. Guaycura, in turn, can be divided into the Guaycura of San Luis and Los Dolores, Monquí to the north, and Uchití to the south. The Uchití are probably related closely to Guillén's Cubí, and perhaps to Baegert's Ikas, as well. The Guaycura nation, then, was not linguistically uniform. It appears that there were Uchití speakers on both coasts. See Map 6.

The Guaycura Language

Most of what we know of the Guaycura language of Los Dolores and San Luis comes from Baegert's letters to his brother, and from his book on Baja California. He was also apparently planning to write a more extensive linguistic study which Padre Visitador José de Utrera described as "a grammar and vocabulary of this language which is spoken here and in La Pasión and in Todos Santos."[31] If he ever did so, it might have been left behind at the time of the expulsion, confiscated in Havana before the Jesuits set sail for Spain, or was used by Baegert for the study of Guaycura he leaves us in his book, and now lies unnoticed in some European archive. But he did, in fact, leave us the Lord's prayer in Guaycura, as well as twelve articles of the Creed, the conjugation of the verb "to play," and various grammatical rules and reflections on the language. He also tells us: "I have also translated almost alone without help the entire Christian dogma on five sheets containing 35 paragraphs,"[32] which is unfortunately lost.

Baegert leaves us a basic description of the Guaycura language. The alphabet does not have *o, f, g, l, x, z, h, u,* or *s* except for *tsh*. The language contains no abstract nouns like life, or death, or hope, or charity.[33] But if "life" is absent, "alive" is present. It has only three or four adjectives that describe facial emotions: merry, sad, tired, and angry. Bad is expressed by adding the negation *ja*, or *ra* to good. There are words for old man and old woman, but not old and young by themselves. There are only four words for color, and the Guaycura do not distinguish yellow from red, blue from green, black from brown, or white from ash-colored. Neither do they have names for separate parts of the body. They don't say father or mother, but rather, my father or your mother. There is a dearth of propositions, conjunctions and relative pronouns, and the conjunction "and" is placed at the end of a sentence. They lack comparatives and

superlatives, and most adverbs. They have no conjunctive, imperative, and almost no optative mood for their verbs, yet Baegert gives an imperative when conjugating "to play." They have no passive or reciprocal verbs. They conjugate their verbs for the present, past or future, and sometimes have a preterit passive participle. Baegert leaves us this information with the air of someone proving that the language was extremely primitive, yet he, himself, tells us how inventive the Indians were in creating new words. Wine was evil water, and missionary, the one who has his house in the north. He even amuses us by having us imagine a missionary giving them a sermon about a European saint who did not eat meat or drink wine, and slept on the ground, a sermon, he assures us, they would find incomprehensible because they don't drink wine, rarely get any meat to eat, and habitually sleep on the ground.



Map 6. Tribes and Languages

A Guaycura Vocabulary

If we add to Baegert's work Clemente Guillén's trip journals and reports, and a few odd words from elsewhere, we can come up with a Guaycuran word list. In this connection, a valuable aid for Guaycura words and the words that still exist in Cochimí and Pericú is Gilberto Ibarra

Rivera's *Vocablos indígenas de Baja California*. L= Baegert's *Letters*. O=his *Observations*. V=*Vocablos*. Most words when not otherwise noted come from the language section of Baegert's *Observations*, and most of the unsourced place names come from Guillén.

aata cera - evil water, or wine (L 144)

Aburdebe - place name (Hostell 1744)

Acuí - place name

Acuré - place name

Acheme - place name

Achére - place name

Adagué - place name

aëna - above, sky

Aenatá - place name

agenari - a dance (O 89)

aguax - corn for the inhabitants of La Paz (V 51)

Aguí - place name

aipekériri - who knows that? (O 92)

aipúreve - From thence

Airapí - place name for La Paz

akátuiké - acknowledge

Akiá - place name (1730)

amaeka - dance floor (L 202)

ambéra didi - their favorite Guaycuran song

ambía - pitahaya, but also by extension a year

ambúja - a week, and house, which equals church

amukíri - to play

ánaï - woman

Aniritihué - place name

Anjukwáre - Guaycura band, Baegert

Anyaichirí - place name

Añudevés - Guaycura band

apá - root for forehead

apánne - great

Apaté - place name

Aquiri - place name

áre - root for father

Aripaquí - place name

Aripes - Guaycura band

Aripité - place name

Arecú - place name

Arudovichi - place name

Arúi = Hiray? place name (V 55)

Asembavichi - place name

atacámma - good

atacámmara - evil

atacára - evil

atemba - earth

atembatie - to be sick, or to lie, to be on the ground (O 77)

Atiá - place name (1730)

Atiguíri - place name

atukiára - evil

atúme - have

be - I, to me, me or my

bécue, écue, tícue, kepécue (i.e., my, thy, his, our mother) when speaking of women (O 97-8)

becún, or beticún - my

bedáre, edáre, tiáre, kepedáre, etc. (i.e., my, thy, his, our father) when speaking of men (O 97)

betanía, etanía, tishanía (my, thy, his word) (O 98)

Bonú - Monquí place name

buará (vara) - nothing

búe - food

búnju - below

Caembehué - place name

Cahué - place name

Callejúes - Guaycura band

Candapán - place name

Cantiles - Spanish name for a Guaycura band

Catauros - Guaycura band

caté - we, us

cávape - they

Chiyá - place name

ci perthe risi - who knows? (L 178)

Cochimí - people who live in the north (V 64)

Cocloraki - place name, Hostell Informe of 1744

Codaraqui - place name

Cogué - place name (1730)

Conchó - place name for Loreto in Monquí meaning red mangrove (V 166)

Cubíes (Cubí) - Guaycura band

cue - root for mother

Cuedené - place name

cuncari - much (L 146)

Cunupaqui - place name

Cutoihuí - place name

Cuvé - another name for the Guaycura

cuvumerá - will wish

Chiyá - place name

Chirigaqui - place name

Chuenqui (Monquí) - place name

daï - thou art

dare - father

datembá - earth

dei - ever

Devá - place name

déve - on account of (O 98)

Deverá -place name (1730)

dicuinocho - shaman

didí-re - well

dipuá - indigenous tree in Monquí which the Spanish used for forage (V 74)

écun or eiticún - thy

Edú - Indians of the Loreto area

eï - thou, to thee, thee, thy

Eguí - proper name (Ibarra 143)

Emma - devil (L 145)

éneme - future tense ending to verbs

enjéme - then

entuditamma - bad or ugly women

entuditú - ugly, or bad

epí - there is

ete - man (V 75)

Figuaná - place name

Fiquenendegá - place name

Guachaguí - place name (1730)

Guamongo - spirit who lives in the north and sends diseases (Monquí)

Guaxoro - a Pericú name for the Guaycuras of La Paz meaning friend (Venegas, V 79)

Guerequaná - place name

Gujiaqui - spirit sent by Guamongo

híbitsherikíri - has suffered

Hiray - place name (See Arúi)

Hucipoeyes - band of Guaycuras

íbe - alone

Ichudairí - place name

ié - to be ashamed (O 83)

ïebitshéne - commanding

Ikas - band of Guaycuras

Iriguái - place name (1730)

irimánjure - I believe

ja - a negation added to words (O 96)

jake - to chat

jatacrie - deer catcher, a large eagle that can catch deer (L 200)

jatúpe - this

jaûpe - here

jebarrakéme - obey

Joeminini Generis - a mythological bird (L 201)

k or ku - plural suffix to verbs

kanaï - women

kakunjá - protect

kéa - are - under earth

kejenjúta

kên - give

kenyei - mescal

kepe - our, us

kepecún - our

kepe dare - Our Father (L 145)

kepetujaké - us do

keritshéü - gone down

kicún - their

Kodaraguí (Codaraguí) - place name

ku - will

kuáke - talkers

kuitsharraké - forgive

kumbáte - to hate

kumutú - thinkers

kunjukaráü - washed

kupiabake - fighters

kutéve - didí-re - confess well

kutikürre - stretched out

kutipaû - beaten ones

Laymón, Laimón - applied to both the Monquí and the Cochimí (V 88)

Liguí - Monquí place name

mapá, etapá, tapá (i.e., my, your, his forehead) (O 98)

matanamu - a light red snake with black spots (L 180)

me - out, in, with, etc. (O 98)

me - will

me - his

me or meje - future tense ending to verbs

me akúnju - three

méje - come, will be

menembeû, enembeû, tenembeû (my, thy, his pain) (O 98)

Michiricuchayére - place name

Michiricucurébe - place name (1730)

Mitschirikutamái - Guaycura band, Baegert

Mitschirijutaruanajére - Guaycura band, Baegert

Mitschirikuteuru - Guaycura band, Baegert

minamú, einamú, timamú (for my, thy, his nose) (O 98)

Monquí - natives of Loreto

namú - root for nose

Nautré - place name

nembeú - pain

neunqui - a fruit (frutilla) found in the mountains (Monquí)

nimbé - a dance of the Monquí

Niunquí - place name. (V 95, Laylander 80) May be Cochimí word.

nombó - a bush

notú - heaven, or above, or on high

Onduchah - place name

Pacudaraquihué - place name

páe - as

pánne - great

pari - much (L 146)

Paurus - Guaycura group

payro - thanks (See below.)

pe - out, in, with, etc. (O 98)

Pecunes - Guayacura band

pedára - born

peneká - sits

pera kari - parent (L 145)

Perihúes (Periúe) - Guaycura group

peté - you, plural

piabaké - to fight

pibikíri - has dried

Pirus (Piricuchas) - Guaycura band (V 99)

pu - all

púa - embarcaciones

puduéne - can

pui - mescal (O 179)

punjére - made

Quaquihué - place name

Quatiquié - place name

Quepoh - place name

Querequana - place name

Quiaira - place name

ra - a negation added to words (O 96)

râupe - past tense endings to verbs

râúpere - past tense endings to verbs

re or reke - present tense ending to verbs

Remeraquí - place name

rí - oh!, optative ending

rikíri - is buried, was, past tense endings to verbs

rujére - past tense endings to verbs

Tacanapare - place name

tanía - root for word

taniti - shaman (L 203)

tantipara - shaman (L 203)

Tañuetiá - place name meaning place of the ducks

tau - this

taupe - this

tayé - wild mountain sheep (V 104)

te - out, in, with, of, etc. (O 98)

Teachwá - Guaycura band, Baegert

Tecacua - place name (Guillén letter of 1739)

Tecadahué - place name

Teenguábebe - Guaycura band, Baegert

têi - you

tekerekádatembá - arched earth

témme - being

tenembeú - his pain

tenkíe - reward

Tepahui - place name

Tepajiquetamas - Guaycura band

ti - people, men

tiá-pa-tú - one who has his house in the north, or missionary

tíare - Father

Tibieres - tribal name on Kino map

tibikíu - be dead

Ticudadeí - Guaycura band

Tiguana - place name

tikakambá - help

tikére undiri - to touch each other's arms or hands, or to marry (O 73)

tiná - on or upon (O 98)

Tipateigua - place name

tipé - tshetshutipé - alive again

tipítsheú - on account of (O 98)

Tiquenendaga - place name

Titapué - place name

titshánu - his son

titschénu tschá - child of a wise mother, or horse and mule

titshuketá - right hand

Tiyeicha - ceremonial wand meaning, "He can talk." (Hostell, Burscheid letter 1758)

Trepu - place name

trienquies - shamans

tshakárrake - praise

tshetshutipé - again

tschie - and

tshukíti - gone to

tschumuge - to kiss (L 145)

tshípake - to beat

tshipitshürre - a beaten one

tucáva - the same, they

tutau - he

Uchití - Guaycuran related band

Udaré - place name

uë - anything

Uhauh - Monquí place name (V 109)

Uhonzi - Monquí place name (V 109)

umutú - to remember, think

untâri - day

Unubbé - May be Cochimí word. (Laylander 80, V 110)

uretí - make

Uriguai - (Taraval 159)

utere - sit down? (See below.)

uteürí - give

Utschipuje - Guaycura band, Baegert

vára - nothing (O 88)

vérepe - same

Vinees - Guaycura band

Waicura, ro, Waicuri, Waikuri

Among indigenous personal names we find Alonzo Tepahui and Juan and Nicolás Eguí which may be Guaycuran or Monquí. Various word elements appear over and over in the list of place names.[34] Tañuetiá is the place of the ducks, so conceivably some of these endings mean "the place of." Aena means above, and by extension, heaven. Aenatá is the native name for present-day Jesús María and could conceivably mean "the place above," that is, the place in the far northern part of the Guaycuran territory. Even the name Guaycura, according to Venegas, is not their own, but the name the Pericú gave them meaning friends.[35] Edú is, according to Barco, the name given to the Monquí by the Cochimí, and it means people of another tongue, but Venegas tells us it is the name given by the Monquí to those further south. During Francisco Ortega's voyage of 1632 the Spaniards coming from the mainland hit the Gulf coast eight days coasting above the Cape. There Diego de la Nava reports on an incident in which he held out his hands in peace, and the natives said, "*Utere, utere*," which he took to mean, "sit down," or something similar." And in return for the gifts he was carrying, they said, "*payro*," putting their hands on their breasts and inclining their heads, so he took that to mean thanks. This far north we could very well be dealing with the Guaycura rather than the Pericú. If that is true, then payro would be thanks, and perhaps utere is sit down, but it finds an interesting parallel with *uteurí*, meaning give, i.e., perhaps in the sense of give us the gifts you are carrying.

The Origin of the Guaycura Language

In 1966, Karl-Heinz Gursky suggested that Guaycura was a member of the Hokan language family. He gave a number of parallels to other Hokan-Coahuiltecan languages to support this assertion. Among the most obvious: alive in Guaycuran is *tipé*, while in Yuma it is *ipay* (to be alive), and in Coahuilteco it is *tepyam*. Alone, which is *ibe* in Guaycura, is *ipa* in proto-Hokan. Arched earth, which is *tekerekádatembá* in Guaycura, is *tekerakwa* (*háka tekerákwa*) for arched, or curved lake in Yavapay. *Ambúja*, meaning house, or week, in Guaycura is *amma* in Shasta, and *ama* in proto-Hokan. *Piabake*, which means fight in Guaycura, is *payiwak* (beat) in

Comecrudo. And house in Guaycura, *ápa*, is *awa* in Chimariko, Diegueño, and in proto-Hokan, and *ava* in Mohave, as well as Yuma.[36]

"Additional comparisons of Gursky's list," writes Laylander, "with more recently published data on the Yuman languages and on proto-Yuman and Cochimí do not add materially to the similarities already found by Gursky. It seems fair to conclude that the available evidence is sufficient to show that no relationship between Guaycura and either the Cochimí or the Yuman family exists which is as close as the relationship between the two latter groups."[37]

In 1967 Morris Swadesh, apparently independently, reached conclusions similar to Gursky by comparing Guaycura with the Coahuiltecan languages. Among the more obvious comparisons he made: I, which is *be* in Guaycura, is *ne* in Nahua; *tey* (you) in Guaycura is *te* in Nahua; the negative ending *ra* in Guaycura is *sa* in Cotoname, and *apanne* (big) in Guaycura is *penne* in Jicaque. Swadesh felt that Guaycura had separated from the other Coahuiltecan languages somewhere around 5,000 years ago.[38]

An Expedition to the Guaycura Nation in the Californias

Chapter 6: The Last of the Guaycuras

The Expulsion of the Jesuits

On June 24, 1767, while Lamberto Hostell continued to toil at Los Dolores, and Jacobo Baegert at San Luis, an edict of Carlos III, King of Spain, was unsealed in Mexico City. It proclaimed the arrest of all the Jesuits in Mexico including California, the next day, and their expulsion, an expulsion that was being carried out in all the realms of the King. The edict ended: "If after the embarcation there should be found in that district a single Jesuit, even if ill or dying, you shall suffer the penalty of death.

Yo el Rey."[1] The following day Virrey Don Francisco Croix continued in the same vein: "for the subjects of the great monarch who occupies the throne of Spain, must henceforth know once for all that they are born to keep silent and to obey, but not to discuss, nor to judge the lofty affairs of government."[2]

But it wasn't until Nov. 30th that Gaspar de Portolá, the new governor of California, arrived at San José del Cabo. As Harry Crosby points out, the time the order of suppression took to reach California is a good indication of just how remote the peninsula was.[3] Although Portolá had half-expected the missions to rebel in order to protect their fabled wealth and power, he quickly realized that the missionaries were docile and the wealth non-existent. His trip to Loreto took ten days, and after he had left the mining camp of Santa Ana, he found no shelter until he reached La Pasión. Or as Baegert put it, "Only once on his journey did he find human beings and shelter at a mission; otherwise, his eyes saw nothing but stones and thorns, barren hills, dry rock, and waterless creeks. The daily march was not just four or five hours, as is customary among soldiers, but ten or more."[4] And Baegert leaves us one of his typical portraits, this time of Portolá's chaplain, now stranded in California, who "wanted to leave the country as soon as he saw that there was no one to speak to all day long and nothing to do but to sit in his hermitage, to gaze at the blue sky and the green sea, or to play a piece on his guitar."[5]

The expulsion of the Jesuits in California was orderly and tempered by Portolá's kindness. Each missionary was to make an inventory of his mission, and then they were to come to Loreto in two groups, one from the north, and one from the south. We can imagine Hostell and Baegert joining the group of missionaries from the south, and heading north, assembling at San Javier,[6] leaving the life they had lived for so long behind, and the Indians, no doubt, bewildered. The Indians lamented, and Baegert tells us, "I, too, was moved to tears, and could not restrain myself from weeping all the way to Loreto."[7] At Loreto 15 Jesuits and one lay brother celebrated Mass, and Padre Lamberto held a special service in honor of Nuestra Señora de Los Dolores.[8] They all departed on Feb. 3, 1768. With the Jesuits gone, Portolá appointed soldiers styled *comisionados* to

administer each mission, and some of them became notorious for how quickly and prodigally they ran through the missions' meager wealth.

The Suppression of Los Dolores and San Luis

The Franciscans who were to replace the Jesuits arrived in Loreto April 1, 1768 and set out for their new posts. Fray Francisco Gómez went to Los Dolores, and Andrés de Villaumbrales to San Luis Gonzaga. On July 6, the King's visitador, José de Gálvez arrived. He had been charged with implementing the expulsion, the reorganization of California, and launching the opening of Alta California. Gálvez proved to be a man who would not let practical considerations stand in the way of his plans. In September, he decided that since the southern missions were depopulated, and therefore their lands underutilized, he would close Los Dolores and San Luis, for they could not feed themselves, and send everyone to Todos Santos, and in this way free up the resources of these missions so they could be used in establishing the missions of Alta California. On the surface it was a logical plan, but it did not take into account the fierce attachment that these Guaycuras had to their own land, and it was to turn out to be a disaster. The unwilling and unwitting sacrifice of the Guaycuras helped found the Alta California missions, and their sacrifice was great.[9]

The Franciscan Francisco Palóu tells us about its implementation. "For the mission of San Luís he sent Don Juan Gutiérrez, chief adjutant, and for that of La Pasión he sent Don José Lázaro, alférez of dragoons. With them he sent the necessary soldiers, writing to the two missionaries that they were to deliver to the commissioners all the vestments and other articles that were to go to Santa Ana, and charging them at the same time to accompany the Indians until they were placed in Todos Santos.

"This was done in the month of September, (1768) and the people of the two towns, Los Dolores and San Luís, who comprised about eight hundred souls, were enrolled as residents in Todos Santos."[10]

The treasure of Church ornaments and vestments that the

Jesuit missionaries of San Luis and Los Dolores had accumulated bit by bit over the years was to be carried off to serve the new missions being founded in Alta California except for a chalice and vestments and other things necessary for celebrating Mass which are to stay in San Luis. Palóu leaves us a detailed list of the items taken from each mission, no doubt to avoid, in part, any future accusations that the Franciscans had somehow squandered the wealth of the Jesuit missions. “From the mission of Dolores: thirteen complete vestments of all colors, three albs, two altar cloths, a new vestment with gold and silver braid and with tassels; a palio, four choir soutanes, a silver chalice, with a paten and a little spoon, a large silver cup, silver oilstocks, a silver monstrance, a silver baptismal shell, a silver thurible, with boat and spoon of the same metal, three cassocks with their rochets, two surplices, another white vestment with alb and amice, a gold-lined silver chalice with a paten and a little spoon, a pair of silver cruets for wine and water, with a little place and a bell of the same metal, some silver oilstocks, some silver cruets with a little plate, a silver cross with its pedestal, a carpet, two covers for the same, a large image of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores on linen, a copper-plate print of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, a small crib with the infant Jesus, the Virgin and Saint Joseph with several silk and gauze garments, a copper-plated stand for the baptismal font, three tower bells, and a bake-iron for making altar breads.

“From the mission of San Luís: six complete vestments of all colors, five palia with their cloths, two new chasubles, three albs, three amices, three cinctures, two pairs of corporals, five alter cloths, four purificators, two rochets, three cassocks, a new carpet, some curtains for canopies, three veils for the Virgin, a black tomb cloth, six yards of lace a third of a yard wide, a small silver jar, a gold-lined silver chalice with its little spoon, a silver monstrance, two pairs of silver cruets for wine and water, a silver thurible with a boat, a silver halo with twelve stars, six bronze candlesticks a yard high, six others three-quarters of a yard high, three others half a yard high, a small candlestick, a small altar bell, twelve silver coins and some rings for weddings, a bake-iron to make altar breads, a statue of Christ a yard high with a gilt pedestal, a copper

baptismal font, and a silver shell for baptism."[11]

Palóu goes on to say that all of these items, as well as those from other missions, reached San Diego with the exception of the statue of the "holy Christ with the gilded pedestal."[12] They had been loaded on the ship San José to be sent north, but after three months the boat limped back, and all the items were sent overland except for the statue, some prints from Loreto, and the bells. The San José set out again, but was never heard from.[13]

Padre Andrés Villaumbrales, when he set out from San Luis with his Indians to go to Todos Santos, went via La Paz and brought with him a vestment and other items in order to say Mass along the way. When he arrived at La Paz he was redirected to Loreto along with the vestment which was sent on to the frontier mission of Santa María and went with Padre Juan Crespi to Alta California. Palóu does not fail to set down this collection of Church furnishings, as well: "a silver plated chalice (which serves also as a base for the monstrance) with its paten and small spoon; some silver cruets with their little plates of the same metal and a little brass bell; a chasuble of red and white damask, with frontal piece of the same, trimmed with gold galloon; two chalice cloths, one white and the other red, with pockets of the two colors; corporals, and a frontal of the same cloth; a fine alb with amice and cincture; some altar cloths a palia, with their coverings; a purificator and an altar sconce, a carpet already used, and a copper baptismal font with its cover."[14]

Palóu says that these Church items, as well as the ones mentioned before, went to the missions of San Diego, San Carlos and San Buenaventura, and so it can be wondered whether any of the original furnishings of San Luis and Los Dolores still exist in the Alta California missions. With the early destruction of the furnishings of the mission of San Diego and the generic nature of most of these items, it would take some rather extraordinary detective work to recognize them even if they do exist.

In Exile at Todos Santos

In addition to this meticulous enumeration of church materials,

we learn something about the Guaycura Indians transported to Todos Santos, and none of it is edifying. Palóu paints a depressing picture of their new life at Todos Santos. The Guaycuras, he tells us, had never wanted to give up their nomadic ways and go to Todos Santos. Therefore they were "always discontented, and destroyed everything the mission had."[15] And when Gálvez, himself, went to correct them, they stole the food that had been prepared for him, and the night before he was to leave, "they stole everything that had been prepared for his journey. His Lordship was so angered by all this that it was necessary for the fathers who were there to restrain him in order to prevent him from hanging some of them, whom he had already ordered confessed. He shouted that such a race of people deserved to be put to the knife, so that they might not corrupt the others."[16] But even after this the behavior of the Indians did not improve.

Gálvez left California on May 1, 1769, and during that month a scientific delegation from Spain and France set up their instruments in San José del Cabo to observe the transit of Venus across the sun in order to determine more exactly the distance from the earth to the sun.[17] But the mission was in the midst of a plague which carried off part of the scientific party, as well. Padre José Murguía went to the mission to help the afflicted, but he, too, was stricken, and feeling his own death was imminent, went on to Todos Santos. "The havoc was greatest at Todos Santos," Palóu tells us, "for in the first epidemic at that mission more than 300 died, including adults and children. Since many of them ran away and died in the woods, the exact number could not be ascertained."[18] Palóu suggests that around 800 Guaycuras came from the two missions to the north, and Lassépas leaves us the figures of 450 from Los Dolores and 310 from San Luis. Therefore, the loss of 300 or more represented a good 40% of the total population. We can only imagine the impact of this loss on the Guaycuras who were already confused and demoralized by the move to Todos Santos.

Their resistance to life at the mission continued, and the mission staff responded in kind. Palóu tells us that two bands of Indian men and boys went to Loreto to complain to the new governor Felipe Barry that they were being maltreated by the

mission *mayordomo*, or foreman. The governor sent word to the Lieutenant of Santa Ana to send him the mayordomo as a prisoner in order to be punished. Palóu tried to defend the mayordomo to the governor by recounting the evil deeds of the Guaycuras in the times of the Jesuits, and how under the previous governor one of the Indians had wounded himself so that he could accuse the mayordomo of beating him. Palóu and the former governor had gone to Todos Santos where the Indian women and some of the men, had accused the present missionary Juan Ramos of starving them and keeping them naked. They wanted a secular priest, instead. But the governor, influenced by the trickery of the Guaycura wounding himself, and the fact that he had previously seen how well-dressed the Indians were and what good food they received, didn't believe them. Palóu even tells us that the mission had to hire a servant at 6 pesos a month to bring wood in for the Indians' kitchen because if the Indians, themselves, went they would run away. Two trouble-makers were singled out and punished.

But these stories make little impression on the new governor. Palóu suggests to Barry that he have Padre Juan Ramos write a report of what is going on, but the governor is not interested. But Palóu has Padre Juan write the report anyway. No sooner had the Guaycuras arrived at Todos Santos than they attempted to run away. Gálvez's response to this was not to question the wisdom of his original plan, but "to place a larger guard at the mission and to appoint some soldiers to do nothing else but recover the fugitives."[19] Leandro, a Guaycura captain, was particularly renowned for going out and retrieving these runaways. In this capacity he spent most of the year away from the mission, and he was handsomely compensated by clothes, mules, and a special corn patch planted for him, whose harvest he sold because he and his family received the usual mission rations. But Leandro, as it turned out, was playing both sides of the street. He brought back those he wanted to, and kept the women he wanted for himself in the hills. When he was finally confronted by the missionary, he was rude to him until threatened, and then went off to Santa Ana and told the Lieutenant there that the whole mission had rebelled. "He said that the cause of the uprising was the cruelty of the steward, who maltreated them with whipping; that he had already killed one, whom he called by name; and that he

was reporting as a duty."[20]

Leandro returned to the mission and then went off to Loreto with other Indians by way of the hills of La Pasión and San Luis, and gathered the runaways, and all of them appeared before the governor, claiming that the Indian who had died had not received confession. Leandro also claimed that the missionary had told him that the governor had no authority in the mission, "nor any power to remove the steward, for I alone rule here, and nobody else."[21] Clearly, Leandro had learned to play the game well. Not only does he push the button of the missionary's supreme imperative to try to confess all dying Indians, but nothing could have been more incendiary than to bring up the delicate issue of the Jesuits who had had both temporal and spiritual power in California. Palóu tells us that the governor believed all this like the Gospel, and charges were preferred against the mayordomo, the ex-soldier Juan Crisóstomo de Castro,[22] who had been the comisionado of the mission and had served without reproach. The Lieutenant in Santa Ana who investigated the charges set him free, Palóu tells us, "no doubt because he found him innocent."[23]

The whole matter, however, continued to drag on with the Governor still wanting to prosecute Juan Crisóstomo, and Palóu appealing to Gálvez, and going so far as offering to renounce the mission of Todos Santos and divide up the remaining Guaycuras and send them to other missions where there would be a better chance to save their souls.[24]

This, at least, was Palóu's story. But we have another account of this same incident in the form of a transcript of a hearings held by the Lieutenant of Santa Ana, Bernardo Moreno y Castro, on Nov. 5, 1771, in which he investigated the charges against the mayordomos of Todos Santos, Juan Crisóstomo de Castro and José Dominguez.[25] The first witness was 25-year-old José Romero, a blacksmith at the mission, who had been in California three years, and Todos Santos a year and a half, and was described as a single man and a pardo, i.e., a dark-skinned person of mixed blood. He testified that the Indian Mateo died in jail without confession because he had eaten a dog that he had decapitated on the orders of Mayordomo Castro in order to use the blood to repair the cauldron of the sugar cane mill.

In an equally unsavory case, the Indian Antonio was lashed on his buttocks which then became infected because he had eaten an old mule whose carcass he had found on the seashore, and had stolen some sugar cane.

The next witness was Simon Tadeo García, a 30-year-old mestizo who was a carpenter at the mission and married to María Antonio. He had resided in California 4 years, and the picture that emerges from his testimony, which was partially hearsay, is not an edifying one. The Indians run afoul of the mission rules at every turn, are imprisoned and go hungry, and sometimes die. He had, himself, intervened when a servant, Juan Antonio Espinoza, wanted to beat a sick prisoner who had fallen to the ground during a work detail. The prisoner died three days later. Espinoza, himself, described as a 42-year-old mestizo widower, who had been in California seven years, confirmed the story, but put the blame on the mayordomo and the padre. The last witness was Miguel Moreno Sastre, 53, three years in California, a single mestizo who had seen a 10-year-old with beaten buttocks which were subsequently infected with worms.[26]

Fray Rafael Verger, reporting on the state of California missions in 1772, puts the number of people at Todos Santos at 170, of which 30 “have fled and are living in the woods.”[27]

An inventory in the Mandeville Collection of the University of California at San Diego, compiled by Melchor de Peramas, shows the state of the missions which are in the care of the Dominicans at the end of June, 1775. Todos Santos has 138 men, 93 women, 760 cows, 267 horses, 135 mules, 74 pigs, but virtually no land under cultivation, perhaps illustrating the reluctance of the Guaycuras to work.

In 1777, Vicente Mora, the president of the Dominican missions, writes to Virrey Bucareli explaining why he cannot fulfill the orders left by José de Gálvez to move some other Indians in order to consolidate them in the missions to the south. One of his chief arguments is the disaster that had been caused by moving the Guaycura from Los Dolores and San Luis Gonzaga. He says that up until today they have not been able to live at Todos Santos in a stable way. “Their flights to the islands and the sierras of their mission have been and are from

then so repeated and continuous" that up until today most of them are isolated and in the mountains.[28] 500 died in the epidemic, and no more than 6 can be found in Todos Santos who are not infected. If the natives had been left in La Pasión and San Luis, Todos Santos would have gone forward, or at least avoided this disaster. It is not, according to Mora's mind, that the Indians are rejecting the idea of living in pueblos, in itself. In fact, the majority of the fugitives come once a year to confess and receive Communion despite their fear of having to live at the missions. Their resistance stems from the love of their own land, and having seen so many of their relatives die in Todos Santos. In the mountains they are strong and healthy, while in Todos Santos they become sick and flee to save their lives. "The mission of La Pasión, founded with such effort and sweat, remains in sad dereliction and in total abandonment. That of San Luis has been taken over by a stranger and his family"[29] who has not earned it by his own efforts. Its new owner hasn't done more than work the land that was already cultivated, and if it is enough to feed him, it is not enough to clothe him.

The Guaycura nation had come to an unhappy end. We have no idea how long there continued to be a few Guaycuras left at Todos Santos, nor do we know what happened to the runaways, but I would like to believe that some of them wandered around the hills of Chiyá for many years.

The Last of the Guaycuras

The quest for the origins of the ancient inhabitants of Baja California go back to the very beginning of archaeology on the peninsula. The Dutch anthropologist, Herman ten Kate, did field work in Baja

California in 1883. There he met two people who were supposedly full-blooded Guaycuras. One was a woman who was the ranch owner of San Jacinto and was from Todos Santos, and was described as "…large and of robust stature, a finely chiseled profile, a slightly curved nose, thin lips, a slightly backward-sloping forehead, small eyes, protruding jugal bones, large ears, dark yellow facial skin color."[30]

The other Guaycura was Juan Villanueva of Todos Santos who

was characterized “as small and having thin but muscular extremities, crooked legs, a backward-slanting forehead, strong eyebrow ridges, a large crooked nose and large mouth, big ears with very long earlobes, a dark yellow facial skin color, and a dolichocephalic skull.”[31]

He had also excavated seven skeletons on Espiritú Santo Island, and from south of La Paz, and found them similar to the two Guaycuras. All had dolichocephalic skulls, i.e., long, narrow skulls, which he felt were similar to Melanesian skulls, and to those of the Lagoa-Santa people of Brasil. Later, in 1909 Paul Rivet, a colleague of ten Kate, did a more extensive analysis of skeletal remains that included material from ten Kate, L. Belding, E. Palmer and Leon Diguet, and confirmed ten Kate’s conclusions.

Clearly it would be premature, to say the least, that the Guaycuras had dolichocephalic skulls, or even that Juan Villanueva was an authentic representative of the Guaycuras in general, still less of the people of Los Dolores and San Luis Gonzaga. Yet, it is a point to keep in mind when we look at archaeological considerations later. [32]

In August, 1892 León Diguet took a photograph of María Ignacia Melina from Loreto who was said to be 85 years old and one of the last four Guaycuras.Her father had been half Guaycura, and her mother Guaycura. See Plate 4: 1e. [33]

An Expedition to the Guaycura Nation in the Californias

Chapter 7: Heavenly Calculations

Clemente Guillén's calculations of 1730 and 1744 supplemented by data from elsewhere allow us to get a sense of the makeup of the Guaycura nation, and unfortunately, witness its decline.

The 1730 Informe

Guillén's informe of 1730 gives us a detailed census of the mission of Los Dolores, still at Apaté.

Mission of Our Lady of Los Dolores from the 19th of February, 1722 to the 19th of June, 1730

Rancherías	**Married**	**Single**	**Boys**	**Girls**	**Catechumens**	**Distance leagues**
Dolores	34	8	9	9	0	centro
Akiá	10	6	6	5	0	20 l
Cunupaqúí	28	20	22	17	1	26
Deverá	18	2	4	3	0	16
Aripaquí	4	4	1	1	0	10
Atembabichí	18	7	3	7	0	8
Atiá	12	3	7	5	6	7
Cogué	6	2	1	2	0	4
Quaguihué	18	6	8	7	0	4

Guachaguí	12	8	10	9	0	10
Iriguái	2	1	16	19		14
Cuenyágueg	0	0	12	16		10
Michiricucurébe	4	1	6	6		7
Achéme			4	5		10
Chiyá	0	2	13	18		12
Achére			9	8		14
Atiguíri		1	5	6		12
Aniritúgue			9	5		16
Michiricuchayére			4	4		18
Hnyaichiri			11	12		40
	166	71	160	164		

He sums up the number of his charges:

Baptisms	721	Married	166
Deaths	160	Single	71
Remaining	561	Boys	160

		Girls	164
		Living	561

He also estimates the total population of the mission territory at between 1,300 to 1,400. If we add the few catechumens to the number of baptized, we get 728, of which 160 had died, or almost 22%. Some of this attrition is due to tribal warfare, as we saw in this report in the case of the fathers of the boys killed by the Cubí. If we imagine that infectious diseases are slowly radiating out to the distant rancherías from Apaté, and 22% of the population at the time of contact have already died, this would put the total population, at contact, at 1,600 to 1,700.

There are 83 families in this census, and 160 boys and 164 girls, giving us 3.9 children per family. But these figures must have already been skewed by the deaths, and the fact that children are being baptized without their parents being accounted for in the chart. S.F. Cook in his study of the demographics of the Baja California missions, and the impact of disease on their populations, suggests the figures of 3 children per family before contact, and 1.4 after, which is another way of indicating that the figures we have for Los Dolores are distorted by the way they have been assembled.[1]

Cook also suggests a ranchería size of 100-250 people, while Guillén's census shows only 28 people per ranchería, or if we correct this figure to account for the people who have already died, 34, which is still very low. But once again, the figures are skewed since they only count the baptized and catechumens. But it is unlikely that the rancherías in this area had numbers anywhere close to even Cook's lower estimate.[2] Guillén tells us, himself, in the 1730 informe how the rancherías, even though they are small, divide themselves up into 2 or 3 shifting groups who live among the cliffs and mountains, and so it is difficult to determine the actual number of catechumens. One day they are at Chiyá, and the next at Achére.

All we can say is that the rancherías in this rugged country were probably smaller than elsewhere, and more fluid due to the low carrying capacity of the land. If we keep our original ranchería figure of 34 and multiply it roughly by the known rancherías shown on Map 2, and add to this number the unlocated ones, we arrive at around 70 rancherías, which at 34 people each would be a total population of 2,380.[3]

Cook suggests that the carrying capacity of the land in general was 1.3 person per square mile, but this is probably significantly too high if we factor in the barren Magdalena plains and their lack of water. If we estimate the mission area of Los Dolores and San Luis at 5,600 square miles, then we arrive at only 1 person per 2.3 square miles, or .35 persons

per square mile.[4]

Another rule of thumb that Cook employs is the number of children multiplied by 5 in order to get the total population. This would give us 324 children x 5, or 1,620. Cook, basing himself on José de Echeverría in Clavijero estimates that the 6 southern missions in 1729 had baptized 6,000 people, and suggests the following breakdown: 1,000 La Paz, 600 Santiago, 1,200 San José, 500 Todos Santos, leaving 2,700 for Los Dolores and San Luis. If we take these various estimates, we can put the precontact population at somewhere around 2,300-2,500.

1740. Lamberto Hostell, in a letter written to his father, says he brought 700 Indians together in 1740 in the three settlements that made up the mission of San Luis. He gives us the total number of baptized adults and children from July 14, 1737 to Sept. 28, 1744 as 488. Jacobo Baegert tells us that baptisms were still being made in the San Luis mission territory until 1748. Juan Antonio Baltasar in his visit to Mission San Luis on Dec. 9, 1743 puts its population at a total of 180 families. He gives the population of Los Dolores at 200 families. The author of *Descripción y Toponimia*, writing probably in 1741, puts the population of La Pasión at 200, and that of Los Dolores at 300, figures that we can take as more or less rough estimates.

The 1744 Informe

From August 11, 1721 to August 7, 1744, when Guillén, probably aided by Hostell, composed his 1744 informe, he reports that he had baptized 1,849 adults and children, not a few of whom had been gathered together at La Pasión and San Luis Gonzaga, and many of whom had been carried off to the other life by diseases like smallpox. The present population of Los Dolores was 749. There were 186 families, which accords well enough with Baltasar's 200 families.

Mission Station	**Married people**	**Children**	**Single**	**Total**
Los Dolores	84	57	18	159
Immaculate Conception	64	45	15	124
Incarnation	54	42	16	112
Trinity	32	37	13	82

Redemption	60	48	22	130
Resurrection	78	46	18	142

He also leaves us figures for the recently started mission of San Luis Gonzaga, as well as the gathering spot of Jesús María at Aenatá and some of the west coast inhabitants.

Bahia Santa María Magdalena	96	79	20	195
San Luis Gonzaga	82	80	28	190
San Juan Nepomuceno	62	55	14	131
Jesús María	90	82	23	195
West Coast	18	28	10	56

The 174 families connected with San Luis accords well with Baltasar's 180 families, and the total population of San Luis is 767. The 1,849 inhabitants of the total area who have been baptized probably represents the vast majority of the people at this rather late stage of evangelization. But if 1,561 are still alive, this means that 16% of the baptized have been lost to disease and other causes, which appears a bit low compared to the 22% of the 1730 figures. If we take the 1,849 baptized and correct it by 22% to account for the losses, we arrive at 2,255, and there are still more people to be baptized (see Hostell below), so we can arrive at a total pre-contact population of about 2,500, which is in rather good agreement with our other estimates. If we imagine a 22% loss by 1730, then we can put the population in that year at 2,000 and the population in 1744 at 1,561 and more still to be baptized for roughly 1750.

If the 1730 data showed 3.9 children per family, which we took as being too high, the 1744 census shows 1.6, which is in rough accord with Cook's estimate of 1.4 children per family after contact. This decline of the size of the family shows the impact of disease on the Guaycura nation.[5]

Harry Crosby estimates that between 1744 and 1762, 200 Guaycuras went to San José de Comondú, but they could very well have been baptized and counted on the San Luis

mission roles. Hostell in another letter to his father in 1758 tells him that he has baptized 2,000 people, which probably means the 1,849 from both missions, plus some more between 1744 and 1750. Jacobo Baegert tells us that the mission of San Luis during his time had 360 people, but elsewhere he gives us the number of 1,000, which probably was his estimate of the total population of the whole mission territory for the two missions. José de Utrera's visit of 1755 shows 365 for the whole of the San Luis territory, and 624 for Los Dolores, for a total of 980. 150 lived by the Pacific in 1757.[6]

Ignacio Lizasoáin gives the following census for Los Dolores and San Luis in 1762:

	Los Dolores	San Luis Gonzaga
Families	132	90
Widowers	27	
Widows	34	
Confessions	369	240
Communions	133	few
Individuals	573	300

This gives a total population for the two missions of 873. Lizasoáin's figure of 300 people at San Luis in 1762 fits reasonably well with Baegert's figure of 360, which comes from the year 1752.

For 1768 Lassépas[7] gives the population of Los Dolores as 450, and the population of San Luis as 310. Palóu tells us that in 1768 the epidemic carried away more than 300 people, which would put the population somewhere around 450. Finally Fray Rafael Verger puts the population in 1772 at 170.

If we take the total population to be 2,500 in 1721, 2,000 in 1730, 1,750 in 1744, 980 in 1755, 873 in 1762, 760 in 1768, and 170 in 1772, we arrive at the following graph of the decline of the Guaycura nation. This decline was undoubtedly accelerated by the 1744 formation of pueblos. This parallels Cook's graph of the decline of the total population of Baja California, about which he says, "The straight line of descent is indicative of a

population loss due to disease."[8] Cook estimates that 30-40% of the decline was due to epidemics and venereal disease.

Disease must have played the major role in this precipitous decline of the Guaycura, although we do not have many details. An epidemic struck San Juan Malibat in 1720-21, and if Guillén brought some of the Monquí with him at the time of the founding of Apaté, they and the Spaniards could have spread disease from the very first moments of the founding of the new mission. In fact, Guillén's two expeditions of 1719 and 1720-21 may have initiated the spread of disease. And we have not even considered the possibility that infectious diseases could have raced ahead of contact with the Guaycuras coming from early contacts at Cabo San Lucas or the founding of Loreto, and significantly reduced their numbers. We do know, however, that epidemics struck the south in 1742 and 1744 (typhus, typhoid and malaria) and 1748, (measles)[9] and it is very unlikely that Los Dolores and San Luis would not have suffered in their turn given their connections with the southern tribes. Baegert's remarks that the men had difficulty finding wives, and a great number of the women in his mission did not bear more than one child, and most of the children died, could be read as an indication of the spread of syphilis among the Indians, for the disease was already wide-spread in the south. Here we can recall, as well, his comments about the soldiers sleeping with the Indian girls, and the sexual activity at fiestas between the different bands. He also mentions a smallpox epidemic that took place at Los Dolores.

Our somewhat shaky calculations have led to a rather firm conclusion. Infectious diseases, here in the Guaycura nation, let to a precipitous decline of the Indians that paralleled that of the rest of Baja California and throughout North and South America.[10]

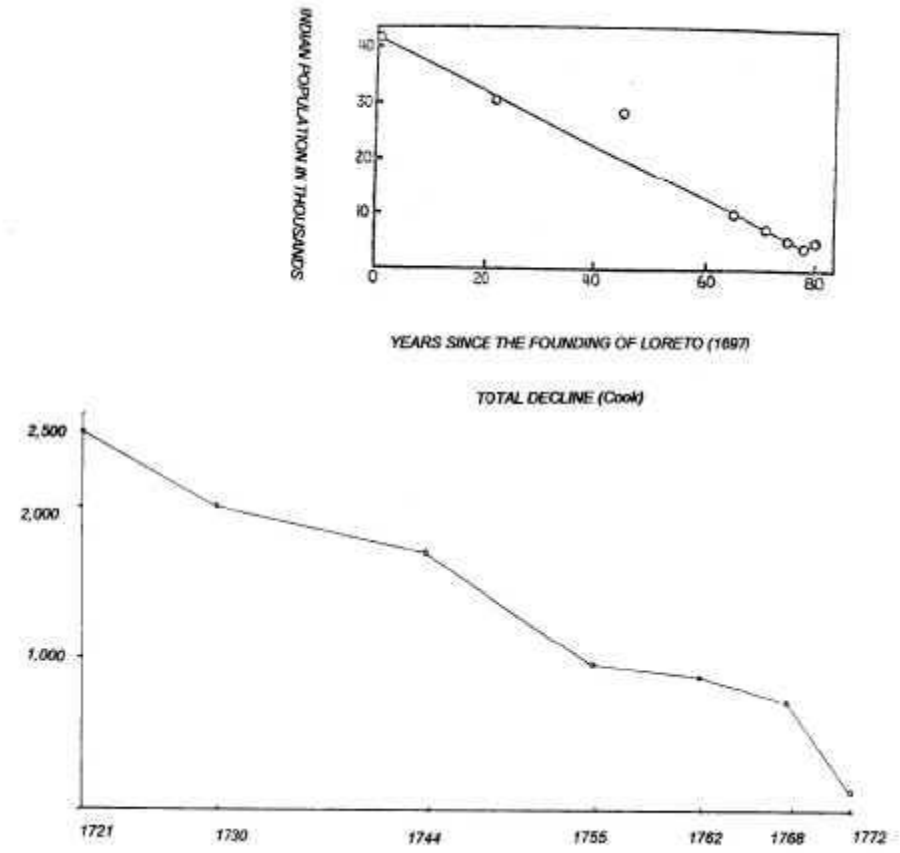


Table 1. The Decline of the Guaycuras

The Jesuit Missionary Enterprise

It has cost us considerable effort to reconstruct the lost world of the Guaycuras of Los Dolores and San Luis Gonzaga, and now it is time to ask a series of questions which, although they will remain in large part unanswered, allow us to ponder the wider significance of what we have been seeing and its connection to our own times.

One way to sum up the Jesuit missions of Baja California is to say that heavenly intentions led to disastrous human results. Or more baldly, the evangelization of the Indians led to their extinction. But this statement has to be immediately qualified and nuanced. It was not the preaching of the Gospel, itself, that led to this destruction, but European contact. If the initial settlement of Baja California had been by the conquistadors, the final result most likely would have been the same, and the road to it much more rocky, that is, slavery or brutal exploitation.

The Jesuits must be allowed their dreams, in this case a dream perhaps inspired by missionary attempts elsewhere, for example, in Paraguay, where they developed much larger and much more highly developed religiously inspired and led communities. The Baja

California Jesuit missionary Franz Inama, writing to his sister in 1755, about how the missionaries must care for both the body as well as the soul of their charges, says: "I shall not dwell any longer on this point. You, my dearest sister, have at hand the letters of our missionaries in Paraguay; they will give you an idea of how we administer our missions here in California."[11] Perhaps this is what stood behind Baegert's market village. It was to be a village where the missionaries stood at the apex of spiritual and temporal power, the colonists were to be held firmly in check, and the Indians grouped in villages around the mission dressed in robes, greeting the new day with their choirs and orchestras, and working in the fields and workshops. It may have been this kind of vision that inspired someone like Bischoff to train the Indians in choral singing.

In many ways it was a beautiful dream which in a place like Paraguay appears to have been much preferable to the alternatives, that is, the treatment of the Indians meted out to them by the colonists, and it was a dream to which the Jesuits sacrificed themselves out of a desire to serve God and their fellow men. But such utopian dreams soon run up against the hard reality of unruly human nature, and all its baggage.

One piece of this baggage was the use of force. It certainly goes against our modern grain to see that force was an integral part of the missionary program. But religious liberty as we know it today is a hard one, and a still precarious achievement. We need to judge the Jesuits by the very different standards of their own times. How far, for example, did they depart from the prevailing European norms, both Catholic and Protestant? How far did the Jesuits depart from Spanish Catholic practice with the Inquisition still operational in Mexico City?[12]

These questions are closely intertwined with a wider issue, which was how the conversion of the Indians was intimately connected with making them subjects of the crown and converting them to European ways. While this is an issue that has been widely discussed in Catholic missionary circles in the 20th century, and especially in the wake of the Second Vatican Council, we can hardly expect our 18th century Jesuits to partake of those views.

Baegert's village, as well as the missions with their pueblos, were patterned after the missionaries' European's homeland. There is certainly a very literal paternalism in all this, and a Eurocentric insensitivity to native cultural values. But again, we can hardly fault the Jesuits for not sharing our own modern sensitivities. They certainly saw no incongruity in imposing on the Indians both religious and social values in the name of their religion and its civilization. Part of the dearth of information we have on the religion of the Guaycuras is due to the fact that it was rather inconceivable to the missionaries of Los Dolores and San Luis that this religion had an intrinsic value in itself. Much the same could be said about the Guaycura language. Why preserve it, save as a practical tool or as a curiosity, when the Indians could learn Spanish and become part of the wider civilized world?

By way of reaction, it would be wrong to imagine that the missions had nothing to offer the Indians. They had a whole complex of technologies from the most basic like reading and writing and agriculture to the domestication of animals and ideas on law enforcement aimed at eliminating the warfare among the rancherías. Most of these things we take for granted, but we base our lives on them, and they could not fail to attract the Indians, or perhaps we could say the Indians were at once attracted, fearful and threatened by this overwhelming display of proffered beneficence and military prowess. Christianity at its best, proclaiming the love of God and neighbor and a life to come, could also be highly attractive, expecially when it was embodied in the loving kindness of a missionary. But Christianity in the Jesuit missions came dressed in European clothes. The Jesuits who had to be counted among the best educated men of their times could not conceive that the Indians and their way of life had really something to offer them in return. What prevented this was not only a difference in their respective technologies, i.e., a stone knife vs. a metal one, but went much deeper. There was a profound cultural and psychological divide, as well.

The Hunter-Gatherers

The Guaycuras were still hunter-gatherers like the whole human race once was. They may have even been the remnants, at least in some of their cultural traits, of an early wave of immigrants to the Americas, an issue we will consider later. And it would be surprising if the Guaycuras, despite their relatively isolated geographical situation, differed fundamentally from hunter-gatherers all over the world. Yet it is possible that the poverty of their environment had impacted and even retarded their development, and during the preceding century epidemics could have sapped their vitality.

But it would be wrong to see the Guaycuras only through Baegert's eyes, and to imagine that they were a particularly degenerate and savage lot. So much is in the eyes of the beholder. The Bushmen in southern Africa are an instructive parallel. Indeed, Baegert compared his own people in California to Hottentots,[13] and it is likely that this was a catch-all designation that included the Bushmen, as well. The Bushmen appear to be a remnant of a people who once inhabited large parts of Africa, and a comparison between the Guaycuras would be instructive, for it would allow us to see more clearly what was particular to each, and what were wide-spread traits common to hunter-gatherer cultures. The Bushmen, for example, constructed flimsy brush and grass huts almost invisible to the outside eye. They could gorge themselves on meat, when they had it, and sleep away the rest of the day. They went about mostly naked, and had a minimum of possessions: bows and arrows, digging sticks, water containers, etc. By Baegert's standards, they were dirty, sometimes splashed by blood from the hunt, and had a distinctive smell. They made cordage out of aloe fibers from which they made netting. All traits we saw among the Guaycura.

The Bushmen were natural, instinctive superb hunters who were expert trackers - and the

Guaycuras, no doubt, were as well. The Bushmen rehashed their hunting and gathering forays around the campfire with the whole band, and so each member of it carried an intimate local geography of individual plants and trees and rocks, and the paths animals would take in flight. They knew when and where to seek out the fruiting plants and to gather seeds. And we can with some confidence attribute all these qualities to the Guaycuras, Baegert, for example, recounts how instead of discussing spiritual matters, they would go on and on about the path taken by a wounded deer. And the hunting of large game animals stood at the apex of their material culture, and had a religious meaning, as well. In this regard it would be well to recall the splendid images painted on the walls of the rock shelters in the Sierra de San Francisco. It is not surprising, therefore, that both the Bushmen and the Guaycura collided with a world that kept cattle. They both had reputations as incorrigible cattle slaughterers, and suffered a great deal for it. But at the root of this conflict was not just stubbornness and maliciousness, or simply a matter of food on their part, but the imperatives of the world of the hunter. In this light it was asking a lot for them to readily understand that this steer was not to be killed and eaten when it was encountered.

These kinds of comparisons could be extended into other areas of life, as well. The Bushmen, for example, sometimes killed newborn children. Even the non-weddings of the Guaycura that Baegert described find some sort of analogy in those of the Bushmen in which the parents of both the bride and the groom, and in fact, no adult, attended, but only young people. In this case it was the question of a taboo. Among the Bushmen, as well, as find occasional polygamy, as well as a taboo that restricted contact between the husband and his mother-in-law, and the wife with her father-in-law. And we have stories of Bushmen dying in prison because of their need to be free and roaming the earth, which can make us think of the Guaycuras with their dislike of staying in buildings. Both the Guaycuras and the Bushmen literally slept on the bosom of the earth, in intimate contact with the sun and the stars, and wandered over land that was distinctively and intimately theirs. These kinds of parallels could be extended to embrace other qualities and other societies, but our purpose here is to break the negative spell that Baegert wove around the Guaycuras and to see them afresh.

When the Bushmen are seen through the eyes of a poet like Laurens van der Post, they become a magical people close to the earth and each other, swiftly running through the desert in pursuit of a wounded antelope, or gathering roots, or sitting around the fire telling stories. And even more down-to-earth accounts, like those of Jens Bjerre and Elizabeth Marshall Thomas, of the Bushmen have found a way to be in general sympathy with them.[14] But none of our Jesuits was a poet in the sense of van der Post, or even could be called sympathetic, and it is hard to imagine one of them sitting in a rock shelter and gaining the confidence of their people, and even their shamans, and trying to truly understand how these people saw the world and what they believed in.

All this is not to turn the Guaycura into paragons of virtues, into Rousseau's noble savages

that Baegert mocks in his *Observations*.[15] If we were to sit in those rock shelters of the Guaycuras today with them, there would be, no doubt, many things that would offend our sensibilities, and it would take all the good will we could muster to try to understand where they were coming from. Along with the basic accomplishments of civilization, we take for granted a certain kind of psychological differentiation. Because of it, we are capable of long sustained efforts to accomplish future goals, as well as long sustained acts of hostility and destruction that would boggle the minds of so-called more primitive men. We live very much in our egos and their desires and antipathies, and it is hard for us to conceive that everyone does not share this kind of psychological make-up. Yet, even by way of hypothesis it is salutary to try to imagine hunter-gatherers like the Guaycura living in another psychological world. In that more unconscious and collective world the individual did not push himself forward in the same way. Indeed, he didn't even exist in the same way as an individual. He lived within small family-based groups, not only physically, but with a psychological commonality that is hard for us to imagine. This was a world of vibrant immediacy without much thought given to the past or future. The earth was not seen as a potential source of resources to exploit, but an encompassing mother that sometimes showed favor, for example, at the time of the pitahaya harvest, and sometimes turned her face away. Each day, while it would appear monotonously like the day before to the European observer, was a new day. It was simply the way life was and always had been, and therefore there was no need for elaborate calendars. If there was a time of scarcity, it was shared by all, and there was always abundant time to tell stories, make jokes, and be with one's friends.

Again, this is not to paint some idyllic picture of man in harmony with nature. We know enough about the Guaycura and the world they lived in to see that that would be false. Rather, it is to say that the Guaycura did, indeed, live in another psychological world, and could only be judged harshly by someone like Baegert. He thought that their language was primitive, and they lacked the power to reflect and to express abstract notions. In a certain sense this was true, but he did not comprehend why it was true. For him, their refusal to work and to be punctual, and to say their prayers, to build houses, and on and on, was all evidence that he could use to condemn them. But for their part, work wasn't really distinct from life, itself. They hunted for their food; they consumed it, they took their ease, they amused themselves, their language was concrete and immediate because that was the world they lived in. They were capable of creating ways to describe new experiences, and their children had the innate capacity to develop the differentiated consciousness of the Spaniards, but the Guaycura lived a very different kind of life, a life much closer to the first humans, an inner world that remained closed to Baegert.

But what about us? Are we capable of understanding them? Certainly the track record for the so-called civilized nations in their encounters with hunter-gatherers is almost unanimously bad. We can hardly say that we have been ready to learn any lessons from them. We can hardly say, either, that we know how to relate to the earth in a positive and

non-destructive way. We imagine that these more primitive peoples would want nothing else than to be just like us. But this is not convincing. Do hunter-gatherers accumulate possessions beyond their needs? Do they fill themselves while their immediate neighbors go hungry? Do they kill animals they cannot eat? Are they so busy working they have no time to be with their friends? I am not suggesting that we go back to being hunter-gatherers, but only that we try to look at the Guaycura with different eyes and see if their simplicity has something to teach us about our own, often over-complicated lives, that ruin the earth to no real purpose. We need to reread Baegert's sarcastic remarks about the Guaycura from the perspective of seeing them as men and women who live close to the earth and each other, and did not share many of our preoccupations. Were the Guaycura lazy? They walked about all day and were remarkably fit, but they didn't do well with the regimented program of work at the mission. Were they thieves? This was one of the chief points of friction between them and the missionaries, as we saw. But the thievery of cattle has to be seen within the wider psychological perspective we are trying to develop. You are asking a great deal of a hunter to suddenly change the inner structure of his psyche and look at the missionaries' steer in a very different way than he looks at a deer, or a turtle. In his mind the earth gives a momentary opportunity to satisfy his hunger, and he takes it. Tomorrow had to take care of itself.

The historical accounts of the Baja California Indians state that they had no dogs. The Spaniards, in fact, were amazed at how afraid the Indians were of dogs. But again, we need to search for the proper vantage point to understand this. It is entirely possible that for these Indians the domestication of animals appeared as a magical thing. The Indians were not afraid of dogs simply as animals. They were used to dealing with mountain lions, for example. But it must have been an amazing and powerful thing to encounter for the first time animals that were somehow under the power of men, or were even in some way human, themselves. Therefore the Indians sometimes treated the mules of the soldiers and missionaries as if they were human, in one case actually giving one of them a burial. Perhaps the same process is at work. We are so used to the domestication of animals that we give it no thought. Perhaps to gain a sense of what the Indians felt we would have to imagine a wild animal coming up to us without fear.

The picture that is emerging is one of a fundamental difference in perception. The Jesuits had all sorts of good intentions backed up by discipline and the power of organization. But they also had a very definite program to which they were determined to fit the Guaycura in. The Guaycura lived in a very different psychological universe, and the contact between these two different worlds set off forces that neither side could control.

We can return now to the question of why Baegert, and probably the other missionaries, considered the mission-raised Indians the worst and most malicious. Let's look at the Ascension Day murder again. We know that according to Baegert adultery was common among the neophytes of San Luis and Los Dolores. He laments, for example, how they go to confession, and immediately go out and commit adultery.[16] Why, then, does the

young man who committed adultery kill the husband who threatened to report him? Why doesn't he shrug and ignore it like so many of the other Indians seem to have done? Jealousy might account for part of his motivation in acting this way, but he very well might have been ashamed. Perhaps he was actually changing under the impact of having been brought up in the missionary's household. Then he would among the first to suffer the pangs of the transition from the old hunter-gatherer way of life to the new one, and this transition would be accompanied by disorientation, for he can't return to the old ways, which he might even despise, but he can't go forward and truly enter the new world of the missionary and the Spanish workers who, in any event, probably consciously or unconsciously, make him feel like he will always be an inferior member of their world. In short, he could suffer a certain psychological loss of soul, a loss of identity that could lead to this kind of destructive behavior.

We can make the same kind of analysis in the case of the murder of Vicente, the Indian boat captain from Sinaloa about whom Baegert tells us, that besides his food, he was paid a salary of 84 francs in French money.[17] In this way he could easily be seen by the Guaycuran rowers as standing on the next step of the ladder that stretched from their world to that of the Europeans and become the target of their hidden resentments and feelings of inferiority.

The efforts of the missionaries to save the souls of the Guaycura had led by misadventure to this kind of psychological loss of soul. This same tragedy has taken place in many times and in many places where hunter-gatherers have come into close contact with European civilization. They lose their center of gravity and succumb to alcoholism and other forms of destructive behavior. Even if the Guaycura had physically survived the infectious diseases, they would have faced the hurdle of this often fatal psychological dis-ease.

Infectious Diseases and Death

One of the most disturbing aspects of the Jesuit missionary enterprise was the fact that the very establishment of the missions and their pueblos which gathered the Indians together was the conduit for the spread of infectious diseases that carried the Indians off. The Jesuits could not, of course, have been unaware that the Indians were dying as the missions advanced. But how conscious were they of the role they were playing in spreading disease? Here we face another series of questions that we can only begin to ask rather than answer. Just what did the educated man in Europe know about infectious diseases in the 18th century? What did the Jesuits know? Clearly, Baegert knew that smallpox could be spread by contact, as we saw in the incident of the Spaniard setting off an epidemic by giving an Indian a piece of cloth. But he wondered why the Americas were being depopulated even in areas where the Europeans had not yet gone, by which we saw that his understanding of infectious diseases was limited. To put their understanding in context, Edward Jenner's experiments with vaccinating people with cow pox were carried out in the late 1780s and early 1790s. Luis Sales, the Dominican missionary in Baja

California who served between 1772 and 1790, tells us how he was present, perhaps in 1781, in San Ignacio when its missionary Crisóstomo Gómez inoculated the Indians against smallpox with good effect.. This would have probably been an inoculation with smallpox, itself, a practice that was being used in Europe earlier in the century, rather than with cow pox, as in the case of Jenner.[18]

Beyond this question of the medical knowledge of infectious diseases, what was the attitude of the Jesuits and the Indians, themselves, about death? We can be sure that it didn't coincide with our own. They were on more intimate and direct terms with it. Infectious diseases routinely carried off people both in the old and new worlds. The Guaycuras, themselves, showed a certain calm in the face of death. We can forgive, therefore, the Jesuits their imperfect knowledge of infectious diseases, but not Baegert his comment on the demise of the Guaycura: "the world loses none of its glory."

Mission Theology

We have a final series of questions, the answers to which would involve us in ever-widening circles of research. The Jesuits shared with the rest of the Catholic Church of the time a theology that said: "Outside the Church there is no salvation." And with that went the necessity of being baptized. This theology went back many centuries, and had an in-built weight of tradition that resisted easy change, and we can see it in operation in the Jesuit missionary practices in Baja California in terms of the imperative to baptize, especially those in danger of death so they could enter the kingdom of heaven. It is also expressed in the rather strict rules that existed for both the missionaries and Indian leaders to make sure that no one died without the spiritual assistance of the missionary.

More generally, the missionaries sometimes leave the impression that they were more interested in the spiritual health of their charges, i.e., that they would meet the basic admission requirements for heaven, than they were in them as human beings. It was as if they were keeping score about the value and effectiveness of their work by means of what we could call heavenly calculations. Hence, the carefully kept mission registers - which unfortunately seemed to have disappeared in the case of Los Dolores and San Luis Gonzaga - the reporting in the informes, and so forth. What I am suggesting is that a genuine desire on the part of the missionary for the spiritual well-being of the Indian could become narrowed in a quite human way by a series of factors: his negative judgment about the Indians' state of civilization, the pressure of a "no salvation outside the Church" theology, and so forth. The Indians could then become souls to save rather than people who needed to be first understood, both humanly and religiously. The missionary must have had a certain affection for his neophytes, but it was an affection that had to struggle to bridge the psychological distance between the two worlds and was subject to theological imperatives.

But the "no salvation outside the Church" theology was not monolithic. It coexisted with a

sense that God willed all people to be saved, and it was the Jesuits, in fact, who were to be numbered among the more progressive theologians when it came to striking a balance between these two dimensions of the tradition. The Jesuit theologians, for example, Robert Bellarmine (1542-1621), Francisco Suarez (1548-1619), and Juan De Lugo (1587-1660), all of whom taught at the Jesuit Roman college, played an important role of modifying the more rigid kinds of "no salvation outside of the Church" theology, and the Order had been locked in a struggle with the hard-line Jansenists over the matter. Without needing to go into the intricacies of these various theological positions, we can say that the more progressive theologians under the impact of the discovery of the New World and the realization that there were millions of people who had never known Christ, had tried to show how these people could belong to the Church by desire and good works, and thus reach salvation.[19]

It is another matter, of course, to determine how much of these progressive theological attitudes emanating from the Roman college filtered down through the ranks of the missionaries and effected our missionaries in the Guaycura nation. It is certainly hard to imagine that they saw much salvific significance in the good works and religious rites of the Indians, which rites they so determinately tried to stamp out, or they imagined that the Indians in virtue of these works or desire were already on the road to heaven. Hence, the importance of those stories in which the Indians fall sick, receive spiritual aid, and die, and the missionary can be morally certain that this person, at least, has gone to heaven.

Another dimension of this same theological complex was in the area of sacramental theology. Could the Indians be allowed to receive the Eucharist? Once again, we are in another theological era, this time one in which the reception of Holy Communion was much less frequent. Further, we should not forget that earlier in the New World a debate had raged whether the Indians even had spiritual souls, a debate that had ended with the affirmation that they did. Baegert's theology must be seen against this background, and this is, perhaps, why he affirms that the Indians are capable of reaching European levels of civilization if only they are given the proper education.[20] The question of the reception of the Eucharist of the Indians was compounded by their need to go to confession and have a firm intention to avoid sin in the future. For Baegert, this was a dilemma, as we saw, for the Indians confessed and then went right back to their usual sexual sins. And so he tried to resolve the problem by absolving them as if they were in danger of death, i.e., they were going to leave the confessional and go off some place where they might die without spiritual aid. But as the statistics of Lizasoáin showed, he continued to have this dilemma and appeared to resolve it by only infrequently allowing the Indians to receive Communion. In this he was more rigorous than his fellow Jesuits, and his own theological tendencies appear to have always run that way. On the boat coming over from Spain, for example, he had engaged in discussions of moral theology with one of his fellow Jesuits who thought Baegert's opinions too rough, and had called him "half a Jansenist."[21]

Even Hostell, who was certainly more positive about the Christian life of the Indians, would write to his sister who was a nun in 1743: "What a joy it is, my dearest sister, to see with one's own eyes, those who only a short while earlier, oblivious of their final destination, lived like brute animals, without hope of eternal felicity, wandering about in the desert, now gathered in Christian communities, knowing God, loving Him and praising Him, leading a pious, holy and edifying life superior to that of the old Christians in Europe! What a consolation that many souls, not only of innocent children but also of adults should depart from our hands, as it were, shortly after receiving baptism! They are prepared by us to face a happy death as Christians leaving this world for everlasting bliss in the next, a felicity of which they would have been otherwise eternally deprived."[22]

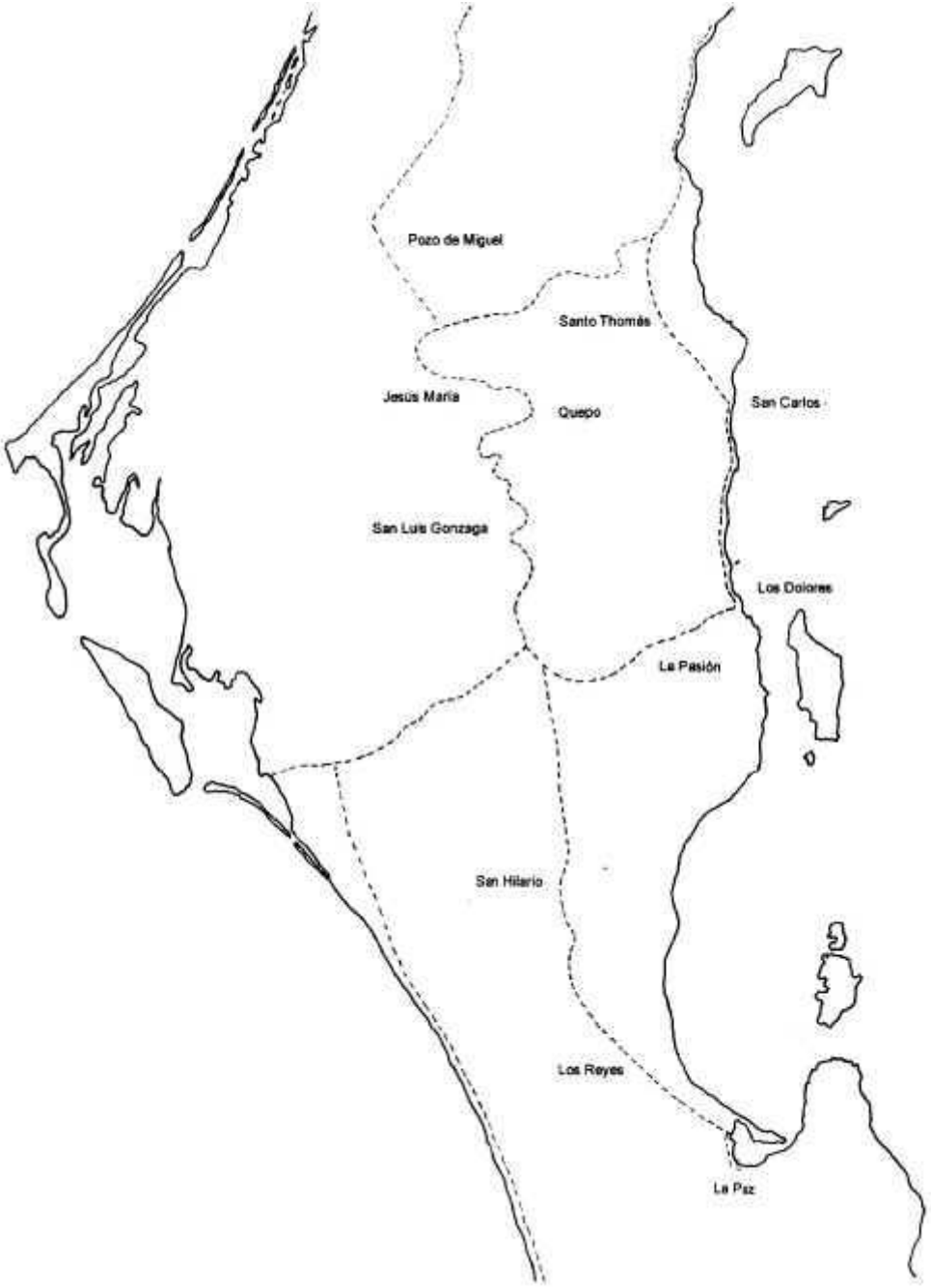
For Baegert the whole issue was complicated and intractable. He seriously wondered how many of his Indians would be saved, especially after seeing them commit adultery right after confession, so he says: "This is the cause o my joy when little children die. It is also my strong fear, if it is true what Saint Xavier wrote in his message to Francis Henry without hesitation, i.e., that only a few Indians who live longer than fourteen years go to Heaven."[23] But then he logically follows up, and asks himself whether these people should have been baptized in the first place: "But should we not then given these people holy baptism, because it is impossible through man's means to give them the deep recognition of it, its secret and necessity for them to accept baptism out of an inner love for God?"[24] One horn of the dilemma is that the Indians are in peril of salvation if they are not baptized, but the other is that they need the proper moral dispositions to understand baptism and what it implies, and freely accept it. Further, if they are baptized, then their failure to live up to its moral requirements again puts them in peril of salvation. Baegert concludes that he is happy that everyone in his mission was baptized before he got there: "for I would not know what to do and how to judge the capability and disposition which are necessary for the baptism of an adult person."[25] Therefore, he takes a certain kind of consolation in the fact that in the 154 children he had baptized, up until September of 1761, some 90 had died.[26] We certainly have difficulty in sympathizing with this perspective, but it worthwhile trying to understand it. On top of all this, he tells us that Juan Bischoff, his predecessor at San Luis who now works among the Cochimí, has told him that his Guaycuras are better than his Cochimí.[27]

An Expedition to the Guaycura Nation in the Californias

Chapter 8: The Age of the Ranchos

Forgotten Mission Roads

We can sum up the Jesuit mission era geography and its roads in Map 7 and its accompanying charts, which also serve to introduce us to the age of the ranchos, for they cover later journeys that we will soon become acquainted with. Note that the west coast road from the south and Todos Santos first appears on our charts with the 1867 journey of William Gabb, but it probably existed earlier.



Map 7. Forgotten Mission Roads

Table 2: The Central Road							
1719 Guillén Expedition	**1720 Expedition**	**Esteban Rodrígue**	**Lizasoáin 's**	**Longinos' Journey**	**William Gabb**	**The Map of 1902 (in the**	**Modern Place**

to the Bahía de Santa María Magdalena	**of Guillén starting along the Gulf**	**s 1741**	**Journey Feb. 1762**	**1792**	**1867**	**Pablo Martínez Archive, La Paz**	**Names (places appearing on 20th century printed maps)**
			Pozo de Miguel	El Pozo de Miguel			
Loreto		Loreto				Loreto	Loreto
		Bonú				Bonó	
Nautrig						Notrí	Notrí
Chuenqué Grade					Cuenca Rancho	Chuenqui	Chuenque
						Juncalito (reconstructed)	Juncalito
San Juan Malibat	Malibat	Liguí					Liguí
			Playa al Rincón, Rincón del Marquéz				
	Aripité						
						(missing)	
						…omaja (partially missing)	Tecomaja
	Pemeraquí						

Sierra de Santa Ursula							
Promontorio de San Nicolás							
Santa Cruz Udaré (here begins the land of the Guaycuras)	Santa Cruz Udaré				Santa Cruz		Santa Cruz
Cunupaquí, a ranchería in the area but not on the route of the expedition							Cunupaqui Arroyo
						El Paso	El Paso de Santa Cruz
						El Tulillo	El Tulillo
						La Relumbrosa	
						La Trinidad	
Wash of Santa Perpetua							
San Juan de Dios Cuatiquié							
Santo Tomás Anyaichirí	Anyaichirí			Andachire			Andachire
Candapán	Candapán						
	Onduchah						
Los Mártires de Aquirí							

	Quatianié						
San Gregorio Quiairá (Quiapa)							
	Jesus Maria Aenaté		Jesús María	Jesús María	Jesús María	Jesús María	Jesús María
					Los Cerritos	Los Cerritos	Los Cerritos
San Vicente Tiquenendegá	Fiquenendegá						
Santiago Quepoh	Santiago Quepoh		Quepo	Quepo			San Miguel de Quepo and San Dionisio de Quepo
San Clemente Querequaná	San Clemente Querequaná			Querequana			
San Andrés Tiguana	San Andrés Tiguana			Tiguana			Tijuana
				Qutoibo			
San Borja Cutoigué	San Borja Cutoigué						
San Cosme Codaraquí	San Cosme Codaraquí						
					El Ranchito	El Ranchito	El Ranchito

						El Frijol	El Frijol
						Palo del Rayo	Palo del Rayo
San Damián Chirigaquí	San Damián Chirigaquí		Misión San Luis	San Luis	San Luis	San Luis	San Luis Gonzaga
						San Nicolás	San Nicolás
						Plátano	El Plátano
						Iritú	Iritú
Anirituguè La Encarnación							
San Francisco de Buena Vista							
San Gabriel Cuedené	Cuedené						Cuedan
San Joseph Adague							
	Anirituhué						Iritu?
	Aripité						
	Jesús Remeraquí						
	Chiyá	La Pasión (Chiyá)	La Pasión	La Pasión			La Pasion, La Capilla
	San Marcelo Pacudaraquihué						
		Las	Las	Las Liebres			Las Liebres,

		Liebres	Liebres				abandoned ranch near Punta del Cerro
			Los Padarones				
			Gui				Agui?
						Caracol	
						San Isidro	San Isidro (adjacent to La Junta)
	San Saturnio						
				La Junta			La Junta near San Isidro
	San Hilario	San Hilario	Hilario	San Hilario			San Hilario
		Guadalupe	Guadalupe	Guadalupe		Guadalupe	Guadalupe de la Herradura
			Salto el Conejo				
						Aguajón	El Aguajón
	San Higinio del Guaycuro						
				La Vieja			

	San Félix de los Coras						
	Arroyo de los Reyes	Los Reyes	Salto de los Rey	Salto de los Reyes			Salto de Reyes
				Los Reyes		Huerta de los Reyes	Cajon de Reyes
						Rodrigues	Rodrigues
						Quelele	Quelele
						Zacatecas	Zacatecas
			Los Aripes	Los Aripes		Los Aripes	Los Aripes
			Parbellon				
			Mueles				
						San Luisito	San Luisito
						Zacatal	Zacatel
	La Paz	La Paz	La Paz	La Paz		La Paz	La Paz

Table 3: The Gulf Road		
1720 Expedition of Guillén starting along the Gulf	**Esteban Rodrigues 1740**	**Modern Place Names**
	Loreto	Loreto

	Bonú	
Malibat (the road follows the Gulf)	Liguí	Ligüí
Catechiguajá		
	San Hilarión Arroyo	
Pucá (Ends Laimón nation, begins Guyacura)		
	Santo Thomás	Santo Thomás
Santa Daría Acuré		
San Carlos Aripaquí	San Carlos (the road leaves the sierra and goes along the Gulf)	San Carlos
San Gregorio Asembavichí		Tembabichi
Santa Isabel Cahué		
Apaté (the road leaves the Gulf)		The hacienda of Los Dolores
Nuestra Señora de Los Dolores	Los Dolores (the road leaves the Gulf)	the mission of Los Dolores
Sierra del Tesoro		
Presentación Devá		
San Martín Quaquihué	San Juan Quaquiguí on the right of the road	The valley and plains of Kakiwi
	La Pasión (Chillá) (The road joins the Central Route)	La Pasión or La Capilla, the second site of Los Dolores
There is no evidence that this route after this point was ever		

used.		
San Eugenio Icudairí, Santa Cecilia Caembehué, Santa Felicitas, San Chrysogono Arecú, Santa Catalina de los Miradores, Los Desposorios de Nuestra Señora, San Andrés del Paredón, San Saturnino del Pedernal, Santa Bibiana de las Averías, San Xavier de las Batuecas, La Paz		

Table 4: From the Central Route to Bahia de Santa Maria Magdalena		
1719 Guillén Expedition to the Bahía de Santa María Magdelena	**William Gabb 1867**	**Modern Place Names**
	San Luis	San Luis Gonzaga
San Joseph Adagué		
Santa María Tacanopá (Tacanopare)		
San Joaquín		
Santa Ana del Espanto		
Santa Isabel Tipateiguá		Tipatehui
	Buena Vista	Buenavista
San Benito Aruí (Aruiaquí)		
Santa María Magdalena	Bahía de Magdalena	Bahía de Magdalena

	La Salada (Gabb then travels inland down the Pacific Coast)	
	La Palma	
	Agua Colorado	probably formerly in the area of El Estero
	Arroyo de Guadalupe	Arroyo de Guadalupe

Rancho San Luis

The transition from the land of the Guaycuras to the age of the ranchos started almost immediately after the Indians of Los Dolores and San Luis were exiled. Francisco Palóu, as we saw, recounts how José de Gálvez sent the Guaycuras on their way, and he goes on to tell us that mission San Luis was turned into a rancho: "The family of the discharged soldier Felipe Romero, with all his children, was moved to San Luís, he being given possession of the land. All the necessary vestments were left for that church so that Mass might be said whenever the missionary father of San Xavier could go there; and it was ordered that when there were two missionaries one of them should go once a month to say Mass."[1]

Many years later in 1857, Ulises Urbano Lassépas, trying to defend the land titles of the Baja Californians, wrote a *Memorial* that tells us more about Romero's land grant. On April 24, 1769, Gálvez gave Romero San Luis with "its house, church, tools, furnishings, lands, water, pastures from the arroyo of San Luis to that of Acheme including ten sheep, a ram, five little goats, six chickens, two roosters, and one quarter of the wild cattle."

But Romero had to fulfill three conditions:

1. To keep ready three horses that would be given to him for the Royal Post
2. To fulfill the instructions of August 12, 1769 concerning titles.
3. The third requirement reveals a great deal about Gálvez's tendency to reorganize the world without much thought to the practical consequences his decrees would have. Romero's daughters, when married, had to stay in San Luis, and thus help the place grow. Lassépas comments: "This last and bizarre clause, sine qua non, which would have compromised the genealogical tree of the Grantee, would have been able to be an element of domestic and civil discord for various reasons which we excuse ourselves from going into. *La Independencia* happily restored to Romero's feminine offspring the ability to dispose freely of their hands and hearts."[2] (p. 193)

It appears that Lassépas was following the text of the original land grant, which supplements the knowledge that Lassépas has given us.[3] On Sept. 4, 1768 Gálvez had given Felipe Romero "a retired soldier of the company of the presidio" a grant in the San José del Cabo area, which he was now changing to San Luis with its furnishings and tools "and others that are in La Pasión." It adds to the list of animals a phrase that Lassépas apparently skipped over: "five lambs, ten goats, a billy goat," and one quarter of the wild horses and mules, as well as cattle of the land and mountains of San Luis and La Pasión, the rest of which are to be sent to Todos Santos.[4]

1772. Fray Juan Ramos de Lora talks about how difficult life was in early Rancho San Luis. Felipe Romero lives there, but "with much necessity, scarcity and effort, is not able to maintain himself since, although he has the intention to sow, these sowings do not succeed, and he can't raise cattle as he would like because of the damages and difficulties they experience. Therefore, he has been asking to pass to another place and abandon this one."[5]

When it came to eating, Baegert had written that the Spaniards knew nothing but corn, tortillas and *tasajo*, or beef jerky. This was certainly an exaggeration, but the traditional rancho saying, "*Que un tasajo bien salado, no hay cosa mayor. Se bebe tinas de agua, que es tanto mejor*," or "There is nothing better than a well-salted piece of jerky, after which you drink tubs of water - which is so much better!" was probably quite appropriate for rancho San Luis. Not surprisingly, Baegert has left us another version which goes: "*Se bebe agua encima, que es horror*," or "after which you drink tubs of water - what a horror!"[6]

Lassépas goes on to describe the state of rancho San Luis in 1778 according to the manuscript of Padre Fray Gerónimo Salderillas: "Half a fanega of tillable land, 60 feet of grapevines, 3 yokes of oxen, 68 fruit trees, 135 head of cattle, 15 horses, 15 mules, and 2 burros."[7]

Unfortunately, the rest of the history of the beginning of this rancho era in the Guaycura nation is nowhere near as complete, and is scattered in bits and pieces in a number of different documents from which we will try to reassemble it. The principle documents are:

1. The 1857 work of Lassépas with its compilation of old land titles. (L)
2. Pablo Martínez's *Guía Familiar de Baja California* which is a collection of various birth, marriage and death records. (G)
3. The registries of cattle brands of Baja California Sur. (CB)
4. A census of August 24, 1851 that covers part of the area.
5. A tax roll of July 17, 1854 which also covers just part of the area.
6. Documents in the Pablo Martínez Archive in La Paz, Baja California Sur. (PMA)

This somewhat meager harvest will be supplemented by the accounts of early travelers, and the panorama of rancho life that Harry Crosby describes so engagingly in *Last of the Californios*.

With the establishment of rancho San Luis a new era has begun. It is logical to imagine the repopulation of the now vacant lands of mission San Luis and Los Dolores would radiate out from here. But that is no more than a guess. Padre Visitador Ignacio Lizasoáin's 1762 itinerary through this area mentioned various stopping places like Jesús María, Quepo, San Hilario and Las Liebres, all of which are the names of ranches that exist to this day. Did they exist in the mission era, as well, and have mission workers who worked them for the missions, and had them serve as stations on the road? If they did, then it is possible that some of these people stayed on after the exile of the Guaycuras.

In whatever way it took place, rancho life in the Guaycura nation could not have been an easy affair, as we already witnessed in regard to the Romeros at San Luis. It will be played out against the stark background of the depletion of people and supplies drawn off Alta California, more epidemics, the further decline of the remaining missions which had been the very backbone that had held Jesuit California together, the failure of supplies to arrive from the mainland during different years - one chronicle states that in 1781, 1782, and 1783 little or no supplies were received; and in 1785, one ship is lost and "all classes were reduced to destitution,"[8] - and finally the protracted Mexican revolution which deepened the isolation of Baja California. It was going to take independent and hardy men and women to pioneer these first ranchos, and create a self-sufficient way of life, dependent neither on outside supplies nor on government aid.

Simón Avilés, Soldier

Simón Avilés, who served as a soldier before 1800, leaves us an idea of the spartan existence of the soldiers of that time, and the life of the first rancheros could hardly have been much better.

"We lived in great discomfort in little, low houses with palm or earth roofs, very tiny and with cowhide doors for lack of boards; the entire furnishings of a house consisted of a bad cot or a wattle bed, a rough table and chairs made out of sticks crossed over two little adobe posts; at that time there wasn't even one man in the whole country, with the exception of Don Manuel 'Ozio, who could be called rich or moderately well off; we were entirely dependent upon the missions; since labors and adversities were common and the families in each mission very few, there was a good deal of brotherhood and union among them; they would give and lend each other everything, even their clothes; the same thing could be seen regarding those persons who came from the other missions; then there were no strangers, everyone knew each other and the majority were related by marriage or by blood. Only the missionary fathers kept their things for themselves and lived like strangers to our customs… we wore no underwear except shirts and shorts, and on the outside, pants and jackets made from cured deer hide; we wore our shoes next to our skin; we didn't wear stockings or undershirts or cloaks in winter; then we wore some serapes from Durango over our clothes and that was our entire overcoat in the house or in the field; generally in the very cold seasons we warmed ourselves with fire; for that reason wood was never lacking in the house and was left in the middle of the rooms we lived in."[9]

"No wonder," Crosby comments, "that the people increasingly voted with their feet…"[10] And as they began to create ranchos in the old Guaycura nation, knowledge of this area by the outside world may well have been fading away. Luis de Sales, for example, one of the Dominican missionaries who replaced the Franciscans and was stationed in the north of the peninsula, writing about 1790, mentions a port opposite the large island of Carmen called Tembabich. His English translator surmises that he is referring to Puerto Escondido, but can't find a mention of Tembabich, which is our original Asembabichí. Even the history of the two missions is fast receding into oblivion. Los Dolores is conflated with the earlier visita of San Javier which carried the same name, and about San Luis, we are told, that its water supply failed and the Indians died, so from 1718 to 1768 there was hardly anyone there.[11]

José Longinos, Naturalist

1791-1792. José Longinos Martínez, a naturalist from Spain, travels extensively in both Californias. His notes for our area read:

Los Aripes to Los Reyes, stopping place, water, 6 leagues

Salto de Los Reyes to La Vieja, same, 5

La Vieja to Guadalupe, same, 4

Guadalupe to San Hilario, same, 6

San Hilario to La Junta, same, 5

La Junta to Las Liebres, same, 4

Las Liebres to La Pasión, suppressed mission, 3

La Pasión to San Luis, suppressed mission, 4

San Luis to Cutoibo, stopping place, water, 3

Cutoibo to Tiguana, same, 4

Tiguana to Quereguana, same, 4

Quereguana to Quepo, same, 5

Quepo to Jesús y María, same, 4

Jesús y María to Andariche, same, 4

Andariche to El Pozo de Miguel, same, 6

He tells us that silica of different colors are to be found at La Junta. "A great deal of petrified wood occurs in that vicinity, some of it half petrified, or partly petrified, and the rest agatized in the form of silica. At San Luis one finds jaspers and a large vein of (fossil) sea snails, as well as other petrified products of the sea, agatized and crystallized; at Cuytobo a variety of colored opaque quartz; at La Pasión *hierro en talcoz*, from which glass is made."[12]

Longinos' route is very similar, if not identical, to the one followed by Lizasoáin 30 years before, and we can ask the same question: Were ranchos already established at these stopping places?

1793. Jan. 11. Luis Romero, given title for Santa Cruz, Comondú. (L251)

Alejandro Mendoza, San Luis, San Antonio. (L252)

1797. Rosalía Castro is born at La Junta. (G575)

1799. August 16. Justo Morillo is born at Agua Escondida, and dies there 94 years later.

1811. Antonio Navarro, received title for El Salto de los Reyes. (254)

1813. Francisco Osuna, title for Tiguana. (CB63)

1814. Fernando de la Toba , who had come to Monterey in Alta California, as a 16-year-old cadet from a noble family, (G35) appears on the scene as Governor, and is to go on and play an important role in the new rancho community of San Luis and La Pasión. (L213) In 1821 he is temporarily in charge of the government again (L203) and the following year, as commander of the troops of the southern jurisdiction, he swears allegiance to the newly independent Mexico, coerced by Chilean privateers who have attacked Todos Santos.

1822. April 7. Felipe Avilez, given title to La Matancita. (L223)

Dec. 3. J.M. Murillo, La Junta. (L223)

1823. Feb. 13. Luis Sandoval, title to Palo Verde. (L223) (PMA, II, 15, 99)

Justo Álvarez, title to El Coyote (CB43)

April 1. Rafael Solorio, title to El Portrero. (L224)

1824. Dec. 24. Luis Álvarez, title to El Mechudo. (L225)

Justo Álvarez, title to El Mechudo (CB43)

1826. July 29. The Verdugo family has title to many ranches including El Sauce, La Picota, Santo Tomás, Tiguana, El Potrero, Quepo. (L261)

1828. Jan. 8. Ignacio Mayo receives title to Las Liebres Chiquitas. (L227)

Oct. 12. J.F. Flores, title to Las Tarabillas. (L227)

1829. Dec. 9. Fernando de la Toba is decommissioned as alférez at half pay. (PMA, II, 23, 2866) Inventory of the archive of the Diputación. (PMA, II, 23, 2925)

1830. "In 1830, following the floods of the previous year which virtually destroyed Loreto, La Paz became the seat of territorial government and was thus revived as an important port. During the same period, Bahía Magdalena also became a center of activity for, following the establishment of Fort Ross in Alta California by the Russian-American Company in 1812, sea otter hunting was continuously extended southward as northern herds were depleted, and by the decade 1820-1830 Russian and Aleut hunters were operating in Bahía Magdalena under license from territorial governor José María Echeandía. Whaling by United States and British vessels replaced sea otter hunting in the region after the mid-1830s, and remained as its principal activity for almost forty years, although following the discovery of Laguna Ojo de Liebre by Charles Melville Scammon in 1858 the center of Pacific coast whaling moved to that area."[13]

1831. March 24. Dolores. Fernando de la Toba sends an inventory of his rural goods. (PMA, II, 24b, 3157)

1832. June 23. G. Avilez, title to San Luis.

1833. June 9. Fernando de la Toba makes a request to Juan José López for flour and corn in lieu of his pay. (PMA, II, 27, 4187)

October 18. Fernando de la Toba has received from Manuel Valenzuela 60 pesos against his overdue assets. (PMA, II, 27, 4344)

1834. March 5. Pablo de la Toba, title to La Pasión. (L230)

Apr. 12. Justo Murillo, title to El Agua Escondida. (L230)

May 1. Hermenegildo Lucero, title to La Poza del Colorado. (L230)

Camillo Morillo, 1834-1887 at San Hilario (G)

June 5. Raymundo Mayoral, title to Santa Rosa. (L240)

1837. Almost 50 years have passed since the founding of rancho San Luis, and a new district is coalescing around it called Intermedios, i.e., the intermediate place located between La Paz and Comondú, and at some point it is divided into Intermedios Sur and Norte, close to or identical to the current boundary line between the modern municipio of La Paz and that of Comondú.

Cyprien Combier, French Merchant

Around this time the Frenchman Cyprien Combier who had sailed to La Paz to assemble a cargo of

hides describes rancho life.

"Most of the people live on little *ranchos*, or farms. The ranchers' occupations consist of riding horseback from early morn to overlook their herds, break horses and mules, slaughter the animals whose meat nourishes the family and serves in bartering, and, finally, in drying and preparing the meat, the hides and tallow that may be sold as excess. It is without doubt to this kind of life as much as to their origin that we must attribute their independent nature and a noble pride which strikes us at first sight. They are generally good, obliging and energetic, but their imperturbable dignity would never stoop to render a service which would have an appearance of domesticity or servitude. Their clothes consist of a cotton shirt, breeches, and an overcoat of deerskin tanned and prepared by themselves and decorated in different ways by the women… Women dress themselves properly and even with a certain coquetry. Preserving the complexion of their father race, they are, in general, much whiter than the men; their features are more delicate, their manners sweeter and more engaging. The cares of the household, the education of the little children, milking cows and making cheese are their exclusive functions. Their incomparable fecundity is due, without doubt, to a strong constitution maintained by coarse and simple but abundant food. It is not rare to find among them mothers in their forties having families of fifteen or even twenty children in good health; it is rare to see any of this age who have less than a dozen. One is surprised everywhere at the prodigious number of children who multiply in the thatched cottages and amid the brushwoods that surround them. This spectacle impresses the mind with an idea of the great growth of population, growth which manifests itself by the incessant establishment of new *ranchos* in places previously uninhabited."[14]

1837. Aug. 6 at Los Dolores. Fernando de la Toba, interim prefect of the district, informs the authorities that he has named José Arce Justice of the Peace. (PMA, 7031)

Sept. 6 at Los Dolores. Estanislao de la Toba writes to the Jefe Politico Luis del Castillo Negrete that he has received from Fernando de la Toba the post as judge of the ranchos between La Relumbrosa and the arroyo of La Pasión. (PMA, 7078)

Oct. 12 at Los Dolores. Estanislao de la Toba, Justice of the Peace of the ranchos of Intermedios, writes to the authorities that if anyone wants to know about Manuel Valenzuela and José María Veliz they are citizens of this jurisdiction. (PMA, 7125)

Nov. 10 at Los Dolores. Vicente Romero becomes the substitute Justice of the Peace of the ranches between La Relumbrosa and El arroyo de la Pasión. (PMA, 7168)

Dec. 8 at Los Dolores. Fernando de la Toba sends to the authorities a copy of the form he will send to the Justices of the Peace in order that they can put down the statistics of their respective jurisdictions. (PMA, 7226)

1839. June 5. Raymundo Mayoral, title to Santa Rosa. (L240)

1841. Jan. 15. Fr. Gabriel Gonzalez reports to Governor Negrete there are six priests in Baja. The

nearest to San Luis: José Antonio Mosquecho, a Dominican who arrived in 1835 and is in charge of San Antonio, and Vicente Soto Major, a Mercedarian, who arrived in 1836 stationed in Loreto.[15]

June 23. Half a cattle grant at Sauzoso for Juan José Cota, and on June 26 half a cattle grant to Francisco Betancourt.[16]

1842. Aug. 1. A cattle ranch at Los Achemes, Carmen de la Toba.[17]

José María Vélez, title to Jesús María. (L260)

The French traveler M. Duflot de Mofras gives the population of La Paz as 400, while the mission of Comundú has 81.[18]

1844. March 26. Hacienda de Los Dolores. Ramon de la Toba, the principle Justice of the Peace of Intermedio, writes to the authorities in Loreto about Urbano Rodríguez because of the claim made against him by Encarnación Romero. (PMA, II, V42, L3, 1FF, 061)

April 20. Ramon de la Toba writes concerning another case involving Ramon Talamantes. (PMA, II, V42, L4, 1FF, 084)

Sept. 10. Ramon de la Toba writes concerning the collection of taxes and the problems arising because the landowners do not have titles. (PMA, II, V42bis, L9, 1FF, 246)

1845. Jan. 15. Cornelio Espinosa, title to El arroyo de la Pasión. (L234)

1846. Nov. 22. Francisco Sosa y Silva marries Gertrudis Baldenegro. He is a native of the Azores.

1847. Feb. 16 at San Luis. Vicente Romero, the judge of Intermedios writes to the authorities concerning a land dispute involving Pablo Álvarez. (PMA, II, V44, L2, 1FF, 028)

W.C.S. Smith, American '49er

1849. Jan. 5. W.C.S. Smith left New York to travel to the California gold rush via Veracruz, San Blas and Mazatlán, but he and some of his companions, angered over the conditions on the ship, decided to go overland from San José del Cabo to Alta California. Unfortunately, they appear to have had little prior experience in this kind of venture, and even less knowledge of what lay ahead. They went to Todos Santos and then followed the coast northward, when the road turned inland somewhere, probably around the arroyo of Guadalupe. Their animals were failing fast, and the first horse had almost given out, and another had run off. Then luck intervened. And it is our luck, too, for they give us a portrait of ranch life in Intermedios. One of their members came in from the hunt with what Smith describes as an Indian who told them of a ranch a few miles away. "We have found here a gentlemanly Portuguese, the son-in-law of the proprietor. He speaks English."[19] He tells them had they continued along the coast they would have found nothing ahead of them for many, many miles.

April 18. "Laid by all day at the rancho, buying horses and making provisions for prosecuting our

journey. People very kind. The Portuguese very intelligent. He has a fine vineyard and fruit trees in a valley back in the mountains. My new horse is a beauty, but wild like the Californians themselves. Much interested by their wonderful performances with the Lasso. This seems a good specimen of a California ranch. The old proprietor is as one of the ancient Patriarchs. They are a better people than the Mexicans. Now to my blankets. They have spread ox hides on the ground for us to lie upon, quite a mark of civility towards us. This place is called the "Rancho Colorado" from the river of that name on the bank of which it stands. The house is a long low rambling concern, built of reeds and brush interwoven. The roofs of weeds and flags. One half of one side open. A ground floor. In the corner of the room is a clay furnace for cooking. The river is dry now except for a large and deep pond of several acres which is the water supply for the establishment. For drinking purposes there are under the shed two large vessels of porous earthenware kept filled with water, and in which it becomes very cool. The Portuguese told us that years sometimes passed without the river flowing; but occasionally it was furious, which was apparent from the immense channel and marks of destruction. Such is the character of most of the streams in the Abajo. At the time we passed there had been scarcely any rain for five years. The people live almost entirely upon beef cooked every way except any mode we were accustomed to, but they never fail to add chili pepper enough to bring tears from the eyes of a dried codfish.

"We bought a steer and had the man dress and jerk the meat for us. They

roasted the head, hair, horns, and all with hot stones in a hole in the ground. They politely invited us to share. We were not fastidious and laid hold. We found it perfectly delicious. They were much interested in our revolvers. Had never before seen such a weapon. But what they most coveted was tobacco. Our stock of that was low and Nye and I were smokers, yet we divided with them. Afterwards we smoked willow bark ourselves. The old proprietor was years ago a leading politician in Mexico. Was exiled to this place by the Emperor Iturbide. He had here an immense tract of desert land and about 2,000 head of cattle and horses, his sole wealth. We learned from Francisco, the Portuguese, that the journey before us was a serious affair. He gave us much advice which was of timely benefit. He told us of a party who from lack of precaution had not long before perished on the same route. Under his supervision, we were furnished with a number of leather water bottles which they all charged us to fill at every opportunity. Told us to throw away our Mexican bridles and huge steel bits and ride our horses with hackamores (head halters). Also provided a stock of dried beef and "pinole" (wheat ground by hand on a tortilla stone.)"[20]

They leave the next day with a guide to San Luis, and reach it at 12 o'clock on the 20th, expecting to find "at least a small village, but it is nothing but a deserted old Jesuit mission, in ruins. It stands solitary in the midst of desolation." They find "an old decrepit Indian"[21] who shows them some paintings of the Madonna and saints in good condition, but has nothing to offer by the way of food until they press him about the matter. For the next three days they struggle onward, not seeing a single person. Finally on the 24th they find a small ranch in the morning, but lose the trail and climb up a steep mountain. Later they discover they have strayed from the coast trail, and now are on the mountain road. On the 25th they arrive at what must have been, by their

description, San Javier. All this tribulation, and they have yet to enter the great Vizcaíno desert. They are to survive, and finally arrive at San Diego, grateful to still be alive.

Rancho Colorado was somewhere in the vicinity of El Estero near the Pacific coast, and endured until at least the early 1920s when it is found on a map drawn by Carl Beal based on information he compiled in 1920-21.[22] The question of the identity of Francisco the Portuguese leaves us with two choices: Francisco Betancourt or Francisco Sosa y Silva.

August 31 at Santa Cruz. Francisco Betancourt writes to the Jefe Politico, Rafael Espinoza, about the titles to ex-mision San Luis Gonzaga in 1769 and 1846 of Vicente Romero. (PMA, II, V45, L8, 1FF, 249)

The same day he writes about the revalidation of the title of Vicento Romero according to the conditions of May 20, 1776. (PMA, II, V45, L8, 1FF, 251) He also writes about the grant to San Luis made by José Gálvez to Felipe Romero.

Sept. 3. Francisco Betancourt writes to the authorities concerning the soldier Guadalupe Manrique and some steers. (PMA, II, V45bis, L9, 1FF, 264)

An Expedition to the Guaycura Nation in the Californias

Chapter 9: Intermedios

1851 Census of Intermedios

On the Trail with Arthur North

Rancho Jesús María 1906

Intermedios cowboys 1906

Making Mescal

Benigno de la Toba and family

1851. Intermedios has grown, and we are fortunate to have a census of its southern section which is worth reproducing in its entirety.

Baja census Agosto 24 1851[1]

Padron de la Jurisdiccion de Intermedios desde S^{n} Luis hasta S^{n} Hilario.

Del año de 1851

Nombres de ranchos	Nombres de Personas	Edades (age)	Sexos F.	Sexos M.	Estados (marital status)	Ejercicios (occupation)
1a familia	Luis Albares	44		m	casados (married)	Labrador (laborer)
Snt.a	Espectacion Redona	32	f			

Rita	Antonio Albares	21		m	soltero (single)	Ranchero
	Julian	20		m		
	Pedro	13		m		
	Mariana	12	f			
	Baldomeda	11	f			
	Jesus	10		m		
	Delfina	7	f			
	Jorge	5		m		
	Refugia	2	f			
	Dolores	5 meses	f			
2a	Francisco Betancur	33		m	casado	Ranchero
St.a Cruz	Nepomucena Cadena	27	f		ydn (idem)	
	Pabla Betancur	9	f			
	Gentila (girl)	6 meses	f			

3a	Julian Cadenas	50		m	viudo (widower)	Vaquero (cowboy)
Sin propiedad	Lorenso	22		m	soltero	
	Felipe	14		m		
	Maria	12	f			
	Rita	10	f			
	Angela	9	f			
	Teledonia	6	f			
4a fam.[a]	Enmeregildo Lucero	40		m	casado	Ranchero
Los Angeles	M.a Ygnacia Martines	22	f		casada	
	Jose Lucero	17		m	soltero	ranchero
	Encarnacion	14		m		
	Nestora	11	f			
	Lapaz	9	f			
	Pilar	7		m		
	Loreto	1		m		

5a	Pedro Arias	17		m	soltero	cirviente (servant)
	Rosario Moreno	17		m	ydn	ydn
	Rafael Cota	35		m	casado	cirviente
	Mariana Marques	28	f		ydn	
	Jesus Cota	12		m		
	Jose M.a	10		m		
	Carmen	3	f			
6a	Dolores Lucero	27		m	casado	ranchero
	Pilar Camacha	20	f			
	Roman Lucero	5		m		
	Jose	3		m		
	Isidora	1	f			
7a	Ramon Talamantes	38		m	casado	Labrador

Las Animas	M.a Ygnacia Yguera	39	f			
	Eugenia Talamantes	19	f			
	Lucia	18	f			
	Dolores	17	f			
	Arcadio	15		m		
	Diego	13		m		
	Bruna	10	f			
	Gertrudis	8	f			

	Tomasa	7	f			
	German	5		m		
	Andres	3		m		
8a	Manuel Castro	50		m	casado	ranchero
Palo Verde	Gertrudis Gerarda	30	f			
	Juan Castro	21		m	soltero	

	Jose	19		m		
	Salvadora	17	f			
	Carlota Castro	15	f			
	Jesus	13		m		
	Manuel	11		m		
	Leonarda	9	f			
	Isabel	7	f			
	Domilita	5	f			
	Lina	3	f			
	un gentil (a boy)	5 meses		m		
9a	Ant.o Morales	30		m		
	Rosario Lucero	23	f			
	Eulogio Morales	2		m		
	Refugia	1	f			

10a	Clemente Amador	57		m	casado	Labrador
Purificacion	M.a Aguias	33	f			
	Juana Amador	24	f			
	Isabel	22	f			
	Guadalupe	16	f			
	Rosario	14	f			
	Ramona	10	f			
	Francisco	7		m		
	Santiago	5		m		
	Jesus	2		m		
	Cayetano	2		m		
	Juan M.a Carpio	16		m	soltero	cirviente
11a	Pablo Albares	33		m	casado	Labrador
Potrero	Loreta Morrillo	23	f			
	Candelaria Albares	9	f			

	Angel	8		m		
	Espirito	7		m		
	Ysidora	5	f			
	Manuel	3		m		
	Ambrocio	1		m		

	Jose Albares	80		m	casado	carpintero
	Josefa Velis	80	f			
	Dolores Morillo	15	f			
	Ant.o Espinosa	25		m	casado	Ranchero
	Damiana Camacho	18	f			
12a	Loreto Espinosa	34		m	casado	ranchero
	M.a Orantes	20	f			
	Francisco Espinosa	1		m		

13a	Cornelio Espinosa	75		m	casado	ranchero
Tipiateo	Guadalupe Gerarda	56	f			
	Jose M.a Espinosa	27		m		
	Miguel	15		m		
	Dolores	28	f			
	Guadalupe	21	f			
	Luz	16	f			
	Albara	8	f			
14a	Sabás Camacho	25		m	casado	campesino
	Rosario Espinosa	24	f			
	Manuel Camacho	2		m		
	Cicilia	1	f			
15a	Ant.o Camacho	35		m	casado	campesino
Santa	Santana Espinosa	24	f			

Rosa	Carmen Camacho	2	f			
	Doroteo	1		m		
16a	Andres Camacho	23		m	casado	campesino
	Luisa Gerardo	15	f			
	Eligio Camacho	1		m		
17a	Yldeforso Camacho	66		m	casado	Militar R.
	Josefa Arze	48	f			
	Bautista Camacho	16		m		
	Josefa	12	f			
18a	Clemente Morillo	39		m	casado	Labrador
	Luz Albares	23	f			
	Florentina Morillo	1	f			

19a	Jose M.a Morillo	111		m	casado	Ranchero
	Ma Ygnacia Morena	60	f			
	Vicenta Murillo	35	f		casada	

Junta	Arcadio Orosco	17		m		
	Albira	15	f			
	Geronima	9	f			
20a	Abelina	5	f			
Agua Escondida	Guadalupe	2	f			
	Justo Morillo	57		m	casado	Ranchero
	Valentina Albares	38	f			
	Gloria Morillo	20	f			
	Canuto Osuna	12		m		
	Cuevo Morillo	9		m		

21a	Benigno Toba	38		m	casado	Ranchero
Pasion	Juana Camacho	30	f			
	Loreta Toba	16	f			
	Lucia	16	f			
	Telesforo	10		m		
	Angel	8		m		
	Fernando	7		m		
	un gentil	2		m		
22a	Ygnacio Alamea	60		m	casado	cirviente
Liebre	M.a Yuyuilla	47	f			
	Clerencio Alamea	16		m		
	Juana	20	f			
	Cornelia	15	f			
	Lescona	13	f			
	Donaciana	4	f			

	gentil	1		m		
23a	Blas Torres	25		m	casado	cirviente
	Juliana Alamea	23	f			
	Benita	10	f			
	Socorro	7		m		
	Guadalupe	3	f			
24a	Trinidad Amador	34		m	casado	Labrador
Bosque	Gracia Ojeda	26	f			
	Juana Amador	8	f			
	M.a	6	f			
	Jose	4		m		
	Florentin	1		m		
	Juan Acuña	29		m	soltero	cirviente

	Petra Adarga	18	f			
	Jacinto Amador	30		m	soltero	Labrador
	Jose M.a Amador	27		m		
	Manuel Amador	25		m		
	Pilar Ojeda	28	f		soltera	costumera (seamstress)
	Teras su hija	7	f			
	Trinidad	2	f			
	Peregrino	1		m		
25a	Juan de Dios Morillo	43		m	casado	Ranchero
San Ysidro	M.a Adarga	40	f			
	Rosaria Morillo	22	f			
	Guadalupe	20		m		
	Patricio	18		m		
	Catarino	17		m		

	Josefa	15	f			
	Fernando	12		m		
	Felicita	10	f			
	Concepcion	5	f			
	Seferino	3		m		
26a	Antonio Agundis	40		m	casado	ranchero
	Lorensa Morillo	25	f			
	Estavan Agundis	3		m		
27a	Nepomunera Martines	79	f		viuda	Pastera (shepherdess)
	Canuto Morillo	55		m	casado	Ranchero
Pilar	Yginia Albares	48	f			
	Dorotea Morillo	24	f			
	Faustina	22	f			
	Feliciano	16		m		

	Pelagia	13	f			
	Rafael	10		m		
	Francisco Arriola	2		m		
	Diego Osuna	54		m	casado	cirviente
	Catarino Osuna	23		m	soltero	
28a	Agustin Martines	77		m	casado	campesino
	Ynes Liera	69	f			
	Soledad Martines	50	f		viuda	

	Jose M.a Velasques	25		m	soltero	campesino
	Bautista	23		m		
	Norberto	16		m		
	Corralampio	16		m		
	Refugia	18	f			

	Jose	13		m		
	Romaldo	11		m		
	M.a	4	f			
	un gentil	1		m		
	Guadalupe Martines	55	f			
	Ant.o	25		m		
29a	Ignacio Torres	60		m	casado	vaquero
	Pilar Martines	30	f			
	Gregoria	10	f			
	un muchacho	3		m		
	Pedro Pajarito	60		m	viudo	cirviente
	M.a Ygnacia	15	f			
30a	Jose Molina	62		m	casado	Laboristo

Sn Andres	Josefa Espinosa	38	f			
	Loreto Molina	18		m		
	Francisca	17	f			
	Salvadora	16	f			
	Pablo	15		m		
	Reduccindo	14		m		
	Margarita	13	f			
	Angela	12	f			
	Jose M.a	11		m		
	Martin Molina	10		m		
	una gentila	2 meses	f			
31a	Loreto Gerardo	62		m	casado	Ranchero
	Felipa Cubarrubia	35	f			
	Loreto Gerardo	23	f			

	Ant.o	16		m		
	Leonardo	14		m		
	Jose Rosa	11		m		
	Locadia	8	f			
	Jose	3		m		
	Virginia	3	f			
	una gentila	3 meses	f			
	Romaldo Amador	28		m	soltero	cirviente

32a	Juan Gomes Aguiar	65		m	casado	Labrador
San Hilario	Gracia Gerardo	38	f			
	M.a Ygnacia Aguiar	25	f		casada	
	Vicenta	28	f			
	Vitoriano	18		m		
	Merced	16	f			
	Perfirio	11		m		

	Carmen Pola	9	f			
	Macario	6		m		
33a	Juaquin Tabares	38		m	casado	cirviente
	Francisca Aguiar	20	f			
	Custodio su hijo	6		m		
	Carmen "	2	f			
34a	Lucas Alamea	34		m	casado	cirviente
	Etefana Sanches	24	f			
	Carmen Alamea	3	f			
	Leonardo	1		m		
35a	Ant.o Rodrigues	36		m	casado	campaste
	Barbara Yguera	24	f			
	Epifanio	11		m		

	Cuatro hijos más					

Ranchos 18) familias 35) hombres 134) mugeres 127) total almas con los cuatro ultimos 265

Intermedios Agosto 24 de 1851.

A leal de intermedio Luis Alvarez

Map 8. Intermedios Ranchos by the 1850s

Map 8 shows many of the ranches for which we have evidence that they existed by the 1850s. They spread organically most likely from the first ranchos of the area by the departure of their sons whom the home ranch could not support. These sons would go up or down the arroyo, or find an unexploited spring, and with the help of their families, start a new rancho. In this way the sierra and plains of Intermedios gradually became covered by a network of ranchos bound together by family ties. This process, at least for the Sierra de Guadalupe in the north, peaked around 1900 when the most remote water sources had been utilized.[2] It may well have been the same for Intermedios. Part of this extensive utilization of the land was the creation of changing, or moving, ranchos which in times of adequate rain were established in places without adequate permanent water, and in times

of drought, retreated to wait for the next rains, a practice that still continues. The rancheros of Llanos de Kakíwi (Quaquihué), for example, returned to their ranch after a long absence after the rains of 2001.

1852. Feb. 7. Tomás Lucero receives title to San Evaristo. (L236)

Oct. 11. The local authorities are laying out a plaza and a courthouse west of the church in San Luis. They are also creating a register of sites. (PMA, V48bis, 470)

Dec. 15. Francisco Betanceur (Betancourt) reports to the authorities that Canuto Murillo is building a corral in a place called Veredas without a legal title. (PMA, 12, V48bis, 549)[3]

A map of lots for San Luis Gonzaga "of the new population of San Luis Gonzaga promoted this year of 1849."[4]

1853. Lassépas mentions a census of this year.[5]

Oct. 12. Luis Romero at Santa Cruz. (L237)

The descendants of Felipe Romero sell San Luis to Pablo de la Toba. (G28)

1854. Jan. 2. Pablo Álbarez writes to the authorities that three days before he had gotten word that there were something like seven whaling ships in Magdalena Bay, and he has sent someone to gather further information. He signs this communication: *Dios y Libertad, Intermedio*. (PMA, I, V 52, 005)

April 8. Los Dolores, Pablo de la Toba at the auxiliary barracks of Intermedios. (PMA, 694, II, V53, Bis L4, 1ff.)

May 15. La Pasión. Benigno de la Toba takes an oath as the justice of peace of Intermedios. (PMA, V54, II, V54, L5, 1ff.)

Pablo Álvarez, Judge of Intermedios (PMA, V53, 003.)

The diocese of Lower California is separated from that of Monterey. A Vicar General is sent who arrives on June 13, 1854. He is Juan Francisco Escalante, accompanied by Mariano Carlón, a curate from Buena Vista in Sonora, and Anastasio López who came a few days later, a curate from Guevavi in Sonora, and Trinidad Cortéz.

"On December 7th all reached the extinct Mission of San Luis Gonzaga, fifty leagues from Loreto. The Vicar was very active here as elsewhere. Eighty-one persons were confirmed. The feast of Purísima Concepción was celebrated with much splendor; and on the feast of Our Lady of Guadalupe there was a levitical High Mass, Solemn Vespers and a procession. All this caused much admiration, because such a splendid ceremony had never been witnessed here. Similar festivities were prepared for the people elsewhere."

"On December 18th," the Vicar writes, "we left San Luis Gonzaga, and, after journeying fifty leagues, we reached the port of La Paz on December 23rd."[6]

The 1853 Tax Roll

July 17. Benigno de la Toba at La Pasión as the Justice of the Peace of Intermedios submits a tax report of the individuals who possess land in Intermedios that covers part of the area for the year 1853.[7]

Lista nominal de los individuos que poseen Citios en esta comprencion de Yntermedios y exectuaron sus correspondientes pagos hasta el año de 1853 en cumplimiento del Bando de 8 de Junio del precedente año mandado por el gobierno politico de este territorio.

Nombres de Citios (Place)	**Proprietarios (Owner)**	**Año de 53 que corresponde pagos**
Santa Rita	José Alvares	$1
Santa Cruz	Fran.co Betancur	1
Nombre de María	Trinidad Amador	1
Mechudo	Luis Alvares	1
San Andrés y Tipateguí	Loreto Espinoza (2 citios)	2
San Antonio	Enmenegildo Lucero (1/2 citio)	- 4
Purificacion	Clemente Amador	1
Cuebas	Jacinto Amador y hermanos	1
Posa del Colorado	Enmenegildo Lucero	1
Agua Escondida	Justo Morillo	1

Navidad	ydn. 1/2 citio	- 4
Pasion	Benigno de la Toba	1
Tecadaqué	Ignacio de la Toba	1
Liebres Chiyuitas	Ignacio Alamea (1/2 citio)	- 4
La Junta	Sr. Morilles	1
San Pedro, o Animas	Ramon Talamantes	1
Yritú	Pablo de la Toba	1
San Gregorio	Canuto Morillo	1
St.ª Rosa	Yldefonso Camacho	1
S.n Evaristo	Aniceto Busques	1
Dolores y Cayuiguí	Pablo de la Toba y hermanos	2
	Suma total recibida	21 - 4

Citios y estan anotados en el libro de registros de ellos en este Juzgado y no reciden en esta comprencion.

medio citio de Navidad - D. Leonardo angulo en el Nobillo recide La Salada.

los Stras Ruffo. en La Paz

Tarabillas. Srs. Flores. en el Tule.

No esta anotado en el libro correspondiente y recide en esta comprencion San Hilario de Sr.

Juan Gomes de Aguiar

Estos ultimos no han ni pagado su correspondiente en esta jurisdicion ni mostrado papel de satisfaccion alguna en jurigado Estendida en la Pasion en Intermedios a 17 de Julio de 1854.

(firmado) Benigno de la Tova

A la Jefetura politica de Baja California del Juzgado de Paz de Intermedios

He also mentions other places that appear in the registry book of San Luis, but whose owners do not reside in the area: a half site of Navidad, D. Leonardo Angulo who resides in El Nobillo; La Salada belonging to Stras. Ruffo in La Paz; Tarabillas belonging to Srs. Flores in El Tule. Also not noted into the book and residing in this area San Hilario of Juan Gomez de Aguiar. These last have not paid.

Once in the sierra near La Pasión I talked with a rancher who made a visible effort to recall an Indian place name in the area. That name was Tecadahué, which I had never heard, and which I later encountered in this document.

Oct. 23. Petronilo Romero, the military commander of Isla de Carmen writes to the authorities for help because he was leaving the point called San Evaristo when his boat was assaulted by a strong storm at three in the afternoon, and foundered on the beach at Los Dolores. It is now ten in the morning. Signed, *Dios y Libertad, Playa de Los Dolores*. (PMA1711)

Nov. 4. Julián Álvarez marries Elvira Orozco. He is a native of Intermedios, (which probably meant San Luis Gonzaga, itself) living at Rancho del Coyote, and the son of Luis Álvarez and Expectación Redona.

Dec. 16. Cayetano Romero marries María Guadalupe Espinosa at ex-misión San Luis. He is the son of Encarnación Romero and Mercedes Baeza, and she is the daughter of Cornelio Espinosa and María Guadalupe Gerardo. Padre Mariano Carlón officiates. (G478)

Dec. 17. Salvador Osuna and María Ramona Valenzuela are married by Padre Carlón at San Luis.

1855. Jan. 21. Antonio Santiestevan, Bahía de la Magdalena, title to three sites. (L238)

June 10. Salvador Villarino, Ramón Navarro, Francisco Graña, title to six sites Hiray. (L239)

June 14. Padre Carlón is left in La Paz, Bishop Escalante and Padre López start visiting again. for from La Paz to the border there is no priest at all. They arrive at San Luis and celebrate the feast of St. Aloysius. On July 5 they set out for San Ignacio.

July 2. Magdalena Bay, Dolores Lucero petitions for the site Agua Colorado which is given to him on Oct. 9, 1855. (PMA, II, V59, L7, 2FF, 1075)

Pablo de la Toba registers Iritú and El Plátano on Feb. 12, 1857, paying a fee of 50 pesos each. El Plátano, title, Dec. 3, 1855. (L238)

Dec. 16. Estanislao de la Toba writes about the election in Intermedios. (PMA, II, V61, L12, 1FF, 2117)

1856. Sept. 15. Félix Gilbert receives title to Llanos de Hiray. (L81)

Dec. 25. Luis Álvarez, title to El Mechudo, 20 pesos. (L215)

Dec. 28. Hermenegildo Lucero, title to Pozo del Colorado. (L215)

1857. Feb. 5. Some time after this date Padre Anastasio López is visiting the settlements to the north.

Nov. 26. Bishop Escalante visits the north.

Dec. 13. Antonio Arce receives title to La Fortuna. (L270)

Ulises Urbano Lassépas leaves us the following information:

Intermedios sur, population 157 in 1857, Intermedios norte, population 163. filling in from a notice of 1853. The 1851 census figure which covers most of Intermedios sur, is 265 in contrast to Lassépas' 157 in 1857. If we use this higher figure with the one he gives for Intermedios north, we arrive at 422 people for the area, which stands in contrast to the much greater Indian population which even at the time of their exile after a severe decline totaled 760.

Lassépas also leaves us a description of Los Dolores in 1857: "Entirely destroyed: abundant spring at a distance of 16 kilometers from the Gulf on an east-west line with the northern point of the Isla de San José. Rancho and orchard. Population 450 converted Indians in 1768. Population in 1857, 6 inhabitants." (L186) This appears to refer to La Pasión, but if it does it is misleading, for as we can see from the 1851 census, there are many more people in the area. The six inhabitants would then refer to the people right at La Pasión.

Titles without dates given by Lassépas, and therefore in effect by 1857 or before:

J de Vargas La Relumbrosa;

Pablo de la Toba, Los Dolores;

Juan Gómez, bought San Hilario; A native of Portugal, married in California with a family, a whaler, lived here for 25 years; blind. (L281)

Francisco Sosa y Silva; A native of Portugal, a sailor, married with family, lived in California 22 years, bought El Cajón de los Reyes, and other urban places and an orchard in La Paz. Held various municipal offices. (L281; CB69)

Francisco Betancourt, Santa Cruz, Palo Verde, La Soledad, Arroyo de Sauce, San Juan. (L256-257) A native of Portugal, a whaler, married with family, 25 years in California, was alcalde of Intermedios. (L281) Lassépas gives the population of the Municipio of La Paz as 1,379, and that of Comondú as 1,322.

1858. June 10. San Luis has a new bell.[8]

1859. June 26. Jesús Morillo marries Isabel Amador at San Luis. Padre Anastasio López presides. He is the son of Justo Morillo, and Valentina Álvarez, and she is the daughter of Clemente Amador and Ventura Roma. Andrés Higuera marries María Santos Sandoval at San Luis. (G480)

Summer. Bishop Escalante visits as far as Loreto.

1861. Valdomé Álvarez dies in a smallpox epidemic at age 15 at Rancho San Luis. (G565)

1863. J.L. Hopkins of San Francisco starts a newspaper in La Paz called *El Mexicana*. "Perhaps the consequent dissemination of news," Arthur North tells us, "was responsible for the fact that in the same year speculators gathered a great number of altar ornaments and paintings from the missions and placed them on exhibition in San Francisco. Some of the paintings were said to have been the work of Murillo, Cabrera and Velasquez; few of them returned to the missions."[9]

1864. Benito Juarez for 100,000 pesos in gold grants an enormous concession in Baja California from 31 degrees north to 24 degrees 20 minutes to Jacob Leese which includes mineral and whaling rights, and a scheme for colonization. Leese transfers his rights to the Lower California Company which in Dec. 1866 sends a scientific commission to evaluate the area led by J. Ross Browne, and which includes William Gabb. The commission renders a negative judgment about the prospects for colonization. In 1870 California newspapers are offering free land to colonists in the Magdalena Bay area claiming pure black humus soil and grass higher than the shoulder of a horse. (G393) The Lower California Company takes the colonists and uses them for harvesting orchilla, a lichen used to make dye. In April, 1871, a census by the Mexican government finds 21 North American families, 54 Mexican males, and 426 orchilla workers. Since one of the provisions of the concession was the colonization of the area by 200 families, the concession is revoked and then converted into one to exploit orchilla from 1872 to 1878.

Orcilla collection was carried on "by Joseph P. Hale (1878-1880) and J. Conrado Flores and James Hale (1881-1893). The latter, in 1883, formed Flores, Hale y Compañía, added colonization to their enterprise, and in 1889 established harbor facilities at Puerto Cortés on Isla Margarita. The introduction of aniline dyes in the 1890s brought a decline in the orchilla market..."[10]

1867. Road notations: From La Paz to Dolores del Sur, 90 miles. From Dolores del Sur to San

Luis Gonzaga, 45 miles. From Dolores to Loreto, 90 miles by the long gulf road.[11]

William Gabb, American Naturalist

The surveying party, led by J. Ross Browne, which landed at Cabo San Lucas on Jan. 5, 1867, stands in contrast in almost every way to that of W.C.S. Smith. We have the report of the naturalist William M. Gabb of the journey through our chosen area.

On Jan. 23rd they crossed the arroyo de Guadalupe and reach the ranch of Agua Colorado, and camp a mile from the ranch house. The rancheros come to visit and were already informed that the party was on its way. "Throughout the whole journey we never found a spot so retired but that, when we reached it, we found that our coming was expected, and our business known."[12] They have an unexpected encounter at the ranch house as they passed it the next day. "At the house, we were surprised at being addressed with a civil "Good-morning, gentlemen," in excellent English, by a bare-footed, very ragged individual, whose countenance, unnecessarily black, with flat nose and thick lips, showed at a glance that he was not of Mexican or of Indian origin; his curly but not woolly hair seemed to imply that he was not an African, nor did he look like a Kanaka. He soon told us his story. He was a runaway sailor, spoke but little Spanish, had reached here on his way to Comondú, where he claimed to have a friend. The Mexicans urged him not to undertake the trip, because, alone and on foot as he was, and ignorant of the many trails that cross the plains of the Magdalena in all directions, the chances were almost certain that he would perish from thirst. Even Mexicans, born in the country, but unacquainted with these plains, do not dare to venture it without a guide; and many a thrilling story is told, by the flickering light of the camp-fires, of men bewildered in this sea of cactus, who, after almost incredible sufferings, have only escaped with their lives to tell their tales of horror. Many a poor wretch has left his bones, picked clean by the coyotes, to tell that he, unable to find his way out, had died from that most terrible of tortures - thirst. Our dusky friend, however, did not appear to dread such a difficulty, and replied, with a little tone of pride in his voice, that he was an Australian bushman, and had been used to such things all his life. He did not think the risk would be very great for him, and thought "he could get along." Sure enough, that same evening, almost before we had become fairly settled in our camp, twenty-four miles off, he came along, his whole baggage consisting of a quart bottle. He stayed an hour or so, got something to eat, refilled his bottle with water, and started off again. The last we saw of him was at La Salada, near Magdalena Bay, where he had contracted to work for a neighboring ranchero for a while, and where, as he informed us, he had already established "relations" with one of the old man's daughters."[13]

They traveled 24 miles and camped, and by noon the next day were at the water hole of La Palma, "probably so named because there is not a single palm in sight."[14] From there they went on to La Salada, six miles from Magdalena Bay, the last part of which was down an

arroyo and stopped there. Further up the arroyo there were ranches every mile or two. They proceed to the bay and contact the whalers there and explore the surroundings. Then the party splits up and Gabb's section proceeds overland 18 miles to rancho Buena Vista. The next day, the 29th of January, they stop at a little rancho to get water. On the 30th, after going a further 17 miles, they reach San Luis Gonzaga and Gabb makes a sketch of the mission building, and describes the church as being "in excellent preservation."[15] They camp at El Ranchito, an abandoned ranch. Then they go on 23 miles to Los Cerritos, and then a further 15 to Jesús María. On the 2nd of Feb. they travel 18 miles up the arroyo of Santa Cruz. They camp over the next day, which is a Sunday, and have another strange encounter. "Some time after dark, on Saturday evening, a man with a peculiar-looking hump on one shoulder, rode into our camp, and, in an odd kind of voice, asked us a variety of questions as to who we were, where we were going, and what we were doing. He declined our invitation to dismount, saying he had come from a rancho in the mountains off to one side of our trail, and was going to Loreto to get some medicine for a sick man. After questioning us to his entire satisfaction, and convincing himself that we were what we represented ourselves to be, he suddenly straightened himself up in his saddle, the hump disappeared from his back, he pushed his hat back from his face, and his voice assuming a natural tone, he laughingly told us all he had said before was a lie. He was a servant at the adjoining rancho of Santa Cruz, and he had come down to find out who we were."[16] They had heard that the subprefect of Mulegé, Señor Larraque, was impressing soldiers to send to the other side, and so everybody was on the lookout. On Feb. 4th they climb up the arroyo, and the next day travel down to the gulf coast.

1869. Loreto Orantes and José Valdés, living in Intermedios. (CB63, 71)

1874. John F. Janes, who wrote of his adventures in Baja California in 1874-1875, under the pen name of Stickeen, tells us he sailed to the Isla de San José in December, 1874 and talked with pearl divers there. He saw a pearl worth $400. He also saw an Indian fish trap made of stones which he attributed to the time when the Jesuits had a mission there. On his way to the Isla de Carmen a wind forced them to put in at Los Dolores where they "were entertained by a nephew of Mr. Van Borrell of La Paz. It being about fruit season, we had lots of watermelons, figs, dates, pomegranates and what the natives call *Sang Dieu*, not forgetting the national fruit *Pilatici*, which grow wild all over the territory. I stayed one night and a day; but getting short of rations, made for La Paz."[17]

He left Cabo San Lucas on February 27, 1875, and the next morning stopped at Magdalena Bay where there was fine village of 20 houses and they took on 800 bales of orchilla.[18]

1880. Francisco Vargas visits the parishes of Baja California for the Archbishop of Guadalajara and writes to him that the central part of the peninsula is called Intermediates and has a radius of 20 leagues, and there has been a drought going on in Baja California for 5 years.[19]

1895. Dec. 20. Father Pettinelli and a small band of Italian priests come to administer to the spiritual needs of Baja California.

1896. May 7. Jacinto Amador is born to Juan Amador and María Cota, both natives of La Soledad. His paternal grandparents are Jacinto Amador and Pilar Ojeda, and his maternal grandparents Tomás Cota and Pilar Cota.

1900. Inés Romero born on April 20, the daughter of Florentino Romero who was born in Los Ochemes (Achemes) and lives in Angel de la Guardia. Her mother was born in San Pedro, her paternal grandparents were Felipe Romero and María Amador, and her maternal grandparents, Jorge Higuera and Gertrudis Talamantes. (G562)

1902. "…in 1902 and 1908 the Chartered Company of Lower California and Magdalena Bay Company, respectively, attempted the establishment of cattle raising in the area. From 1912 to 1915 Aurelio Sandoval operated a fish cannery on Isla Margarita; however this also failed, as did the development companies which were beset with problems of financing and stockholder disputes.

"During this occupation of Bahía Magdalena by foreign entrepreneurs, the U.S.S. *Narragansett* under George Dewey surveyed the bay, and after 1883 it became an informal supply station for U.S. naval vessels. From 1897 to 1907 Mexico permitted use of the bay by the United States Navy as a gunnery range; however, in the latter year a formal lease for a U.S. coaling station was denied. United States scientific expeditions also visited Magdalena during the same period, and in 1889 W.E. Bryant, Charles D. Hains, and T.S. Brandegee explored for the California Academy of Science while in 1905-1906 Edward W. Nelson and E.A. Goldman conducted a similar reconnaissance."[20]

Edward Nelson stopped at the cattle ranch headquarters of the chartered company of Lower California at Matancita, managed by W.J. Heney, and the proceeded to take a trip with Heney by boat to Magdalena Bay. Sea turtles were being shipped from the bay to San Francisco monthly. When Nelson continued his journey, he went from Matancita to Servatillo, La Cruz on the Llanos de Hiray, El Sauz, Agua Colorado to San Hilario, and then on to La Paz.[21]

Arthur North, American Writer

1906. Arthur North in *Campo and Camino in Lower California* recounts his travels south through our chosen region in a great hurry because he had just heard of the San Francisco earthquake and wanted to reach La Paz to get information about how his family there had fared. In San Javier he is told that the shortest route to La Paz is 100 leagues by way of the San Luis camino. In his mind, that 100 would be closer to 65. The other route with the thought he might find a steamer in Magdalena Bay would be to travel to La Paz via Mantancital (La Matancita) near the bay which would increase the distance by 50 leagues. His guide had traveled through the country before by the Golfo Camino, and he had an

ancient map that was fairly accurate. (It was probably the map of M. Duflot de Monfras in his 1844, *Exploration du Territoire l'Oregon, des Californies et de la Mer Vermeille* that North had characterized as "most excellent."[22] He describes the ancient caminos of the padres as clogged with stones. One road was called Tepetates Road.[23] One morning he meets a gaunt Italian walking at full speed on his way north with no more equipment than his long dagger and a canteen. Later, he runs into a captain of the rurales who is searching for an offender. He describes the typical ranchos he encountered along the way. The houses were mere huts, he tells us, with thatched roofs and stake and mud walls. The food was cheese, dried beef, milk, beans, tortillas, wild honey, coffee and salt.

At San Luis Gonzaga, the home of Benigno de la Toba, they see "an extensive red brick store, the most imposing modern building in Lower California."[24] Two days later they meet Don Benigno on the road, and North describes him as about 45 years old with the manners of a gentlemen used to the company of gentlemen. De la Toba has 100,000 acres with 20 wells and 20 families. The wells operate by a boy or girl on a mule pulling the bucket up on a rope connected to a wheel. The bucket is then emptied by a man into a trough.

From San Luis they take the Salto de los Reyes camino, and deep in the arroyo they find the Salto Los Reyes about which place he reports the legend of the king of the Guaycuras who leapt off this cliff, followed by the king of the Pericú. North also tell us about a Padre Marsellano, a young Italian priest whose territory stretches from Mulege to San Luis, and ten Italian secular priests in Baja California.[25]

1919. The Italian priests withdraw under the provision of the constitution of 1917 which prevents foreign priests from officiating.

1920s. Only two or three automobiles had reached La Paz, and most people returned by boat. In the 30s the frequency had gone up to one a month, and in the 40s, one or two a week.[26]

Griffing Bancroft, American Sailor

1932. Griffing Bancroft anchors his boat, *The Least Petrel*, off of rancho Los Dolores.

"The most interesting incident of our short stay was the arrival of a burro train from the highlands of the interior. There were brought on the backs of the pack animals hides and cheese, tanbark and firewood, all destined for the little ship that was expected within the next few days. The drovers were of the peon class, in shirt and overalls, barefooted and wearing wide-brimmed hats of straw. A small keg of water, a coffee-pot, tin cups and one blanket apiece constituted their full equipment. They traded rather than sold, coffee and sugar being the chief needs, flour, beans, and bolts of cloth coming under the heading of luxuries. It is only when one appreciates with how little they are content with that he

understands how they can survive along the borders of this furnace…

"We saw in Dolores Bay another class of men who, for want of a better name, might be termed vacqueros. Small groups, usually mounted on mules, freely rode in and out of the hacienda. The bodies of their wiry little animals were almost covered by great stock saddles that represented the financial ability of the owner to make a display. There was an excess of heavy, deeply carved leather, on the stirrups were long *tapaderos*, and from the horns hung decorative saddle-bags. The other ornaments, indicative of the rider's taste and purse, included everything a Mexican saddle could have. There were used both ropes of horse-hair and lariats of rawhide, neatly coiled and tied. Often a thirty-thirty rifle was attached, revolvers being rare and shotguns unused. Bridles were conspicuous with massive Spanish bits, with martingales and heavily hand-carved silver trimmings.

"The clothing worn was representative of Lower California and unlike anything to be found along the United States border. The leather jackets, always short, varied in color and material according to the taste of the owner. They might be of deer hide or of cow leather tanned to a burnt orange. The chaparajos were drawn in at the waist but flared at the feet until they covered the sides of the animals. Fringes of the brightest colors, of orange or red or blue, were nationalistic, if indeed, not purely local. Sombreros were heavy and elaborate and massive spurs with absurdly large rowels were worn upon shoes, never on boots.

"These riders are the most picturesque characters we had seen. Their mounts were so tiny that by the time the long leather dust coat had been thrown over the rider's shoulders little remained visible of the animal. When the mount selected was a donkey the effect was laughable. A finishing and appropriate touch came with the decorative knife, conspicuous and ostentatious because of its large bone handle and its heavy silvery inlay. The men themselves were no less interesting than their costumes. Their primitive courtesies and their interest in us - the Partner was the first American woman most of them had ever seen - won us from the start. We left the kindly people with more than a tinge of regret. The hacienda had shown us the best and by far the most appealing side of the Mountains of the Giantess."[27]

1940s. In the early 1940s Ulises Irigoyen, with his companions, drove north from La Paz. The first part of the road which headed towards Magdalena Bay had been started by Agustín Arriola in 1921. It went by way of Conejo to the arroyo of Venancio, 129 kilometers from La Paz. Then by Laguna Verde to Médano to arrive at the Llanos de Hiray where Irigoyen notes that there surely must be water not far below the surface, and therefore irrigated farmland is possible. Travelers through the region much earlier had also noted this possibility. Then they arrive at Rancho Refugio where Señora Dolores de la Toba de Camacho has lived since 1927. The road splits, and the branch to the left goes toward the bay at a place called Médano Amarillo, and then on to Buena Vista. Before Médano and the grade to Buena Vista the road branches and goes to El Pilar.

1950s. Los Dolores, small ranching community, population 31 in 1950. The Bay is a port of call for small coasting vessels, and a supply point for the ranches in the interior. It is 20 miles to La Presa. 3 miles up the arroyo "from the beach are a ruined dam, an irrigation ditch, and an old orchard of orange and lemon trees, all that remains of the Mission of Nuestra Señora de Dolores," the authors of the *Lower California Guidebook* tell us. "Los Dolores was reduced to the status of a visiting station after the move to La Pasión. It was reestablished as a private ranch early in the 19th century. Here you can get guides for hunting trips. There are mountain sheep on the higher slopes a day's ride above Los Dolores."[28]

They go on to give us the legend of El Mechudo, the long-haired man: The Indians were diving for pearls near the high, rocky cliff of El Mechudo. Most of the Indian divers were good Christians, promising the Virgin the best pearl of the day, but there was an Indian who said he would rather have the protection of the devil. He found a great black pearl, and dived again, but didn't come back to the surface. His companions found him drowned with his leg caught in a giant clam, and his long, black hair waving in the current about him. John Steinbeck, who had traveled in the Gulf with his friend, Ed Ricketts supposedly heard this legend and developed it in *The Pearl of the world,* which appeared in *Woman's Home Companion* in December, 1945.[29] But if this is so, and the story is, indeed, set in La Paz, Steinbeck exercised a good measure of poetic license, for little or nothing remains of the original legend.

The main north-south highway went from Santo Domingo near present-day Ciudad Constitución, down the west coast, through the dry lakes to Buena Vista and then El Refugio, Santa Fe, Guadalupe to Conejo.[30] The forerunner of the present-day highway had been inching north from La Paz since the 1920s, and it was possible to cut over to it. Travelers considered this stretch of the road both lonely and difficult due to the sandy conditions. One turn off went east between present-day Pozo Venancio and Santa Fe following the arroyo to the highway.[31] But it too was sandy and difficult with many different tracks. There was another side road from El Refugio to San Luis. The road then headed past El Plátano and Iritú and then split. The branch to the right which was the main road went past Las Tinajas, El Obispo, Punta del Cerro and El Pilar to join the highway at Pénjamo. The branch to the left past El Paso to La Presa and La Pasión. La Presa is described at this time as having 15 acres of corns, beans and alfalfa.[32] And at La Pasión several springs are dammed to form a pond.

Marquis MacDonald, Glenn Oster, American Travelers

Marquis MacDonald and Glenn Oster, who took the road from San Luis to Los Dolores in 1950, described it as "the worst stretch of road on our entire trip, as it was merely a stairway of stone ledges and we lurched along at a mile an hour, expecting the Jeep to break in two at any moment. After we had experienced several hours of such driving, the road came to a

dead end on the rim of a steep arroyo. Dismayed, we were ready to turn back when we saw a large burro train approaching us from across the arroyo. The donkeys were heavily laden with bulging panniers of oranges, and the driver told us they were from the village of Dolores on the Gulf and headed for faraway La Paz. We were heartened when the driver informed us that we were less than a mile from a ranch across the arroyo. We had thought that the mission of Dolores del Sur was probably located at the village of Dolores, but the driver told us that Dolores was his home and there were no ruins of any kind in that section. After questioning him extensively, we quickly walked to the ranch across the arroyo, Rancho La Presa.

"We were overwhelmed by the great size and architecture of this ranch house, which was Grecian with seven large pillars supporting each side of the red tiled roof. The walls were of massive hewn stones, three feet thick. The owner, a wizened man of ninety, informed us that although he was born nearby, he knew nothing of the history of the house and that it was old when he was a boy. At first we thought it was probably a mission or a chapel, possibly even Dolores; but an examination of the interior discounted this impression. However, this building was coeval with the missions and what secrets it must hold! The franciscan records do mention a ranch near Dolores that served as a chapel after Dolores and San Luis Gonzaga were closed down and this was probably it.[33] The ancient rancher told us that we were the first Americans to ever visit the region and the first ones he had ever seen.

"After some difficulty conversing, due to the deafness of the aged rancher, we elicited the information, to our dismay, that there was no mission nor ruins in the vicinity. Fortunately, at about this time, his son returned.

""There are no mission or ruins in this area," he told us. "There is a building a couple of miles east which is a chapel - ‘La Capilla.’ "

"We were discouraged, but with nothing better in mind, we decided to take a look at it anyway. We passed the washed out remains of a large dam, which gave the ranch its present name. After rounding a turn in the arroyo, we were agreeably surprised to see the tumbled remains of a well-constructed stone building that was undoubtedly our elusive Dolores del Sur. Further inquiry confirmed our opinion when it was gleaned that the small arroyo, on which the ruins are located, is known as "La Pasión," an affectionate sobriquet bestowed on Dolores by the padres. We found only one wall standing and the rest of the stones tumbled in a forlorn heap as if demolished in an earthquake. For many years the bell of this mission reposed at the ranch house, but unfortunately for us, it had been sent to La Paz only five days before our arrival."[34]

Traditional Rancho Life

Traditional rancho life still goes on in the Guaycura nation today. An account by Miguel del Barco, for example, of the structures built in Jesuit mission days could serve as a blueprint

for the palapas still being constructed: forked poles are set in holes in the ground to carry rafters split from palm trunks which, in turn, carry roof rafters to which a thatch of palm leaves is tied, or these days, often nailed.[35] Half walls are made of carrizo, the local bamboo-like grass.[36] This kind of construction was, itself, probably brought from Sinoloa by early mission workers.[37]

Other aspects of traditional life can be found in the La Pasión area, as well: the small herds of cattle, the goats that are led out to browse in the surrounding countryside, the kitchen gardens and orchards, still occasionally irrigated by *acequias*, or irrigation channels cut in the ground, or built up, some leather-working, one of the last surviving sugar-cane mills, and so forth.[38] And the physical challenges remain, as well: the summer heat, the years' long droughts, the occasional flash-flood that carries orchards and roads away, etc. And the people outback retain the admirable qualities that travelers over the years have remarked upon: a sense of independence and dignity, a well-cultivated open hospitality in the midst of limited material circumstances, and warm ties to family and community. All these things lend an attractive timelessness to the sierra because a person, at least for a moment or two, can imagine that he or she is back in the middle of the 19th, or even the 18th century.

But we can't romanticize this traditional rancho life too much, for it had its share of problems. The preservation of traditional life came at the price of a certain isolation. There was a lack of formal education, and a focus on practical matters, perhaps to the detriment of folklore and visual imagination. The traditional ways were preserved, but there was not a lot of innovation.[39] And isolation, which women suffered from more than the men, also led to a certain amount of inbreeding, and illegitimacy.[40]

But the essence of rancho life remained intact. The men and women of the sierras and plains would build their houses, raise their goats and cattle for meat, cheese, and market, grow their gardens and plant their orchards where possible. They married, raised their children, looked after their extended family, had time for their friends, and met their needs directly and simply with dignity and independence. And so these ranchos became imbued for these reasons with a certain magic in the eyes of travelers both old and new. Each person found his own distinctive place in family and community. They had "an astonishing amount of personal identity."[41] But Crosby, writing in 1981, goes on to say: "Only with the coming of the roads and a concurrent surrender to the desire for manufactured objects has this pride withered somewhat. As contact with modern life spreads, the mountaineers are more and more bowing their heads and accepting the roles of poor and unworthy people."[42]

The Twilight of the Ranchos?

This traditional life, like its counterparts all over the world, is facing a new and difficult challenge with the advent of the transpeninsular highway and the roads that now reach all but the most physically inaccessible ranchos. A trip to town that was once measured in days

is now - despite the frequently poor condition of the roads - measured in hours. The multi-generational families of the ranchos are under signifcant pressure. The children go off to school, but distance often requires that they board there for the entire school week. Young people go to town to attend secondary school or the university. And the roads have drawn the sierra more deeply into our cash economy, for roads mean old pick-up trucks, gasoline, and parts at prices equal to or more than those found in the United States. The lure of town and its physically easier way of life, and its more abundant social and economic opportunities grow stronger. Life in the sierra needs more money, and jobs are hard to come by and ill-paid. This need for money leads to a heavier exploitation of the sierra resources. Mesquite is burned to make charcoal that is sold for a few pesos. The coasts are more heavily exploited for fish and shellfish to sell in town, and men work more frequently off the ranchos, and women suffer a new kind of isolation, for rancho life is no longer at the center of everyone's lives like it was before. In short, the very center of gravity of the small ranchos and communities is shifting to places like La Paz, or Ciudad Constitución. One man in the remote sierra told us in a half-joking way that when his daughter grew up she would go to Cabo San Lucas and make *feria rápida,* that is, quick money.

We saw before how the Guaycuras under the impact of the missionaries' desire to create European-style village had suffered the loss of their traditional ways, and with it a loss of their own center of gravity and self-identity. Ironically, once the missions were gone, or the mission workers and soldiers could vote with their feet, these small villages were, in fact, created in the form of the traditional ranches, and they have endured for 200 years.

Now they, in turn, are losing their equilibrium, and this is effecting the very qualities of independence and self-reliance and self-identity that have been so long admired. Will the people in the sierra end up feeling like the poor country cousins left to stagnate on their ranchos while real life goes on in Cabo San Lucas or Tijuana or Los Angeles? Will they suffer a certain loss of soul that will lead to increasing alcoholism, illegitimacy and domestic violence?

This is a process is still playing itself out all over the world. If the Guaycuras couldn't resist 18th century European civilization, do the people of the sierras have a chance to resist the 21st century world of Cabo San Lucas? From our vantage point we can see the limitations of the Jesuit missionaries' social-theological programs, but can we see the limitations of our own society, and what will be lost when the traditional life of the ranchos is no more?

An Expedition to the Guaycura Nation in the Californias

Chapter 10: Archaeology in the Guaycura Nation Epilogue

Please keep in mind that the collecting, selling or buying of Indian artifacts is prohibited by Mexican law. This is especially important because undisturbed sites allow us to gain some knowledge of these now extinct people.

1a

2a

3a

1b

2b

3b

1c

2c

3c

1d

2d

3d

1e

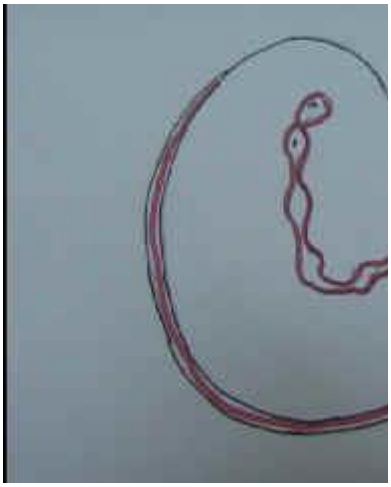
2e

3e

Plate 3: Archaeology

1a

2a



3a

1b

2b

3b

1c 2c 3c

1d 2d 3d

1e 2e 3e

Plate 4: Archaeology

Very little archaeological field work has been done in the Guaycuran territory embraced by Los Dolores and San Luis Gonzaga..[1] But it is still worthwhile to try to sketch the archaeology, or better, the archaeological potential of this area.

William Massey

Starting in the 1940s William Massey was the first of the modern archaeologists to do extensive work in Baja California. He is especially known for his excavation of burial caves in the Cape region, which yielded a number of secondary burials, that is, wrapped bundles of bones from which the flesh had decayed or had been removed. This work allowed him to describe what he called a Las Palmas culture. While the focus of Massey's work was south of La Paz, and in the Comondú region, he did some survey work in the Guaycura nation, apparently as he traveled through the area, for the sites he described are near where the road was in those times.

He describes four sites on the west coast: an extensive shell midden at Arroyo Conejo (Baja California, or BC 68); a coastal site 10 miles to the north (BC 88); and two sites in the Magdalena Bay area in the *Llanos*, or Plains, of Hiray. He summarized this work as follows:

"In this land, held in the historic period by the Guaicurá Indians, coastal sites are numerous and frequently large. To judge from a cursory survey of the inner edge of the plains, there are many surface sites located along arroyo banks and near permanent sources of water. Caves with unpainted human bones are reported from the Sierra de la Giganta in this area.

"Important among the coastal sites is BC 68, which is situated on a bluff on the north side of the Arroyo Conejo. The diameter of the site is about 300 feet; in depth it may run to ten feet, although no test has been made. Surface material perhaps represents the historic Guaicura. It includes the long stemmed projectile points which had been found in the La Paz region. Scrapers of the plano-convex keeled type were found along with flake knives, blades, and choppers. Milling and hand stones were found, but in the main the artifacts are from a skilled flake-using people. "In the sand dunes which edge the Llanos de Hiray, there are many sites which bear carefully made thin basin metates of lava, projectile points, and some potsherds possibly reflecting the mission period."[2]

Elsewhere he writes of the Arroyo Conejo site: "In test excavation subsequent to writing this dissertation it was found that the surface lithic complex which is Amargosa in tenor is strictly limited to the upper six inches of a site over six feet in depth."[3]

The word Amargosa here refers to the ancient Amargosa cultural complex of the desert regions of the Colorado River. In fact Massey often refers to the old cultures of Arizona and California, for he felt that the stone artifacts he was finding in Baja California were inspired, for the most part, by these desert regions north of the border.

The fact that Amargosa-inspired artifacts were confined to the top six inches of Site BC68, as well as Massey's work around La Paz Bay and the lack of projectile points he found south of Santiago led him to write: "It appears likely that the Pericu of the historical period may have been the descendants of groups of shell-gathering and fishing people who found their way into the peninsula at an early date."[4] What he seems to be implying is that the deeper levels of the BC 68 site could be linked these early shell-fish gathering people. This is an intriguing

possibility because we have already seen how there appear to be people living on the West coast who are distinct from the Guaycura of San Luis and Los Dolores, and Baegert leaves the impression that these people were the fishermen of the area, venturing out on their rafts to spear fish and turtles.

In 1969 Makoto Kowta submitted a report to the National Science Foundation called "An Archaeological Survey in the Region of La Paz Bay, Baja California, and Problems of Guaicurian Prehistory." He had recorded 76 sites ranging from temporary camps to possible quarry sites, and collected 922 artifacts. Among these sites were 19 west and/or north of La Paz. The ones closest to the land of the Guaycuras included Massey's BC68 and others in the vicinity, and a cluster of sites further north in the El Cien area.

We will look at Massey's survey work further in a moment in connection with the projectile points he found there, but it is likely that this area is rich in archaeological sites. Ralph Hancock, a Baja traveler of the middle of the 20th, reported, for example, a large shell midden on Magdalena Bay which he dug into without finding any artifacts.[5] Local fishermen pointed out a site to me near El Estero on the Pacific coast roughly 20 miles north of El Conejo which, like the site mentioned by Massey, appeared to have pottery fragments mixed in it. I also saw two inland sites on the Llanos de Hiray on the edge of two very small dry lakes, one of which contained part of a metate made of some sort of volcanic material, a metate that differed from the common oval basin type found in the sierras to the east. See Plate 2e.

The rapid depopulation of this area at the time of the closing of the missions, a lack of interest on the part of the early rancheros, and the rugged remoteness of the country have combined to leave us with a number of largely intact rock shelters. They are frequently carpeted with deep layers of ashes, and often contain manos and metates, and occasionally fragments of bone, fiber, carrizo, shell, etc.[6]

As Baegert noted, these shelters are not to be found everywhere, and he claimed they were only used sporadically. They range in size from 2-3 meters in length, height and depth to magnificent shelters of 10 or more meters in each direction.[7]

A man who had grown up in La Pasión area recalled how men searching for fertilizer in the caves had found a cradle made out of fiber, as well as a basket with seeds in it. There was also a cave into the ceiling of which Indians had apparently shot arrows. At one ranch he saw a goat wearing a bell with an inscription in Latin, and the date 1785.

The Religion of the Guaycuras

We are lucky to have the detailed picture of the Guaycuras that Baegert left us, but unfortunately his knowledge did not extend to their inner world, and so it is worthwhile to try to breathe some life into the little data we have by looking at their religious beliefs and their

major artifacts.

Our primary sources are the works of Baegert and Hostell who, unfortunately, left us very little about the actual beliefs of the Guaycura. We may recall Baegert's remarks about how humans arose from the mating of Emma, the devil, and a bird which had been a woman, and how stones and animals had once been human. Fortunately we have a report of Venegas on the beliefs of the Monquí, and we have some grounds to believe that their more southerly cousins shared the same sort of religious world view.[8]

Gumongo, the chief spirit, lived in the north from whence he sent sicknesses, but he also sent Guyiagui who seeded the earth with pitahayas, and opened up *esteros*, that is, bodies of water behind the beaches, along the Gulf coast as far south as a big rock in Puerto Escondido where he dwelled for a time. Other spirits brought him pitahayas and fish, and he continued this work of bringing pitahayas and forming esteros.

Guyiagui also made garments for the shamans who were called *dicuinoches* from the hair they offered to him, and he left them a painted tablet to use during their fiestas and ceremonies. These shamans say that the sun and moon and the bright stars are men and women who fall into the sea in the west and must swim to the east to emerge again. The other stars were lit by Guyiagui and they are extinguished in the water of the sea, but they reignite the next day in the east. If we add to the hair capes and *tablas*, or tablets, of this passage wands, pipes and dart throwers, we are faced with a list of fascinating objects to examine.

Wands

Hostell described, as we saw, wands among the shamans' implements which had figures carved on their tips in the form of savage, or bearded men, and were called Tiyeicha, or "He who talks," which certainly seem akin to the sticks with hair we just saw. Aschmann describes a wand from an accidental find which included wooden tablets, as well like this: "From the same source Massey also obtained a finely polished hardwood staff or wand about 10 inches long. It is decorated with bands of colored beads and incisions. The archeological occurrence of one of these wands, roughly in the territory served by Mission San Luis Gonzaga and well south of the Central Desert, supports Father Burrus' identification of both wands (Stäblein) and tablets among the Guaicura in Hostell's letter of 1750. The extant wand does not, however, have a head carved on its end as described by Hostell."[9] And Massey found as grave goods small pieces of wood with shark teeth attached to them which may, in fact, served as some kind of wands.[10]

These wands may have remote parallels with the spirit sticks reported by Ritter,[11] and more proximate links with the report of Taraval which we saw before concerning the equipment of a woman shaman which "included sticks whose points were carved to represent faces with prominent noses." The Jesuit missionary Ignacio María Nápoli who worked among the Cora

encountered a shaman with a large mustache,[12] and he, himself, was considered a shaman because he had a long beard.[13] Jaime Bravo also encountered a shaman with a wand decorated with feathers and 4 small pearls. He also wore on his belt deer hooves, pieces of mother of pearl, small shells and palm fruits that rattled.[14]

These various indications, i.e., bearded men and prominent noses, when seen against Baegert's remark that the Guaycura were beardless, points not only to facial hair being a potent quality of a shaman, but contains, perhaps, a veiled hint to some distant contact with bearded and big-nosed strangers.

Aschmann also notes the presence of idols among the Cochimí including one having a trident in one hand and a snake in the other, but there are no reports of idols among the Guaycura.[15]

Pipes

The anonymous Jesuit missionary who left us *A Description of California* writes: "From south to north an instrument called the Chaqueco was universal among the Indians. It was used to smoke the wild tobacco which occurs there. These instruments consist of a tube, more or less long, made of pierced stone. (In the vicinity of the Rio Colorado they are made out of clay.) Near the middle of the tube there is an interior division where a pebble is fixed; it is of irregular shape to permit passage of air and smoke. The lower half of the pipe is filled with wild tobacco and it is ignited with a live coal. Although the instrument is the property of a shaman, during certain of their festivals it is common for one of them to be passed from hand to hand so that all in attendance might become intoxicated."[16]

Aschmann, again summarizing the ethnological literature, mentions the existence of reed or cane pipes, and notes the implied importance of stone pipes since "scores and probably hundreds of hours must have been required to drill" them.[17] Massey, describing a collection of 22 biconically drilled stone pipes, i.e., pipes drilled from both sides, found in the Mulegé area, said that most of them were made of sandstone, some of volcanic material, and one of steatite. He classified them as a short, thick type, (the majority) and a long, thin one.[18]

In Plate 3: 1b, 1c and 1d we see three pipes from the Guaycura nation. The shape of 1c makes it appear that it would be hard to smoke, and perhaps it was used in some sort of curing ceremony akin to the shaman's tubes Baegert describes. Similar pipes of volcanic material, have been found in the Great Basin area of the U.S.[19]

Tablas

Various forms of wooden tablets which had religious significance have been reported throughout the peninsula. They, however, took different forms and may have served different

purposes.[20] Aschmann sums up the early literature, and notes how much effort was necessary to plane a log into a plank using stone tools.[21]

Venegas describes the use of these tablas: "In attesting to their authority, they (the shamans) some times said that they were those same spirits in which they believed; others, that they had been to the sky and talked with their gods, and for proof they showed a fresh nose-worm of deer or a bit of pelt, and a small plant, with which they said they could kill whomever they wished. But most usual was to have in their hands some little boards, made with much effort because of the lack of iron tools, of the heart of the mesquite or of another tree that is called *uña de gato* (cat's claw), on which they have painted absurd figures, that they said copied authentically the *Tabla*, which the visitant Spirit left them when they went to the sky; and these same are those that shamans of Loreto taught in their secret school for the children."

Lee Gooding Massey commenting on this passage says that this took place at Conchó, i.e. Loreto, and "Shamans are said to have withdrawn with the children to caves and other secluded places in this region for the teaching of "doctrines and some other useless stupidities," which included the forming of figures on *tablas*."[22]

Luis Sales also describes the kind of ceremonies in which these tablas were used among the tribes to the north. The celebrations were ordinarily held at the time of the seed harvest, and always when the moon was full, and they included feasting, dancing, races, sexual activity, and the oration of a shaman which lasted three or four hours. A special hut had been built for him which was taboo to women. The actual ceremony took place at night at a pole in a clearing lit by campfires, and the naked men were painted with colors, and the women, as well, and both wore bird feathers on their heads. The shaman wears "a sort of rain cape of dead men's hair… He speaks to them of the ancient customs, gets involved in a thousand contradictions, gives an account of all his accomplishments, cures, killings and abilities, and assures them that he is on friendly terms with the dead, and then he produces some tablets painted with a thousand ridiculous figures which represent the most able men they have had, the best *curanderos* (quack doctors), the bravest, the best runners and the strongest, and from these alone he builds up an outstanding elogium, but he always adds that he is greater than all the rest.

"Besides these tablets there are others which are about a *vara* long and half as wide. In the middle there is a hole and from time to time he thrusts his tongue in and out of it and they all laugh unrestrainedly."[23]

Lee Gooding Massey reported on three tablas found in the early 1960s near La Puríssima by a rancher and his two companions in a cave where they had taken refuge during a rain storm. Unfortunately, two of the tablas provided firewood, but the third was brought to the Anthropological Museum in La Paz. This tabla was 1.45 meters long and varied between 6 cm. and 12.5 cm. in width and had a number of holes drilled in it. Massey points out the parallel

description of a shaman object reported by Taraval: "a stick with holes so it could be entirely covered with feathers," though stick and tabla may have meant different things.[24]

La Pasión Placa

Hostell's report of tablas, as we have just seen, does not match that of tablas found elsewhere. He wrote from the La Pasión area: "Among their most solemn days of celebration is that on which they pierce the extremities of their children's ears and noses. After having their sons and daughters prepare themselves for this event through three days of fasting, on the fourth they all gather, especially their conjurers who convene in large numbers, all attired in capes woven from human hair. They carry in their hands the aforementioned wands, also the small tablets into which they have scratched some rude figure with a sharpened stone, used instead of a chisel or knife. Such figures have no idolatrous or superstitious meaning. They adorn themselves in the finery mentioned, but which as Christians they completely put aside and also throw away without reluctance their wands and tablets."[25]

In the winter of 2000 my wife and I visited a cave in the vicinity of La Pasión guided by a rancher on whose land it was. He told us that sometime before he had guided another person to that cave, and they had found a "placa," a wooden tablet, made, he thought, of mesquite or oak that had been resting high on the cave wall. It was approximately 25 cm. long, and 17 cm. wide, and was incised with figures, but had no holes in it. Unfortunately the placa was removed by the person who was with him, and I have not yet been able to trace it.[26]

The Cave of the Initiations

We have just seen how Hostell, writing from La Pasión, described the Guaycuran adolescent initiation ceremonies, and this account can recall the remarks of Venegas about the Loreto area shamans. In the sierra of Guadalupe Harry Crosby visited Agua Hondo cave,[27] the walls of which were covered with drillings, and San Javier cave in which they were covered with vulva symbols.[28] Everado Garduño suggests that drilled holes are associated with initiation sites.[29]

My wife and I, guided by another local rancher, visited another cave that appeared to be a good candidate for an initiation cave of the Guaycuras or their predecessors. It contains numerous drillings, as well as one vulva symbol. See Plate 3: 1e. This cave can be compared to two other sites in the same area with similar wall engravings. See Plate 3: 2e and 3e.

While it may differ in some particulars from the initiation rites of the Guaycura, the account of an anonymous Jesuit missionary is worth recounting:

"When boys have just grown up, in order that they may be declared men, they pierce their ears and noses; the latter are pierced in the cartilaginous nasal septum between the two

nostrils. And at this time the shaman takes charge of the boys and keeps them separated from the rest of the people, having them go for several days without eating or drinking (It is to be believed, however, that they are secretly given a little water on occasion if they wish it.) It is said that this fast is to prevent the boys from becoming big eaters; they are made to suffer hunger and thirst for this reason and in order that they not become idle talkers, shameless persons, nor impudent in answering their elders. Similar treatment is given to women on the occasion of their first menstrual flow; a girl is taken to a secluded spot and rests all day, without eating or drinking. The next day they make a fire, and on it they throw many branches and the trunk of a certain tree which they hold to have medicinal properties. This makes the fire smoke a good deal, although its smoke is not particularly pleasant. A man carries the young girl and places her on top of the smoking pile of branches. After she has been thoroughly smoked she is returned to the place of seclusion where she had been. There they force her to remain several days, eating or drinking nothing or very little. In the afternoons the women take her out and have her run certain courses through the fields and then return her to rest at her place of seclusion; they sing certain songs, in accordance with their custom, to her during the nights. The man who has served as her godfather to carry her to and from the smoke, also undertakes a great run, that is until he comes to a neighboring ranchería; he advises them of the memorable occasion and how happy they are that now they have another woman. All these ceremonies are carried out under the directions of the shaman; it is he who orders what is to be done and what is not to be done."[30]

In the initiation ceremonies of the Kiliwa Indians, the boys' noses were pierced, "so that rattlesnakes would not bite, and also to make the nose long, narrow and beautiful instead of wide."[31]

Burials

El Conchalito, located right on the bay in the city of La Paz, can be ranked as Baja California Sur's most intensely excavated archaeological site. Alfonso Rosales-López and Harumi Fujita in their *La antigua California prehispánica: la vida costera en El Conchalito* report on the burials uncovered there. Their own excavation yielded 14, in addition to 4 previous ones, and there are no doubt more burials in the same area. There are, no doubt, more burials in the same area which are gradually being uncovered by the erosion of the shoreline. In March of 2002, for example, two more burials were uncovered. See Plate 4: 2a.

There are both primary and secondary burials, as well as sectioned burials in which the skeletons have been divided at the base of the spine, and sometimes the lower half of the body has been placed next to the skull. Two stages of human habitation were uncovered. The first was a hunting culture from 300 B.C. to 800 A.D., and later, when the bay was yielding more shellfish, a shellfish-collecting culture developed from 800 A.D. to historic times. The authors discuss the possible relationship between these burials and the Las Palmas burials

which have been dated from 1200 A.D. to historic times.[32]

It is in the context of these burials and the Las Palmas secondary burials that we can look again at Baegert's remarks about burial practices among the Guaycura. He told us that he heard that they break the spines of the dead and roll them into a ball. He feels that they are in haste to bury those who are dead, and have prepared the grave beforehand, and he fears they have in this way buried some people alive. The person being buried is wrapped up, in one case, in a deerskin. What we might be seeing here is a reflection of the earlier burial practices of the peninsula which have filtered down poorly to Baegert, or even may have become somewhat fragmented among the Guaycura. It is conceivable that the spine was broken either to liberate the soul of the dead person, or to prevent it from returning. In any event, it was probably the shamans who had the job of not only leading the mourning for the dead, but supervising the burial, and later the reburial of the bones. A burial was recently discovered in a small cave not far from the La Pasión area, which may have been that of a shaman, for the body appears to have been buried with various grave goods. It is yet to have been professionally studied, and it has been tentatively dated to around 1200 A.D. See Plate 3: 2b.

Hair Capes

We know from the reports of the missionaries of the Guaycura nation that its shamans had capes, or mantles, made from the hair offerings of their followers given at the time of mourning, and that they wore these capes during ceremonies. This was a practice that is attested to in other parts of the peninsula. Indeed, Homer Aschmann, a pioneering archaeologist of the central Baja Californian desert, calls it "perhaps the most distinctive culture trait of the Indians of Baja California,"[33] and tells us that it is unknown north of the border even among the Yuman-speaking tribes. "It is hard to imagine so complex and emotionally charged a culture trait originating among the relatively impoverished tribes of the peninsula and spreading to all of them, but not going beyond their territory. A more likely possibility is that it represents an ancient religious practice, surviving in full vigor in a culturally isolated region long after it had disappeared elsewhere."[34]

He goes on to tell us that the hair came from the dead, as well as the living, at times of curing or initiations, and the shaman jealously guarded his cape, and augmented its size in order to show his power. The missionaries, understanding the religious importance of these objects, burned them.

One hair cape from Bahía de los Angeles - far to the north of the historic Guaycuran territory, but conceivably a place where they once lived - survived and was collected by Edward Palmer in 1887, and later reported on by Massey and Osborne who describe its construction, which probably included shell beads.[35] See Plate 3: 2d.

Luis Sales, the Dominican missionary, describes the use of these capes in the far north of the

peninsula. "When all are gathered, ornamented with charcoal and yellow, the old man places himself in the center of the circle. Under his arm he has a doubled mat of rushes in which he hides the rain cape for the fiesta. On another little stick he has the hair of the dead man suspended. He indicates silence, puts on the rain cape of the hair of the dead, and causes as much horror as when a bear appears. He plays a whistle and tells them that the dead man is coming; but, however much they look, they do not see him coming. Nevertheless they believe it. Then he shows them the little stick with the hair of the dead man, and tells them that he is there, that they see him - and they see nothing. However they give cries, they pull their hair, and make other ridiculous actions. Finally, relieved by crying, the old man comforts them. He puts a thousand questions to the head of hair, and he himself answers them to his liking."[36]

The Inner World of the Guaycuras

It is worthwhile to try to penetrate into the inner religious world of the Guaycuras even if it must remain a very tentative venture. The shaman played a central role because he was the one who could travel back and forth between the world of men and the world of the gods and the dead. And this was a matter of the greatest importance to the whole band, for it was from the other world that the blessing of the pitahayas and success in hunting came. And on the negative side, illnesses were intimately bound up with that world, for Gumongo lives in the north, and sends sicknesses, as well as Guyiagui, the pitahaya bearer who is associated with the big rock at Puerto Escondido, and perhaps the rock from which the San Luis Indians felt they were descended.

The Guaycuran shaman retires into a cave and speaks to Emma. The shaman is the diagnostician of illnesses in order to discover what spiritual wrong, or evil shaman, has caused them, and where the sick person's soul has gone so it can be retrieved and restored to him. The shaman makes use of a tube, or perhaps a pipe, to remove the harmful object that is causing the illness, and this does not necessarily that the Indians believed that the object the shaman showed them had actually been lodged in the body of the sick person. At a more sophisticated level they may have believed that the evil spirit, or humor, had been enticed from the sick person into this object. The shaman blowing and sucking through the tube can be seen as a symbolic representation of altering the spiritual condition of the sick person, and thus restoring him to health, and the smoke of the pipe both intoxicates and rises to the heavens.

The shaman, himself, travels to the heavens and communicates with the gods and with the dead, and may even have collected his generous rations of food with the idea of bringing succor to the dead person. But the shaman may have not only aided the dead person, but protected the living from him by his supervision of the burial and his careful arrangement of the bones. Perhaps the sectioning of the spine played a role in assuring the world of men that

the spirit of the dead person would not come back to bother them.

So the shaman must assure the material and spiritual well-being of the band, aid the sick, and be a guide to the dead, and for all this he needs power and its implements. Somehow he must be able to make the sacred journeys. The pole in the middle of the circle in Sales' description of the fiesta is a wide-spread symbol of these kinds of journeys, for it is rooted in the world below, the earth that we live on, and the heavens above, and it represents the means by which the shaman ascends and descends. Elsewhere the same archetype shows itself as a tent pole, sacred tree, or mountain.

We have seen how among the Guaycuran shamans hair capes played a central role. But why? The hair came from the dead, and from mourners, and thus was a symbol of the world of the spirits and its spiritual power which the shaman literally put on. He accumulated this power bit by bit, and guarded it jealously. Indeed, the cape was made by Guyiagui, and thus shared in his power. Facial hair, itself, perhaps because of this, as well as its rarity, became a sign of the shaman. The shaman also carried a wand as a sign of his power, and like the pole, it connected earth with the heavens and acted like the very mouthpiece of the spiritual world. Among the Yumans to the north, it was topped with hair, and among the Guaycura it was carved with the likeness of a bearded man and called "He who speaks." The wand that Jaime Bravo described was decorated with feathers. Among the Paviotso Indians far to the north the shamans had three to four foot willow rods with eagle feathers tied to the top of them. They were placed upright beside a patient's head, and some of the shamans said that this eagle feather stick had given them the curing songs they employed.[37] The wand, therefore, is the messenger of the gods, perhaps something like Mercury of the Greeks, and here we can recall the idol found among the Cochimí with a snake in one hand and a trident in the other, and the stick with holes in it for attaching feathers reported on by Taraval, and even the custom the Guaycura had of giving feathers as a peace offering.

At the time of initiation the boys and girls cannot become adults without learning how to suffer pain and deprivation without complaint. And they must learn something of the spiritual geography of the tribe, as well. Their ears and noses are pierced, perhaps to represent the transformation of their ordinary senses into spiritual organs of perception, and central to these initiation rites are the tablets which appear not only to embody something of the history of the most significant members of the tribe, the ones who carried power, but are engraved with a sacred writing that came from the gods so that the tablets of the shamans are copies of the archetypal tabla of Guyiagui. The tablets, like the wands, then speak of the spiritual world, and in the school of initiation the young people through the tablets learn something of that spiritual world. It is also possible that ceremonial blades like the one found at El Conchalito, or the crystal point that we shall see shortly, were also ritual objects of power.

After I wrote these lines, I came across an account of what were perhaps the last vestiges of the ancient hair cape tradition which we can compare to this reconstruction of the inner life of the Guaycuras. Peveril Meigs, working among the Kiliwa Indians of northern Baja California,

collected "fragmentary but vivid recollections" some 36 years after the fact of their use of hair capes, or pachugós in the ñiwey, or talking with the dead ceremony, which had last been held in 1893.[38] Meigs went with a very apprehensive Kiliwa informant to the cave where the capes were stored, and took a photo of them wrapped in a reed mat, and had the impression of "somewhat wavy hair." [39]

The ceremony was held so that the dead would stay away. It called for elaborate preparations and the construction of a long, low rectangular ramada whose posts were painted black, white and red, and in the middle of which was a big painted post. The low height prevented the sun from hitting the hair capes. These capes were composed of nets of mescal fiber to which tufts of long, black human hair were attached. The capes, wrapped in reed matting, had been hidden on a rack in a cave. They were said to be made at the beginning of the world with the hair of virgins who had died. The four shaman hills that held up the sky threw shooting stars at the capes so that if someone disturbed them, and was hit by a star, he would die within a year.

The capes covered their wearers from head to foot, and on the top of the head was a bunch of eagle feathers. In the ñiwey ceremony the hair-caped men advanced towards the ramada in single file, jumping from side to side, to avoid the shooting stars while blowing carriso whistles. Behind them came a man whirling a bull roarer, and boys picking up any hairs that had fallen from the capes so that they could be reattached to them. The robed men entered the hut except for the last of them who ran around the hut for half an hour. The capes were taken off and put on low, horizontal frames and covered with mats. The eagle feathers were attached to wands a yard long and stuck in the ground behind the capes. This is where the dead would sit, and food was offered to them. There was also a two-foot high figure carved out of wood.

The shaman held in his left hand a two-foot long stick set in the ground in front of him, and in his right, a turtle shell rattle which he beat against it. He communed with the turtle in various ways, and went off to seek the dead. They entered the hut and turned to the left, went to where the shaman was sitting, and one of them entered his body. And when someone put a pipe in the shaman's mouth, the dead person spoke in a strange tongue. If he had hidden anything – things which need to be found so the dead person could go away – he told where they were. The dead person could also speak of illness, or the person responsible for his or her death.

In this fascinating account which stands in strong contrast to the derogatory one of Sales, we can sense something of the inner cosmology of the Kiliwa, and by inference, that of the Guaycuras. The hair capes, themselves, with their feathers like the posts, and especially the central post of the ramada, are bridges between the worlds of the living and the dead. The capes must be safe-guarded from the sun, and perhaps from touching the earth, as well. They belong to the realm of darkness, and their very use is fraught with danger. Here we see the capes, the wands and feathers, and even the pipes, as well the whistles and bull roarers, come

together, and most of these objects except for the bull roarers existed among the Guaycuras, as well. And as far as the bull roarers are concerned, while there is no direct evidence, objects which appear to be bull roarers are in the regional INAH museum at Ciudad Constitución. See Plate 4: 3e.

The Origins of the Baja California Hair Cape Shamanism

As we saw Homer Aschmann pointing out before, it is unlikely that the hair capes were an indigenous development, and it is more probable that they were the remnants of an ancient shamanistic tradition that was once much more wide-spread, and was preserved here in Baja California long after it has disappeared elsewhere.

Peveril Meigs who had taken what he had thought to be the only photograph of a hair cape in 1929, was later surprised to see a picture of a similar cape found among the western Déné in the mountainous interior of British Columbia that had been published by the well-known missionary, A.C. Morice in 1892. While Venegas had described the capes of Baja California as capped by hawk feathers, or the tail of a deer, those of the Déné were topped with sea lion whiskers, and a cap "formed by three rows of dentalium shells hung by strips of caribou skin in bunches of four," and artificially curled hair hung from the cap. The Déné had gotten the shells and sea lion bristles from trade with the coastal tribes. Meigs concluded about the existence of similar capes in Baja California and British Columbia: "The human hair capes must have diffused from a common origin."[40]

From here on the story gets much more fragmentary and problematical, but intriguing nonetheless. In 1938, Thor Heyerdahl and his wife were back in Norway, having given up their attempt to leave the civilized world behind by living on Fatu Hiva in the Marquesas Islands. Thor gave a radio talk on the petroglyphs he had discovered in Fatu Hiva, a talk that was heard by the brother of one of his neighbors. This man had lived for many years among the Indians of the Bella Coola valley of coastal British Columbia, and he had seen similar petroglyphs. The two men were further surprised at the similarities in appearance and in artifacts between the Polynesians and the Indians in British Columbia.[41] Before long the Heyerdahls and their newborn son were on their way to explore the Bella Coola valley and these similarities, which had been, in fact, observed back to the time of Captain Cook. The ideas generated in this way were to become part of Heyerdahl's larger hypothesis of the populating of Polynesia from South American, and from Indonesia via the Philippine and Japanese currents carrying seafarers to the Pacific Northwest, and then later down to Hawaii and the other islands. [42]

At first glance this appears to have little to do with our story, but while Heyerdahl was wandering around the Bella Coola valley and wondering what had happened to the Kwakiutl Indians who had once lived there, he also had in his possession a hair cape that he had acquired in the Marquesas Islands and later sold to the Brooklyn Museum. So the Marquesas

Islands becomes the third place in which we find hair capes.

It is entirely possible that the hair capes of the Marquesas could have developed separately, and even – although less likely – that the appearance of these capes both in Baja California and among the Déné was purely coincidental. Heyerdahl's basic theory of a western flow of people to Polynesia has not been upheld by the bulk of subsequent arachaeological and genetic work, which indicates that the islands were populated from the west. It does, however, remain possible that there was some flow in the other direction, as well. So let's try to advance in this very speculative direction. In November 1996 the *National Geographic* magazine published a picture which had not been used in its issue of October 1919 of a "Marquesas chief, in a cape of hair taken from enemy dead and his companions." Human hair ornaments, including tufts of white beard with occasional permanent waving put in the hair, was found among the Marquesans. It took the form of tufts of hair decorating conch trumpets[43] necklaces, wrist and ankle bands, waist and shoulder ornaments, etc., as well as the hair capes.[44] This more general ceremonial use of hair does not seem to have a parallel among the Baja Californians, and I have no idea whether the Marquesans used their hair capes in ceremonies connected with talking to the dead. Among the coastal Salish Indians of British Columbia who intruded into the Bella Coola valley and may have displaced the Kwakiutls is to be found a spirit dance headdress made of human hair.[45]

It would take a considerable leap of imagination, however, to tie all these appearances of hair capes together. If we did take that leap, it would go something like this: The Philippine and Japanese currents sweep Asian seafarers with a shamanistic tradition of hair capes to the Pacific Northwest where they settle for a time and become the Kwakiutl of the Bella Coola valley. Later when the Salish intrude, the Kwakiutl depart in two directions. Some go inland, and so the hair capes are to be found among the western Déné. Some sail down to Hawaii and make their way to the Marquesas Islands.

The same currents that had washed them up on the Pacific Northwest shores sweep down along the coast of Baja California. Captain C.M. Scammon, for example, discovered in 1853 the wreck of a Japanese junk near Cedros Island, while in 1856 Captain Jno. C. Lawton in the brig Prince de Joinville saw a Japanese junk near Magdalena Bay.[46] These are some of the same currents that were to be utilized by the Manila galleons. In any event, by sea or by land, hair capes made their way down from the north to Baja California.

Ten Kate and Paul Rivet, as we saw, thought that these skulls resembled those of Melanesia and the Lagoa-Santa people. Gill et al., for example, described discrete osteological traits found both in Peru and Easter Island, and "their data imply that Polynesians from the Marquesas Islands arrived on the northwestern coast of Peru in prehistoric times," and on their way home ended up in Easter Island.[47]

How likely is this kind of scenario? Not very likely. More reasonable is the hypothesis that an early wave of dolichocephalic, or long-headed people, had proceeded out of Asia both into

Melanesia to the south, and by land or by sea to North America, and remnants of their genes and culture are to be found among the earliest inhabitants of Baja California, and perhaps other parts of North and South America.

Guaycuran Origins

A certain amount of work has been done trying to connect the cultures of Baja California with the cultural complexes found further north. Massey, for example, summarizes the matter like this: The San Dieguito complex (Playa complex) and the La Jolla complex appear to relate mostly to northern Baja California. But some projectile points of the last San Dieguito (Playa II) type are to be found in the Castaldí collection of artifacts from central and southern California.[48] The Pinto Basin complex (Amargosa I) and the Gypsum Cave complex (Amargosa II) have stronger ties with southern Baja California. Pinto Basin projectile points make up 13% of the Castaldí collection, and are most frequent in the Magdalena Bay area, and around La Paz Bay. A variant of the Gypsum Cave type points (La Paz points, Loreto blades,) "are more finely flaked with a good deal of pressure retouching, especially on the stem. Edges frequently are beveled."[49]

Massey also describes different Baja California cultural complexes: a Las Palmas culture whose burial caves he excavated in the Cape area, and felt extended throughout the Cape region and the Gulf islands. This culture, he felt, might have had connections with the Pinto-Gypsum complex. "Its known representation is clearly that of the Guaicurian-speaking cape people (Huchiti-Pericú). The unusual artifact inventory of both the historic tribes and the Las Palmas culture (such as dart-throwers, absence of basketry, lack of fishing equipment), coupled with the famous dolichocranic physical type, forces the conclusion that this is a relic of an ancient past in western North America."[50] He also described a peninsular Yuman, or Comondú culture, which appears unrelated to the Pinto-Gypsum, but connected to the historic Cochimí, and was to be distinguished from a California Yuman culture further north.

He summarized his findings for the southern most part of the peninsula: "Most definite evidence for cultural connections between the Cape Region and northern areas can be found in the lithic complex of the open sites. With the exception of several ground stone artifacts, all of the stone projectile points, scrapers, flake knives, and grinding tools find identity or close analogy in the prehistoric cultures of southern California and adjoining southern Arizona… Baja California received very strong influences from peoples responsible for the Amargosa II complex in southern California."[51]

Given these connections and the geography of the peninsula, he considered, and reasonably so, that the main avenue for the populating of the peninsula, and the cultural influence upon it came by land from the north, and more particularly, from the desert cultures in eastern California and Arizona. In such a schema, the oldest cultures would be found the farthest

south. But he did not rule out other possibilities. For example, the secondary burial customs that he found in the Las Palmas culture, he surmised, could have come from the south instead of the north.

Alternative theories for the origins of the Guaycura have also been proposed. A.L. Kroeber found that the Seri Indians on the mainland and Gulf islands showed a greater cultural relationship with the Guaycura than the Cochimí who lived opposite them in Baja California. He hypothesized that the Seri could have come to Sonora from Baja California by way of the Gulf islands of Tiburón, San Esteban and San Lorenzo when the Guaycura lived further north. Donald Tuohy notes a later study of Seri basketry, as well as a linguistic one, supporting Kroeber's hypothesis.[52] Seri, in fact, is part of the Hokantecan language family. Massey also notes evidence of trade found in the Palmer collection between Bahía de Los Angeles and the Mexican mainland.[53] Interestingly, while balsas and double-bladed paddles are known on the Gulf coast of the peninsula, it is only among the Seri they are found on the mainland, and the Seri are known to have crossed the Gulf in historic times in primitive canoes and have landed at Conception Bay.[54]

Makoto Kowta created an intriguing, and even more far-ranging hypothesis in which he imagines that: "For some time before 2000 B.C., the southern part of Baja California was occupied by Hokaltecan-speaking peoples whose cultural ties were stronger with complexes of mainland Mexico than with those of the southern California deserts."[55] The evidence he marshals for this theory comes from different directions. He reasoned that if the Cochimí language had separated from the Yuman in ancient times, then the Guaycuran language must be older. In support of this, he draws on the studies of Gursky and Swadesh that we saw before. And he finds that three of the distinctive characteristics of the culture of the southern part of the peninsula, the early form of atlatl, netting with a lark's head knot, and one rod basketry, all find their parallels on the Mexican mainland. An early form of atlatl, for example, was found in Frightful Cave in Coahuila. He also suggests that the Loreto blades and La Paz points which don't find close parallels to the north and which Massey felt might be local manifestations of Gypsum Cave projectile points may, in fact, find closer parallels on the mainland, and more specifically, to the "Coxcatlan Complex of the Tehuacan Valley in the State of Puebla in Mexico,"[56] which dates from around 5,000 to 3,500 B.C.

This kind of reasoning left him with the problem of how these distant mainland cultures could be related to the Guaycura in Baja California. He suggests that the intrusion of the Uto-Aztecan speakers sometime before 2,000 B.C. created the separation between the Hokaltecan-speakers on the mainland and in Baja California.

As the techniques of the scientists grow more refined, we can expect that they will be increasingly applied to the prehistory of Baja California. In the field of linguistics the work of Gursky and Swadesh could be developed, perhaps by a deeper analysis of the structure of the Guaycuran language, to try to determine more exactly just when the Guaycuras arrived in the peninsula and from where. There is also, as we saw, a considerable linguistic diversity within

the Guaycuran language which, if it developed in Baja California, argues for considerable antiquity to their presence there. This, too, could be the subject of further study.

The origin of the Guaycuras could also be examined from the perspective of mitochondrial DNA. Are the Guaycuras, for example, genetically distinct from the Pericú, or from the Las Palmas culture, or from the inhabitants of El Conchalito? Are they, indeed, related to the Seri or other peoples on the mainland of Mexico and beyond?

A more elaborate analysis of skeletal material would augment this genetic analysis. From the time of Herman ten Kate, anthropologists, as we saw, have noted the long, narrow skulls of the inhabitants of the southern part of the peninsula, a pattern which appears to hold true for the Las Palmas, La Matancita and El Conchalito material.[57]

Increasing evidence points to one or more waves of immigrants arriving in the Americas whose skulls differ markedly from those of modern native North Americans.[58] Do the skulls of the early Baja Californians of the southern part of the peninsula show a relationship to these early immigrants, and thus confirm the possibility that what we have there is a remnant of ancient America? If this were so, we return to the idea that Polynesians, while they could have had some direct contact with South America, descended more likely from the same ancestral groups that gave rise to these early Americans which would explain the similarity in skulls. Further, this would also explain why skeletal material coming, for example, from the Great Basin area, could resemble that of Baja California.[59]

Recently, Sylvia Gonzalez and her collaborators at INAH in Mexico City have dated a long, thin woman's skull, known as the Peñon III Woman, which was found in the Teotihuacán valley in the Mexico City area to 12,700 years ago, and plan to compare its DNA to that of the Pericú.[60]

A more intensive study of the origins of distinctive Baja California cultural traits could also be carried out. What can we make, for example, of the absence of dogs or the lack of use of salt, not to mention the tablets and hair capes?[61] It is not likely that such distinctive objects and traits, or their absence, developed locally in Baja California.

Ancient Shamanism in Baja California

Hair capes could very well be an aspect of a larger and ancient shamanistic tradition that flourished in parts of Baja California for thousands of years. Meigs, for example, suggests that some of the figures in the rock paintings of the Sierra de San Francisco might well be wearing hair capes. This magnificent art has been dated to as old as 7,500 years ago, [62] and in what is one of the most fascinating developments in Baja California archaeology, headway is being made in understanding the meaning of these murals.

It is worth a digression, then, to look at this development, for although this art does not seem

to extend south of the Sierra de Guadalupe, our attempts at understanding it will allow us to see how Guaycura shamanism may have been derived from a much older and richer tradition which by historic times could very well have faded significantly. Further, the Cochimí were emphatic that they were not the painters of this art, but it is possible that they were its descendants, or even the artists were the ancestors of the Guaycuras or Pericú who were later displaced towards the south.

The methods that are being used to understand rock art around the world can be described as the ethnographic, the neuropsychological or psychotropic, and the archetypal.

The ethnographic approach is precisely what the name indicates. The ethnographic literature about the people who created the art is carefully studied for clues to its interpretation. Despite how obvious this sounds, it is only in recent times that this has been systematically carried out, for instance in regard to the San, or Bushmen of southern Africa, and the Indians of the western United States.

The fundamental finding of this ethnographic approach is that rock art, whether in these places or even among the Cro-Magnons of Europe is the result of the spiritual practices of shamans. These shamans entered into an altered state of consciousness by means of hallucinogenic substances, or trance inducing dances in order to make contact with a world of the spirits from which they could acquire powers to talk with the dead, as we have seen, but also cure people, make rain, discover where the game animals were, and so forth. Various caves, rock shelters, and rocks were seen as doorways to this other world, and on returning from it the shaman depicted what he or she had seen. The physical site, itself, became in this process a site of power. These shamanistic activities also embraced the initiation rights of young men and women, and other religious activities.

The second method for deciphering the shaman's art is the neuropsychological, and it is based on the premise that these altered states of consciousness unfold in certain basic stages: oral hallucinations, the alteration of bodily perceptions, visions, and disassociated states. It is visual hallucinations, naturally, that take first place in understanding the rock art. This neuropsychological model, developed by David Lewis-Williams and Thomas Dowson, in relation to San rock art and applied to western Indian art by people like David Whitley delineates seven common hallucinatory or entoptic patterns: dots and flecks, parallel lines, meandering lines, grids and checkerboards, zig-zags, and nested circles, or spirals, or concentric circles.

A second component of this method looks at how these mental images are transformed during the visionary experience by means of replication, fragmentation, integration, superimposition, juxtaposition, repetition and rotation. A third component finds three stages in the development of these images. First the entoptic images appear, then realistic images, and finally, a combination of the two, e.g., the images of a grid pattern and a deer are fused into one. The entoptic patterns in themselves take on different meanings in different cultures,

and it is ethnography that points to the applicable interpretation.

This neuropsychological model has potential application around the world and across time because it is based on our common human physiological make-up. It is much the same case in regard to the third method, the psychological or archetypal, which points to a common psychological make-up which C.G. Jung called the collective unconscious which contains certain basic structural elements, or archetypes, that have been found to express themselves in a whole variety of different cultural settings by means of dreams, visions, myths, art work, and so forth. Jung was careful to point out, however, that the actual images that are to be found in the various cultures are not somehow stored in the depths of the psyche but, in fact, vary widely according to place and time. What is common is the underlying archetypal patterns that generate these analogous images.

With these three methologies in hand, we can turn to the rock art of Baja California, and especially the great murals of the Sierra de San Francisco, and the Sierra de Guadalupe. Our starting point is the hypothesis that these remarkable paintings represent the work of shamans and their most salient features, which are the monos, or human-like figures that dominate so many of them, are representations of the shamans, themselves, in the very world of the spirits.

One of the constants of the archaeology of Baja California has been that the principle flow of people or cultural traits came from the north, that is, from the western United States, and therefore it is legitimate, at least in a tentative way, to look to the rock art of that area in order to see if it sheds any light on the art that is found in these mountains of Baja California. Further, one of the most striking features of these shamans in Baja California is their posture with their arms raised up, bent at the elbows. Therefore, it is noteworthy when we read concerning some of the shamans among the Indians of the American West: "The shaman's dance posture was arms lifted perpendicular to the body, with elbows bent at 90 degrees, exposing the shaman's "seat of power," his right wrist, to the sun, as is sometimes shown in the art." [63] Further, the red and black colors so often used to depict the shamans of the sierras also parallels in the western United States. The art of initiated girls was often painted in red, and that of boys in black. The term "Paha" applied to some Western shamans, was also applied to the California red racer snake that had a black phase and a red one, was thought by the Indians to represent the two sexes. "The shaman/Paha, then, painted himself bilaterally black and red for rituals, thus, like the red racer, conjoining or mediating the male and female principles of the world." [64] From an archetypal point of view, the shamans thus united the feminine and masculine aspects of the psyche to represent a totality, or symbol of wholeness, or in this case, a person in contact with the two worlds: the world of ordinary reality, and the world of the spirits. Another way of looking at it is that the two colors represent both conscious and unconscious, and it is interesting to note that among the depiction of the Sierra shamans, the red almost always embraces the head as well and half of the body. The head can be taken as a universal symbol of consciousness so that the red would mean consciousness

while the black would symbolize the unconscious. This kind of contrasting plays itself out in a variety of ways, though without unanimity. More often than not, the left side of the shaman is painted black, but with any number of exceptions. Sometimes the shamans are depicted with the top half of their body red and the bottom half black, not to mention times when they are completely red, or completely black. And some shamans are given red heads with black faces, though not the opposite as far as I can see, and these black faces could very well be taken as representations of altered consciousness. In short, what we are seeing in these pictures of the sierra shamans are the shamans at the very moment of contact with the spirit world.

These basic themes play themselves out in various ways. In the Cueva de León, for example, human bones have been found colored with red and black pigment, perhaps indicating a shaman's burial.[65] The theme of the shamans immersed in the spirit world is most likely illustrated in the depiction of certain fish monos whose bodies come to a point, and in one case, we have the picture of a fish that has been converted into a mono, or shaman.[66] The shamans of Baja California are often depicted with strange headdresses. The ethnography of the Cochimí and other Baja California tribes describes the shamans with all sorts of objects in their hair. In the case of the monos, we may be well looking at shamans adorned with feathers, and perhaps in some cases with depictions of psychic appurtenances representing their visionary role.

The depiction of animals in the rock art of other cultures has been interpreted as representing the spirit helpers of the shamans, and symbolically, the shamans, themselves. The mountain sheep of the American West, for example, are usually shown as males, and represent the male shamans and his rain-making powers. Therefore, it is possible to interpret the mountain sheep, or borrego, of the sierra which are often given top billing in the great murals there, in much the same way. The same could be said of the magnificent depictions of deer, often represented as bucks, and perhaps of the large sea creatures like whales or elephant seals that are occasionally shown.

It has been suggested, as we saw, that the vertical lines painted on some of the pictures of the shamans could represent clothing, or more specifically, capes, and one of the early missionaries to the area reports the Cochimí claiming that the painters from the north wore cloaks, and smaller versions of them are still used among them. The cloaks may well have been hair capes, that is, capes of human hair that were a distinctive part of the shamans of Baja California, and did, indeed, fall in separate vertical strands when worn.[67]

Another major theme in the sierra rock art, though by no means universal, are the drawings of men and animals pierced by arrows. While it would be easy to imagine that this represents hunting or warfare magic, if we once again take our cue from the north, and shamanism in general, another explanation is possible. These deaths are the symbolic representation of the spiritual transformation of the shaman as he or she passes from this world to the next. A similar motif is quite common in archetypal literature with its interpretation of the death

motifs that appear in modern dreams.

The monos, or shamans, of San Borjitas in the Sierra de Guadalupe are rather distinct from those further north, for they are blockier and possess some infilling with lines. They may well represent another school of painting altogether who while influenced by the painters further north, incorporated more entoptic features into their art. They also had a peculiar way of rotating the paintings of the monos at right angles to each other.

The very placement of the great mural art contains no arguments against a basic shamanistic understanding of it. It was at times painted in inaccessible places and at heights that must have required some form of scaffolding. Some force beyond making a painting, itself, was at work here that forced the painters to expend a great deal more energy in their works of creation than if they had simply chosen the nearest suitable surface. Overpainting is a common theme, as well, and seems to indicate that the place, itself, played an important role in where the paintings would be put. Like the shamans in the north, perhaps these shamans in the sierras painted their visions, indeed, even sought their visions, at the places of their predecessors. Perhaps these places were seen as favorable doorways to the other world. In the north the cave or rock shelter with its cracks and openings was literally an embodiment of the entrance to the other world, and power accumulated at these places so that new shamans would go there to make contact with the other world. It is easy to imagine that some of these sites like the Cueva Pintada in the Sierra de San Francisco, sitting as it does on a ledge above a palm-filled arroyo deep down in an impressive canyon, could have been the site of communal religious ceremonies, especially if it were illuminated at night. Hand prints created by blowing pigment around a hand held against a rock surface, and occasionally a painted hand, are sometimes found in the great mural area and could be understood, as well, as a way of making contact with the power of the spot.

It is worth looking at some of the symbolism in more detail. There are, for example, a number of predominantly red shaman figures that have black balls over their left biceps. The location of these figures has led some observers to try to correlate them with solstice phenomena. One figure at Cueva Corralito has a ball-like headdress and holds two fan-like objects, and a shaman's bag in his right hand, and hanging from his left are two more fan-like objects and a fish. He stands above two white birds. In the same cave is a depiction of a mountain lion, often a powerful shaman's helper, with three fish in its belly, and a fan-like object in its mouth. "I believe," writes Bernard Jones, "we are seeing in this painting a portrayal of a shaman completely transformed into his power animal while traveling in the spirit world." [68]

From an archetypal perspective, the black balls over the left biceps of the mostly red shamans suggests the interplay of conscious and unconscious forces that we saw before. The black ball might indicate something like what Jung calls the self emerging out of the darkness of the unconscious, for one of the self's most common symbols is a circle or ball. The fish could represent the contents of the unconscious, and thus are in the belly of the spirit helper, and one hangs from the left hand of the shaman. Such an interpretation would not be in

opposition to the figure being connected with a solstice event because the symbolism of the winter solstice, for example, is a death of the ego into the night, or unconscious, followed by a resurrection. In the Cueva Pintada, the shamans appear to be wearing horn and deer tail headdresses, and snakes play a central role in this mural. One floats in front of the shamans, while another hangs from a shaman's bag, and still another is coiled by a shaman's head while two more hang from a shaman's mouth. Jones associated these snakes with the snakes in the rain dance of the Hopi in which the dancers held snakes in their mouths and stroked them with eagle feathers. In modern dream symbolism the snakes often appear as representatives of deep and sometimes hostile dimensions of the unconscious, and their coming to consciousness, here perhaps symbolized by the snake coiled by the head, or the two snakes held in the mouth, is a potent symbol of psychological integration. In the boys' initiation among the Kiliwa, "When they come upon a rattlesnake, the leader, with averted head, holds his little stick toward the snake. If he has luck, the snake climbs up the stick, up his arm, and onto his head, where it coils up and rattles its tail. In a little while it crawls down again. Not all men succeed in this. Those who succeed will never be bitten by a rattlesnake and will not die until they are old men. (Another version says the snake climbs to the boy's right shoulder. If it then turns around and crawls away, the boy will die soon. If it crawls to his left shoulder before leaving, the boy will have a long life.) After the first boy has completed the snake test, each of the others tries it in turn." [69]

In ancient India the snake was a symbol of kundalini, or serpent power, and coiled around the base of the spine from where it ascended through the various chakras. As esoteric as they may seen, much the same phenomenon is found among the Bushmen who mightily strive in their trance dances to awaken the same sort of power. And this power is found depicted in various forms in their rock art, for example, the shaman bleeding from the nose or mouth, or the shaman or a figure pictured with dots along its spine. The Bushmen believe that the dancer's spirit leaves his body through a hole in the top of his head, and this departure can be seen symbolized by the high pointed caps in some figures. [70]

This raises the intriguing possibility that the trance states of the Baja California shamans were accompanied by similar phenomena. If that is so, they may have depicted it in their art, as well. The serpents, especially the one coiled by the shaman's head, or even the ones dangling from a shaman's mouth, point in this direction. A shaman painted with two horns, one on either side of his head, and sprouting in the middle a palm tree-like device with seven branches might also represent the emergence of a similar spirit power, something akin to the eagle feathers on top of the hair cape. The fan-like objects of El Corralito may represent something similar.

Eve Ewing provides us with a rich harvest of insights about the shamanistic characteristics found in the Cueva de las Flechas. Small figures of men and animals are to be found inverted over the shoulders of some of the shamans both here and elsewhere, and could represent spirit helpers. It is interesting to note that the fact they are upside down may represent their

origin out of the spirit world, or the unconscious. The very physical nature of the cave with its eastern exposure, a crack that could serve as an axis mundi, or a way to connect the everyday world with the spirit world, and a phallic pillar of rock all probably enhanced the desirability of this place. Its paintings express a number of examples of twinning, which are also found elsewhere. The most striking pair here have a fish-like appearance. Twinning is a well-known phenomenon in modern dreams and often happens when a content in the unconscious is surfacing and approaching consciousness. The fish-like twins would point in the same direction. Ewing also notes a somewhat turtle-like shaped man who can make us think of the sea of the unconscious and the role of the turtle in the ñiwey ceremony of the Kiliwa.

At the heart of the rich and complex mural stand four large monos, three of them in such a way that the many small figures beneath them are hidden by the contour of the cave curving away beneath their feet. This technique is used elsewhere, for example, at Corralito where a snake and a moray eel are given similar treatment. This might be a very graphic way of depicting the contents of the unconscious. Vultures and deer make their appearance, as well. "We have the vulture, symbol of death and transformation, and the deer, a symbol of fertility and regeneration." [71] Ewing associates both with the great mother archetype, and they may represent both her negative devouring qualities, as well as her positive generative side. The arrows, or spears, transfixing these anthropomorphs, indicate a process of interior transformation is going on in which the shaman dies, and thus descends to the spirit world, a process that Ewing surmises is illustrated here by the fact that the spears or arrows appear to come from below. Below one of the monos is depicted a dwarf whose left foot is missing. The turtle-shaped being also appears as a dwarf, and dwarfs often play a role in many mythological contexts as helping figures in the unconscious. The left foot missing could represent the immersion of the dwarf in the unconscious.

The Cave of the Serpent, also in the Sierra de San Francisco, is a remarkable site not only for the dramatic display of two giant serpents surrounded by many monos, but for the fact that it appears to be the creation of a single artist rather than the result of over-painting or a series of additions like other large murals in the area. The monos, themselves, are unremarkable and drawn in a rather schematic way. They are arranged around the serpents as if to indicate they are its numerous progeny. The two serpents, themselves, have red bodies outlined in black, and segmented with black lines. The one that is complete shows a forked tail, and both of them have the heads of deer. Thus, these pictures join a wider world of horned and even plumed serpents found in the Americas, and if one can venture to make a guess about what is being depicted here, we would have to take into account the centrality of the depiction of the serpent which suggests it represents the depths of the unconscious much like the uroboric serpents of mythology. And the deer heads turn these serpents into symbols of totality that are symbolizing not only the unconscious, but in a certain way consciousness, itself, and thus the shamans are the children of these red-black serpents, just as they are intimately related to the red-black racer snakes to the north.

It is worth noting that these serpents with horns appear in Bushmen rock art, as well. In one case, an entoptic zigzag appears to have been transformed into a buck-headed serpent, and serpents of this time sometimes have blood falling from their noses, linking them to shamans and their trances. [72] In other cases the snakes are depicted as entering or leaving a crack in the rock wall. "When the head is visible, it often has large 'tusks,' ears or a complete buck head; frequently it bleeds from the nose." [73]

Recent discoveries in the Sierra de Guadalupe show a much more sexually explicit art than has been previously known, and hopefully it will illustrate further aspects of this world of the shamans. [74] The great mural rock art of the sierras appears to give way, both in the north and in the south, to less representational forms of pictures, or we could say art that is more dominated by entoptic characteristics. In the land of the Guaycuras in the southern extension of the Sierra de la Giganta south of the Sierra de Guadalupe, there appears to be very little painted art beyond some occasional red parallel lines, or painted hands. See Plate 4: 2b. But the area does possess a number of engraving sites similar to those associated with cave art further north. We find the small cup-like depressions and lines and an occasional vulva, but also snake-like sinuous lines, circles divided in a variety of ways, and on one occasion at least a whole boulder, covered with cup-like depressions. See Plate 3: 1e, 2e and 3e.

Engravings like these are often associated with the rock art sites of the sierras in the north in the form of small cup-like depressions, slightly divergent lines, and vulvas. In the north in regard to the American Indians, it has been suggested that beyond the obvious sexual meaning, the vulvas symbolize the transformation the shaman underwent in order to travel to the other world. The cup-like depressions which are often very numerous, could have been the results of people, either initiates or those in search of healing, coming to the site and trying to make contact with its power.

There are reports of painted deer in distant caves in the Guaycura nation. At the extreme north of the Guaycura territory, a local rancher sketched a picture of a painting he had seen in a distant cave. It was approximately a meter high and formed by black and red lines, which created a figure like a face in profile with a beaked nose, and a series of connected circles reaching from the nose to the eye. See Plate 4: 3a.

Dart Throwers

Dart throwers, or atlatls, that is, sticks with hooks used to increase leverage in order to throw darts at high velocity whose antiquity stretches back to Paleolithic times in Europe, have been found in the southern part of the peninsula. In 1947 William Massey found four atlatls, one of them intact, in a bundle near a primary burial in the deepest part of a burial cave near Cape Pulmo. They had rounded shafts, and protruding hooks carved out of the same piece of wood, qualities that Massey felt attested to their ancient form, and he thought that both their form

and their use up to historic times could very well have been hold-outs in Baja California long after dart throwers died out elsewhere when they were replaced by bows and arrows. These dart throwers were without weights attached to their shafts, and had simple grips made of bark loops. The binding of the loops to the shaft showed traces of having been stained red. At 82 cm. the intact atlatl was significantly longer than those found elsewhere in North America.[75]

In 1962 two more dart throwers washed out of a shallow cave near Buena Vista. They were of the same type, and the one that was available for study was 81.5 cm. long, and had a decorative strip near the hook incised with 56 pairs of small squares.[76]

In 1967 some primary and secondary burials of the Las Palmas type with associated artifacts were found at La Matancita rock shelter south of Todos Santos, and eventually ended up in the museum there. In 1992 J.E. Molto and Harumi Fujita studied this material, and one of the burials was dated to between 1451 A.D. to 1633 A.D. Four atlatls were associated with one of the burials which were of the same type as those described in the finds above. One had two grooves, and another six pairs of small squares, and they ranged in length from 68cm. to 91cm.[77] See Plate 4: 2d.

The atlatl remained in use in the southern part of Baja California up to historic times, as attested to by the early Spanish explorers and pearlers, but Massey felt its use ceased before the mission era: "The earliest reference to the dart-thrower itself is from a document of the Cardona Company which held a grant from the Spanish government to exploit the pearl-fisheries in the Gulf of California. Cardona Company ships under the command of Juan de Iturbe made voyages to the peninsula in 1615 and 1616. In describing the implements and goods seen among the Indians of the Bay of La Paz, Nicolás de Cardona states: "*Sus armas son arcos y flechas y estólicas*…" A footnote to this citation in the *Documentos Inéditos* defines *estólica* as*: "Varas que se tiran encajadas en un palo de dos palmas, y con aquel la arrojan y ya mas furiosa que una flecha*" - "Shafts inserted in a stick of two palms (in length), which, when they are thrown, go more rapidly than an arrow." The word *estólica* is a standard term in South America for the dart-thrower, just as the term *atlatl* is in Middle and North America."[78]

Massey found another account which talked of how the Isleño Pericú "use some fire-hardened darts, which they throw with an instrument, with which they make them fly like an arrow."[79] He also found accounts which, while not mentioning the dart throwers, themselves, talked about the use of darts. Here we can recall the Vizcaíno expedition to Magdalena Bay where they saw the natives using fire-hardened darts and wooden darts for fishing. This would place the use of the dart thrower in historic times in the Guaycura nation, or perhaps among the Uchití related bands who inhabited that region. The use of the dart thrower may have extended considerably further north in prehistoric times, perhaps when the southern tribes lived there, for Edward Palmer discovered what might be an atlatl dart in a burial cave at

Bahía de Los Angeles.[80]

L.G. Massey suggested that the use of the dart thrower may have continued into the mission era, and points to the passage in Taraval where he describes the instruments of a shaman which included many sticks with hooks and points including a stick with holes so it could be entirely covered with feathers. Further, we see Píccolo in his *Informe* of 1702 talking about bows and arrows and darts and it is possible he was referring to the Monquí.[81]

Dart-Throwers Among the Uchití-Cubí?

In this context it is worth recalling the incident during the Guillén party's return trip from La Paz during which on one day they were given lances with flint tips, and on the next day exchanged gifts with the people of Anirituhué, and received arrows and little flint-tipped lances (lancillas de pedernal).[82] Clearly, the little lances are being distinguished from normal lances, and from arrows. Could they have been atlatl darts? Perhaps, but it is entirely possible that they could have been hafted knives, that is, stone blades attached to short wooden shafts which served as handles, or even short spears. Without any sense of how long these lancillas were, there is no way to decide between these possibilities.[83] The same kind of question arises when we think of the Cueva de las Flechas in the Sierra de San Francisco, which has a painting depicting a man pierced by arrows. Are these arrows, or are they atlatl darts?

If this incident is marginal when it comes to providing evidence for the existence of dart throwers in mission times, there are two other accounts that are more convincing. The first is mentioned in Guillén's report to the Marqués de Casafuerte in 1725 which reports an incident in Misión Santiago where Cabo Ignacio Acevedo shot down an Indian who was about to loose a dart at another Spaniard, "*a uno que librava ya el dardo*."[84] The other incident we have already seen, and it took place when the Uchití invited the Guaycuras of Los Dolores to a festival, and then discharged on them a "rain of arrows, darts (*dardos*) and stones."[85] It will certainly be worthwhile to keep in check a natural tendency to equate projectile points with arrow or lance points rather than atlatl points when we look at the projectile points of our chosen area in a moment. Makoto Kowta, however, notes that all the references to darts in the Spanish period, mentioned by Massey, contain no indication of stone points, "the darts being described as wooden, fire-hardened, or of hard wood." [86]

If we recall the comments of the Vizcaíno expedition on the use of darts at Magdalena Bay and bring it together with the Uchití attacking the Guaycuras, it is possible that dart-throwers continued to be used by the Uchití people, or Cubí, in the territory of the Guaycura nation. Baegert, however, does not mention its use among the Guaycura, and when he talks about the fishing techniques of the Magdalena Bay Indians, he tells us they use spears, but he makes no mention of dart-throwers. Perhaps by this time the use of the dart-thrower had disappeared.

When William Massey looked for dart throwers comparable to the ones he had found in Baja California, he had to go as far afield as the Tainan culture of the Caribbean and the extreme northwest of Columbia for the closest parallels, and he hypothesized there could have been either a direct diffusion from one area to the other, or the survival of this archaic form of dart thrower in both areas. But he also recognized that there were similarities between these Baja California atlatls and some of those found in the Great Basin, in particular at Roaring Springs Cave in Oregon and Lovelock Cave in Nevada. In 1961 he wrote, "It is probable that similar specimens will appear in excavations farther north in western North America."[87] That same year an atlatl was found in a cave near Lake Winnemucca, Nevada (NV-WA-197; Nicolarson Cave) that was indirectly dated to 8,000 years ago.[88] It had a slightly squared shaft, and a projecting hook, but in this case the hook was made of bone and lashed to the shaft. It showed traces of red ochre, but it was significantly shorter than the Baja California atlatls at 58cm., and had a weight attached to it, and instead of a bark-looped handle, had grooves cut in the shaft.[89] The two Roaring Springs atlatls, one 70.5 cm. long, and the other about 52 cm., both have raised or male hooks, but the shafts are flat and have finger notches in the handle instead of bark loops. They, too, were painted with red ochre, and the smaller of them had rows of white dots painted on its top side, and the longer one, when it was first recovered, had strings of feathers attached to it. They had no weights, but there were holes in the bottom sections of each dart thrower. They were estimated to be 3,000-4,000 years old, and possibly much older than that.[90]

The presence of these old-style projecting hook atlatls in Oregon suggest the possibility that these archaic forms of dart throwers may have arrived in America quite early, and spread both to the southeast and to the southwest to be preserved in use among the more isolated cultures of Baja California until historic times long after they had disappeared elsewhere.

Four atlatls accompanied burials both in one of Massey's Las Palmas caves and at La Matancita, and it is very likely they were seen as not only pragmatic instruments of hunting, but implements of power, thus the small squares of decoration, the red staining, and the feathers attached to them.

Projectile Points

Projectile points are the most common kind of artifacts found in the Guaycura nation, and Baja California as a whole. Massey classified these projectile points according to a schema developed by Emil Haury in his 1950, *The Stratigraphy and Archaeology of Ventana Cave, Arizona* that he modified slightly. His selection of Haury's classification was particularly fitting because Massey believed, as we saw, that most of the Baja California projectile points found parallels in the desert California and Arizona ones, and appeared to have derived from those cultures. See Table 5 for Massey's classification.

Massey, himself, collected artifacts at Arroyo Conejo in 1947, 1948, and 1949, and abundance of stone chips there led him to believe that the objects he found were manufactured there. These objects included projectile points, blades, flake knives, scrapers, picks and choppers. Here we will only look at the projectile points, some of which may have been knife blades, by summarizing Massey's notes.

1. IB1 (one piece found). Rare in Baja California Sur

2. IB2 (12 pieces of at least 2 distinct kinds). The most common type in the Cape region and throughout the peninsula, as well as the most common type in this site. Also the most common leaf shape in the Pinto basin and Ventana cave.[91]

3. IB3 (2). This type found only at BC 68. A noteworthy lack at Lake Mojave and Pinto basin. Common in the San Dieguito culture. Other leaf shape types found only at BC 78. (La Paz Bay)

4. IC2 (2). IC types rare in the Cape region.

5. ID1 (1). Only at the northern edge of the Cape region at BC 68, BC 78 and in private collections. Found at Lake Mojave.

6. IIA2 (1). Only one found, and that at BC 68.

7. IIB1b1 (2). Only at BC 68.

8. IIB1c1. One at BC 68 and prominently at BC 78.

9. IIB3b1 (1). The only example of this type was at BC 88. It is found in central Baja and north of the peninsula. This BC 88 specimen corresponds to points found in the "Pinto-Gypsum (Amargosa II) sites of the deserts of the lower Colorado river." [92] Points of this type, oblique or barbed shoulders with convex bases, are found only at BC 88 and BC 78, and private collections, and in open sites in central Baja California.

The general conclusion that Massey drew from this kind of analysis was that the most common points from the Cape region were diagnostic of the Amargosa II desert culture in southern California, and that this area was the probable source for the

Cape region points unless there was a third region that had served as the source for both areas.[93] Elsewhere he says: "The great quantities and large size of projectile points, particularly in the northern peri- phery of the Cape region, may reflect warfare rather than hunting."[94] But focusing, as we are, on the Guaycura nation, we are certainly tempted to try to draw some tentative conclusions from Massey's remarks about sites BC 68 and BC 88, about our west coast Uchití, in relationship to the rest of the peninsula. Does, for example, the fact that some points were found only at BC 68 indicate a different cultural group living there? But these kinds of questions are quite premature, for they rest on a very small number of artifacts.

The Castaldí Collection

The Jesuit priest Cesár Castaldí served the Baja California community from 1905 to 1946 from his base in Mulegé. In pursuit of his goal of writing a history of Baja California, he received projectile points and other artifacts from rancheros from communities ranging from Calmallí north of San Ignacio down to the Cape region. William Massey and his colleagues photographed this collection and published an extensive study of it in 1966.[95] See Plate 4, 1d.

When it is a question of the Castaldí collection, we are dealing with a much larger data base. There were approximately 1,250 projectile points in the collection mounted on boards with about 25 on each board. These included 98 pieces from four ranchos in our area: San Luis Gonzaga (24); El Pilar (21); San Hilario (23); La Junta (30). It is likely, given these numbers, that each rancho had its own mounting board.

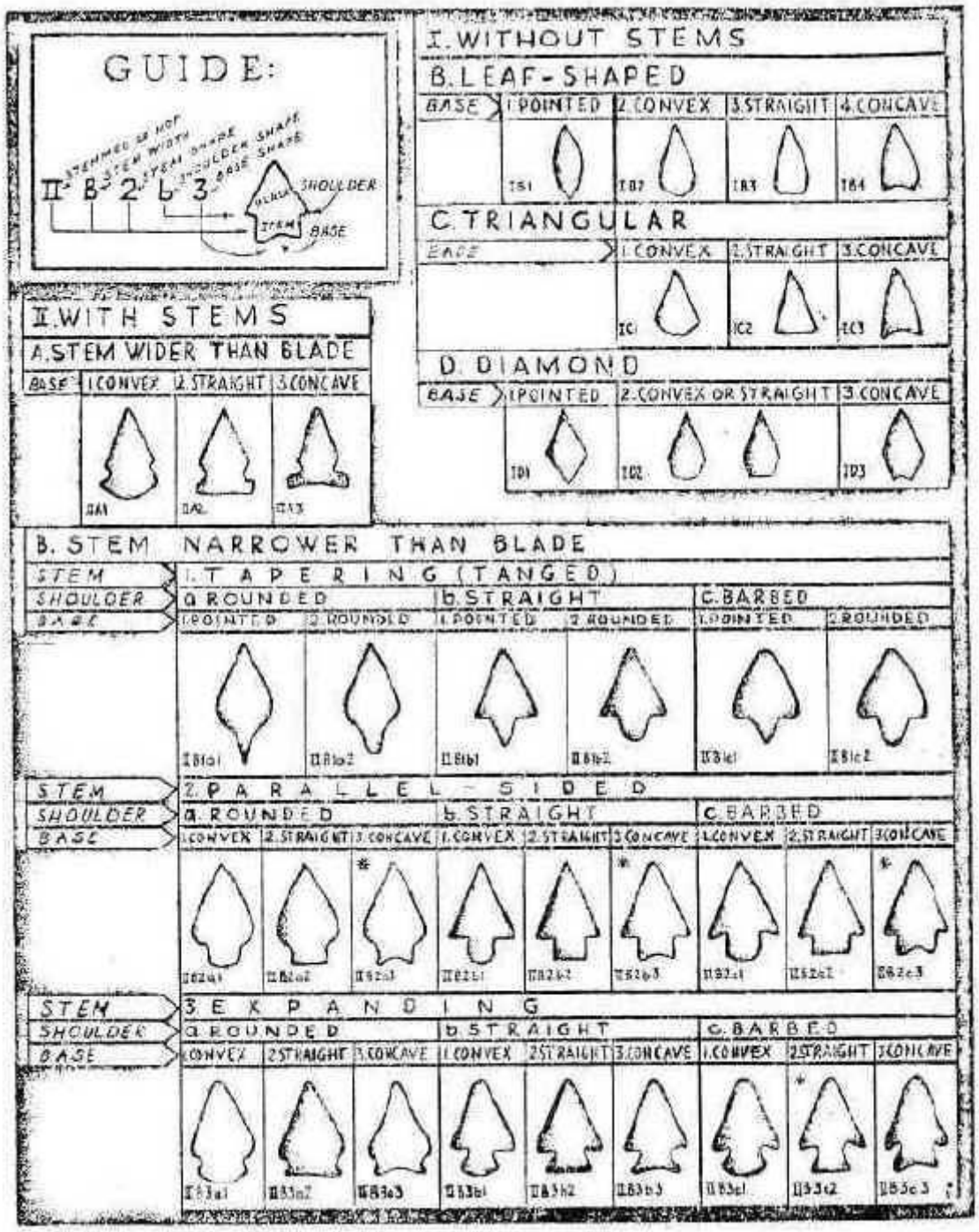


Table 5: Projectile Point Classifications (Massey)

Here is Massey's summary of the points found in the Guaycura nation:

IB1. San Hilario (2 pieces). Now found in the Cape region, but infrequently.

IB2. El Pilar (1). San Luis (1). San Hilario (3). La Junta (1). Some of this type are hefted knives.

IB3. San Hilario (1). La Junta (1). With Massey's smaller sample this type showed up only in BC 68, but now we see it is found in the south in all areas.

IB4. San Luis (1). San Hilario (1). La Junta (2). Found not only in La Paz, but in the south.

IC1. El Pilar (1). San Hilario (2). La Junta (2). This type found now in the south, as well as in the historic levels of Comondú cave.

IC2. El Pilar (3). San Luis (2). San Hilario (1). La Junta (10). Also found in the historic levels of Comundú cave.

IC3. El Pilar (1). San Luis (6). San Hilario (2). La Junta (7). Central Baja California.

ID1. El Pilar (1). San Hilario (1). Now found to be widely distributed.

ID2. El Pilar (1). San Hilario (1).

IIA2. La Junta (2). Found at La Paz but not further south. (IIA3 now found south of La Paz.)

IIB1a1. El Pilar (2). San Luis (1). Rare in the south.

IIB1a2. San Hilario (1). Great care in pressure flaking the stem.

IIB1b1. El Pilar (1). La Junta (1). Now found in the south.

IIB1b2. El Pilar (1). Care in pressure flaking the base.

IIB1c1. San Luis (1). This collection shows this type extending only to La Paz, but Massey feels they are more abundant in the south.

IIB1c2. El Pilar (1). Care in making the barbs and tang.

IIB2a1. San Hilario (1). Carefully made, especially the stem and base. (IIB2a2 shows careful basal thinning.)

IIB2b1. El Pilar (1). San Luis (1). La Junta (2).

IIB2b2. El Pilar (1). San Hilario (1).

IIB2c1. San Hilario (1). Bases thinned to chisel-like edges.

IIB2c2. San Hilario (1). Carefully made. Bases thinned.

IIB3a1. San Hilario (1). La Junta (1).

IIB3a3. El Pilar (4). San Luis (4). San Hilario (2). La Junta (1). Rarer south of La Paz.

IIB3b1. San Luis (1). Found in the south.

IIB3b3. El Pilar (2). San Luis (1). San Hilario (1).

IIB3c1. San Luis (2). Careful pressure flaking on all edged. Occurs in the south.

Most of the distinctions that appeared in Massey's analysis of the points from the BC 68 and BC 88 sites have now disappeared, and in most cases the points described in the Castaldí collection are distributed throughout the whole range of the collection, that is, from north of San Ignacio to the Cape region in the south. There are some exceptions. ID3 (2) is found in the north, and IIB3c3 (7) is largely confined there. But once again, we are dealing with small sample sizes. IIA1 (5) is not found in our area, but both to the north and the south, and interestingly enough, one of the points of this type found in La Paz, Massey notes, was made of obsidian.[96]

The Massey Collection

Massey's own collection of artifacts, housed in the Phoebe Hearst Museum of Anthropology in Berkeley, contained about 250 lithic objects of which 137 were projectile points.[97] They included 12 from our area, 4 of which were from the Magdalena plains, and 8 were from Arroyo Conejo further south on the Pacific coast. These probably include the points that we saw Massey analyzing from BC 68 and BC 88. Kelli Carmean analyzed the Massey collection of projectile points by using other characteristics, e.g., length, stem width, shoulder angle, etc., to create a different kind of classification, but even in this schema the Arroyo Conejo type of points are found both to the south and to the north.[98] The only exception is that of the large leaf-shaped points which are only found to the south, but this is based on only 2 points.

The Kowta Collection

Makoto Kowta compared his finds to the Castaldí Collection and concluded: "the survey collection falls well within the range of collections previously recorded for the southern part of the peninsula, deviating most from them in having a much higher percentage of unstemmed leaf shaped blades and, to a lesser extent, in having a low representation of small triangular and diamond-shaped points and points regarded as diagnostic of the Pinto Basin and Gypsum Cave complexes." [99]

El Conchalito

Alfonso Rosales-López and Harumi Fujita recovered projectile points both on the surface and in situ in their excavations of El Conchalito. Most of them were associated with the hunting

culture. These points were of the Pinto Basin and Gypsum Cave types dated respectively to 6,000 and 4,000 years ago, although there is no way to know when this type of point was used in the La Paz area. Most were made of local rhyolite, but there was one flint point, probably from the San Hilario area. They also discovered a remarkable rhyolite leaf blade (23.5cm. x 16cm.) which they surmised was a ceremonial object. Among the 25 projectile points were 6 Pinto Basin points: IB2 (2); IB3 (1); ID2 (1); IIB3b2 (1); IB2 or IB3 (1); among the 8 Gypsum Cave points there were 2 La Paz points, IIB1c1; 2 Loreto points, IB1a2; IIB1a1, or IIB1a2 (3); IIB1c1 or IIB1c2 (1). And there was also one 1D1 point.[100]

The Guaycura Nation Digital Archive

My wife and I have assembled a digital photo archive of local ranch collections in the Guaycura nation which consists mostly of projectile points, but includes other objects, as well. It contains over 500 items, some of the most interesting of which are shown in Plates 3 and 4.[101]

Materials

The stone objects appear to have been made from local available materials like rhyolite, quartzite, chalcedony and flint. In the La Junta area there is an extensive scattering of roughly oval-shaped chalcedony flakes which appear to be natural, but which have an edge sharp enough to do useful work.

There is a striking lack of the use of obsidian in the fabrication of these Guaycura nation projectile points. Massey, however, does not seem to remark on the scarcity of obsidian in the south, though he does note one obsidian point found near La Paz. He does, however, mention the absence of small bird points common in the north. No obsidian points were found in the El Conchalito excavation. And Kowta found no obsidian during his survey. There is one example of the use of obsidian in the digital archive from the Toris area, (See Plate 4: 3d, lower left) and I have seen another one in the same area which appeared to be a well-made woodland style point. The existence, therefore, of an obsidian source utilized by the local aboriginal people is not likely. I did obtain, however, two obsidian *tepustetes*, or pebbles, from a rancher in the same general area. The source for these nodules is known to the local people, but in a campsite scattered with worked stone nearby there was no indication of the use of obsidian. The Ciudad Constitución museum recently received a gift of an obsidian point said to have been found at La Curva beach near Puerto San Carlos. It is likely, however, these occasional obsidian points in the Guaycura nation came by way of gift or trade from the north.

Workmanship

Workmanship also varies greatly from some very crudely fabricated objects to some rare

finely worked points. Two of the finest objects are found in Plate 4: 1c and 3c. 3c resembles a Bolen Bevel type point like those found in the Aucilla River area of Florida and elsewhere in that state.[102] It has a carefully flattened area on its face, perhaps to make possible a more secure binding of it to a shaft. The second example, 1c, also has such a flattened area. The crystal point, Plate 3: 2a, while it does not appear as finely worked as the two preceding examples, could very well have been a prized ritual object rather than a working tool.

What does all this imply? It is logical to suppose that points representing different cultures would be found in different areas, but if these differences actually exist, they may be being masked by the kinds of shape classifications that are being used that are including different cultures under the same shape type. Or if, as it is also reasonable to suppose, the Guaycuras emigrated from the north, then they would have left their projectile points in the areas they had passed through, again masking the cultural differences between areas. Or it is possible that the Guaycuras shared cultural traits with the Pericú in the Cape region, or even with the Cochimí to the north. Or the cultures that preceded the division in historic times between the Pericú, Guaycura and Cochimí could easily have inhabited different areas than these tribes at the time of European contact. Or finally, the differences we are seeing could arise within the same culture due to differences in skill or materials, and so forth. All this simply points to how difficult it is to draw conclusions from surface finds, and the need for archaeological field work in the Guaycura nation to shed some light on who actually lived there and when.

The Clovis People

For a long time the prevailing scenario for the peopling of the Americas was that the Clovis big game hunters had crossed the Beringia land mass between Asia and North America some 11,500 years ago, and had spread rapidly across North and South America in the space of about 1,000 years, exterminating large game animals as they went. Their most distinctive cultural trait was their fluted points, that is, points with channels, or grooves, on each face.[103]

Did the Clovis people live in Baja California? Logic and some evidence suggest that they, or at least their fluted technology, did, for what would have prevented them from following game south into Baja California when the peninsula was wetter and possessed various lakes and marshes and Pleistocene era animals? Aschmann saw a fluted point at San Joaquin 10 miles south of San Ignacio made of "very fine-grained, almost glassy basalt.[104] Justin Hyland and María de la Luz Gutiérrez identified a broken obsidian fluted point in the collection of rancho El Batequi 4 kilometers north of San Joaquin in the San Ignacio area. Energy dispersive X-ray fluorescence indicates it came from the obsidian source they had located at Valle del Azufre near the Tres Virgines volcanic field close to San Ignacio, a source they considered to have been in use for 10,000 years. This rules out the possibility that the point was transported from further north.[105]

Massey reports longitudinally split bison bones, as well as camel and horse bones and burnt ends near Comondú, and noted mammoth finds near San Luis Gonzaga and El Carrizal. Mammoth remains have been found one kilometer south of rancho San Joaquin. In light of these finds, it is interesting to read the mission era account of Padre José Rotea's finding of the bones of a giant near San Ignacio: "the missionary of Kadakaamang, was an inquiring and sincere man, and, having learned that there was a gigantic skeleton at a place in his Mission (now called San Joaquin), he ordered it dug up, and, in fact, found all the backbone (although with the vertebrae then loosened), a long bone, a rib, several teeth, and especially a large fragment of the skull. All the skeleton might have been found if a dry stream-bed near by had not eaten away the soil by degrees and forced out some bones there. The rib, although not entire, was still about two feet in length."[106] While projectile points have not been found in association with these early animals, the fact that both the bones and fluted points appear in the same area is suggestive and calls for further field work.

Did Clovis people, or at least their distinctive fluted point technology make its way down to the Guaycura nation? There is a reliable report of a fluted point from a rancho collection which may well have come from this area.

Beyond Clovis

But the Clovis first paradigm is under heavy siege by a growing body of evidence that appears to indicate that other peoples had preceded the Clovis in both North and South America. This evidence, summarized by Robson Bonnichsen, of the Center for the First Americans, converges from different directions: the analysis of mtDNA haplogroups, (mitochondrial DNA) some of which suggest a date for the first Americans at 30,000 years ago, skull measurements, which suggest populations closer to those of south Asia, the south Pacific, and Europe than to today's native peoples, the analysis of native American languages which suggest dates as early as 30,000 years ago to 50,000-60,000 years ago.

These findings remain controversial, but the climate is changing with the wide-spread acceptance of Tom Dillehay's dating of a site at Monte Verde, Chile at 14,500 years ago. This creates a more sympathetic setting for those previous and current studies that have had to struggle against the Clovis barrier which Bonnischen described as operating like this: "Proponents of the Clovis-first model for many years cast doubt on all earlier ("pre-Clovis") sites by asserting that the dates must be wrong, the stratigraphy must be mixed up, or the artifacts were really" the products of nature.[107]

There are a number of excavations which appear to break the Clovis barrier: Meadow Croft, Pennsylvania, 12,900 years ago; Cactus Hill, Virginia, 16,000 years ago; an earlier level at Monte Verde, Chile, 30,000 years ago, and so forth. Bonnichsen sums up this new attitude: "At present, most scholars believe that modern *Homo sapiens* appeared in Africa around 120,000

years ago and spread to Europe around 45,000 years ago, and to Australia by 40,000 or 50,000 years ago. The occupation of the Americas has not been viewed in light of this early expansion of our species. There is an increasing body of archaeological, linguistic, and genetic evidence that suggests the Americas were peopled sometime between 30,000 and 50,000 years ago. These new data should be understood in respect to the process that led to the global expansion of modern humans in late-Pleistocene times."[108]

Alternatives have also been suggested to the traditional view that the first Americans came by foot over the Beringia land mass and traveled south between the Laurentide and Cordilleran glaciers. These include a Pacific coastal route in which these people would have followed the coast by boat - boats, in fact, must have been used to populate Australia some 40,000 years ago - a Pacific crossing theory, and even an Atlantic crossing theory.

The First Baja Californians

Ruth Gruhn has suggested that hunters could have made their way from Asia along the coast 50,000, 35,000 and 22,000 years ago,[109] and others feel that the way between the glaciers was open most of the time between 75,000 and 10,000 years ago.[110] Tom Dillehay suggests the first Americans came between 50,000 to 20,000 years ago.[111]

About 40,000 years ago there was a remarkable and dramatic change in humankind which led to more advanced stone and bone tools, wonderful art, more elaborate burials, and so forth, a change that Dillehay called a "cognitive explosion."[112] This explosions seems to have propelled human beings to rapidly travel to other parts of the world, and, as we just saw, the way to the Americas was probably open. But these pioneering Americans would have left little sign of their passing, and with the melting of the glaciers sea levels could have risen 400 feet, inundating their coastal campsites. So today we would have to look for these sites on coastal land that has been lifted up by tectonic activity or off-shore islands.[113] Interestingly enough, Baja California might be an exception to this picture of inundation because of how quickly the depth of the waters off its shores increases, and so it might be a fertile hunting ground to look for the cites of these ancient Americans. [114]

Therefore, the first people in Baja California could have come much earlier than previously thought. If they were traveling by boat along the Pacific coast, they would have naturally come down the west coast of Baja California, presumably stopping along the way. When they reached the Cape region they would have had no way to know that land lay further south. It is likely they would have continued to follow the coast into the Gulf.

All this makes the preliminary report of the excavation of a rock shelter on Espiritú Santo Island not far from La Paz particularly exciting. Harumi Fujita and her co-workers found stone artifacts mixed in a layer of harvested shells that were dated to 40,000 years ago.[115]

Epilogue

The Road to the Future

In the silence of the sierra we can stand in one of the great rock shelters of the Guaycura still carpeted with ashes and feel their presence as if at any moment they will be climbing up the hill, talking and laughing, back from a day of gathering and hunting.

Not far away is Clemente Guillén's and Lamberto Hostell's La Pasión founded a generation before the mission of San Diego in Alta California, and now no more than a scattering of stones. And in the surrounding hills of Chiyá the traditional life of the ranchos still goes on.

And it is only a matter of hours before we are in the midst of our modern world in La Paz or Cabo San Lucas from where we can catch a plane or take Route 1 north to San Diego, the child of the suppression of La Pasión and the exile of the Guaycuras.

But where does this road lead? The world of Cabo San Lucas and San Diego was created but a moment ago, and we can hardly imagine it represents some definitive and final stage of the progress of the human race. Rather, I would like to think that we can look back over the road we have traveled - the many roads like the one we have seen here - preserve what was best in the past, and try to find our way to a kinder, gentler and more sustainable future.

Signs of this kind of future are already appearing. The ranchos of the sierra, for example, now often have solar panels, and there is an occasional communal satellite phone. The traditional building styles could nourish today's natural building movement with its use of straw bale and adobe, as has happened at Ecomundo near Mulegé.[1] Traditional tourism could move in the direction of the kind of ecotourism promoted by Kuyima in the San Ignacio area.[2] Traditional crafts could be revived and developed. And instead of the usual hotels and resorts springing up on the undeveloped Gulf coast of the Guaycura nation, we could be inspired by the vision of Niparajá, which is trying to create a conservation corridor there, and is even restoring part of Guillén's 1720 expedition route.

The real treasures of the Guaycura nation are not to be found in the occasional sale of an arrowhead to a passing tourist, still less by indiscriminately rummaging around in the rock shelters of the Guaycuras, or digging for treasure at the sites of the old missions. We have seen enough of the Guaycura and the missions to know that this kind of treasure-hunting will yield very little of monetary value. But it will result in losing the pages of history that lie waiting to be read by the archaeologists. No. The real treasure of the Guaycura nation is the knowledge we can gain of the Guaycura and their predecessors, of the missions and the world of the traditional ranchos, a knowledge that could inspire us to find a way to a better future.

An Expedition to the Guaycura Nation in the Californias

Notes

Notes on and Sources of the Illustrations

Front Cover

Top left: A Guaycura of San Luis from Baegert's *Observations*.
Top right: Sunset near La Junta.
Middle left: Amidst Baegert's rocks and thorns, an occasional oasis.
Middle right: A rock shelter deep in the sierra.
Lower left: A statue carved out of volcanic material, perhaps of Nuestra Señora de Los Dolores, now at San Luis Gonzaga. It has been suggested (James Francez, *The Lost Treasures of Baja California*) that this statue might even have been at Los Dolores.

Map 1: The Fernando Consag map of 1746. See Chapter 4, note 5.

Plate 1: The Mission Era.
Top left: San Luis Gonzaga today.
Top right: A Guaycuran mother carrying a net bag and wearing a garment of strung carrizo sections.
Middle left: A drawing by Alexander-Jean Noël done in 1769. See Engstrand, *Joaquin Velazquez de Leon*.
Lower right: La Pasión in 1950. Photo taken by Marquis MacDonald and Glenn Oster, *Baja: Land of Lost Missions*.

Plate 2: The Rancho Era.
Top left: 1851 Census of Intermedios. See Ch. 9.
The rest of the photos on this page were taken by Arthur North on his 1906 journey. The bottom 4 are all from the Guaycura nation area. Intermedios cowboys, Making mescal, and Benigno de la Toba and family come from North, "The Story of Magdalena Bay," a picture source that David Richardson suggested to me.

Plate 3: Archaeology.
1a. A rock shelter in the sierra
2a. A crystal point (measured in cms.)

3a. Probably blanks from which finished implements would be made.
1b. Pipe out of sandstone-like material.
2b. Shell jewelry and bone awls from the La Pasión area.
3b. Broken projectile point in place in a rock shelter. It suggests Baegert's arrowhead like a snake's tongue, p. 44.
1c. Perhaps a shaman's curing pipe made out of volcanic material.
2c. Note the detail work at the base of the point.
1d. Cave of the Initiations, p. 106.
2d. Hair cape from the Palmer Collection. Massey, "A Burial Cave."

Plate 4: Archaeology.
1a. The point to the left is quite thin.
2a. A sectioned burial at El Conchalito.
2b. Lines on a rock shelter wall in the La Pasión area.
1d. Part of the Castaldí Collection. Gardner, *Off the Beaten Track*, p. 360.
3d. Lower left, an obsidian point from the La Pasión area.

Table 5: Projectile Point Classifications. Massey, *The Castaldí Collection*, p. 40.

Back Cover
An arroyo after the rain of 2001 close to Tañuetiá, the place of the ducks, the site of La Pasión, and the ducks were still swimming there.

NOTES

Short Orientation

1. Dunne, *Black Robes*, p. 195. Peter Dunne, writing in 1952, could certainly not have had Baegert's *Observations* in mind here.

2. Ibid., p. 187.

Chapter 1

1. Vizcaíno, *Relation*, p. 147. These fish traps might have given rise to the story that Jacobo Baegert was later to refute that there was "a wide pier of heavy piles at the bay of Santa Magdalena reaching out almost half an hour into the

ocean." *Observations*, p. 176.

2. Ibid., p. 148.
3. Burrus, *Jesuit Relations*, p. 104.
4. Venegas, *Empressas apostólicas*, paragraphs numbered 764-767.
5. Crosby, *Antigua California*, p. 294.
6. For more details about Guillén see Mathes, *Clemente Guillén*, p. 20.
7. Venegas, *Obras Californias,* Vol. 5, p. 294.
8. Venegas, *Empressas apostólicas*, n. 881.
9. For the use of the term *el Sur* in the time of the Jesuit missions, see Crosby, *Antigua California*, p. 440, note 36.
10. Dunne, *Black Robes*, p. 471, note 12.
11. The original manuscript is in the National Library of Mexico (BNM), Archivo Franciscano I, 2,1. See Guillén, *1719 Expedition*, p. 31, note 16. This 1719 journal had been attributed in the past to Esteban Rodríguez Lorenzo, the first Captain of the California missions, but this is quite unlikely. He is spoken of in it, as we will see, in the third person, and the author appears to be the same as that of the 1720 expedition, a journey on which Rodríguez was not present. Further, we read in the 1719 diary how the Captain started from Loreto, and on March 5th the third person description changes to "We left San Juan Malibat…," when Guillén arrived on the scene.
12. Arthur North, an accomplished Baja traveler of the early 20th century puts it like this: "Distances are universally overestimated through the habit of the natives in reckoning a mule's gait at two leagues to the hour when, as a matter of fact, over the prevailing rocky *caminos* four miles to the hour would be a more correct estimate." *The Mother of California*, p. 129.
13. Guillén, *1719 Expedition*, p. 32.
14. A look at the route of the expedition indicates that the old Tiguana might have been near Los Batequitos, and considerably west of present-day rancho Tiguana.
15. Guillén, *1719 Expedition*, p. 41, n. 31.
16. For more on the Guaycura signaling devices see Crosby, *Antigua California,* p. 435, note 35

17. Guillén, *1719 Expedition*, p. 59.
18. The original is in BNM Archivo Franciscano 3/49.1. Guillén, *1720 Expedition*, p. 63.
19. Bravo, *Razón de la entrada*, p. 41.
20. It was through the kind offices of Livorio Villalgómez of the Biblioteca Nacional of Mexico City that I got to examine Guillén's diaries, and *Descripción y Toponimia*.
21. Guillén, *1720 Expedition*, p. 65.
22. Ibid., p. 72.
23. Bravo, *Razón de la entrada*, p. 43.
24. Guillén, *1720 Expedition*, p. 77.
25. Venegas, *Empressas apostólicas*, n. 984.
26. Guillén, *1720 Expedition*, p. 79.

Chapter 2

1. Crosby, *Antigua California*, p. 46.
2. Burrus, *Jesuit Relations*, p. 90-91.
3. Guillén, *1744 Informe*.
4. It is sometimes mentioned that Guillén did, indeed, bring some of his Indians from San Juan Malibat to this new mission, but as yet I have been unable to track down the historical sources for this. Los Dolores at Apaté should not be confused with the Los Dolores described by Píccolo in his *1702 Informe del estado* (p. 53, 55) at Yodiviggé, apparently a mission station, or visita, of San Javier, together with the rancherías of Niumqui and Unubbé.
5. Burrus, *Jesuit Relations*, p. 98.
6. Ibid., p. 100.
7. Ibid.
8. Crosby, *Antigua California*, p. 451 n. 63.

9. Ibid., p. 139.

10. Guillén, *1730 Letter to Echeverría*.

11. Guillén, *1730 Informe*.

12. There may have been a road from Los Dolores to San Carlos Aripaquí along the coast, for Guillén places Aripaquí 8 leagues away, and ten years later, according to the author of *Descripción y Toponimia*, a road did, indeed, go along that stretch of the Gulf coast.

13. Guillén sounds like he is probably replacing the original chapel at Apaté with a more elaborate church. If this is so, he could not have been seriously intending to move the mission at this point. The other possibility is that the church he is referring to is being built at La Pasión, and he has his move to the sierra already in mind, but that is not very likely, as we will see from the remarks of Visitador General José de Utrera later. The ruins of what appears to be the façade of the church, according to Aguilar, *Misiones,* p. 95, 126, faces the Gulf. There also appears to be a dwelling north of it, and in back of the church are the walls of outbuildings.

14. Crosby, *Antigua California*, p. 312.

15. Taraval, *The Indian Uprising*, p. 11.

16. Ibid., p. 38.

17. Ibid., p. 60-61.

18. Ibid., p. 75.

19. Crosby, *Antigua California*, p. 231-232.

20. Taraval, *The Indian Uprising*, p. 90.

21. Ibid., p. 120.

22. Ibid., p. 132. Why this name would be edifying I have no idea.

23. Ibid., p. 133-4.

24. Ibid., p. 141.

25. Ibid., p. 146.

26. Ibid., p. 164. This appears to be the incident that Baegert will refer to many years later, but put at 1747 instead of 1737. (Letters, p. 178.)

27. Ibid., p. 178.
28. Ibid., p. 157.
29. Ibid., p. 158.
30. Ibid., p. 252-3.
31. The Eguí may have been a name that he took from a Guaycuran place name. Even today there is a rancho Agui Nuevo, and in the itinerary of Lizasoáin, one of the places he passed in the middle of the Guaycuran territory was called Gui.
32. Venegas, *Empressas apostólicas*, ns. 1293-1294.
33. Crosby, *Antigua California*, p. 502, n. 21.

Chapter 3

1. Ducrue, *Ducrue's Account*, p. 9-10.
2. Crosby, *Antigua California*, p. 407.
3. Ducrue, *Ducrue's Account*, p. 167.
4. Hostell, *1743 Letter to his father*, p. 165.
5. Ibid., p. 167-168.
6. Hostell, *1744 Informe*, p. 160.
7. Ibid., p. 240.
8. Ibid., p. 241.
9. Barco, *Historia natural*, p. 239.
10. Hostell, *1744 Informe*, p. 241.
11. Ibid.
12. Ducrue, *Ducrue's Account*, p. 11.
13. Barco, *Historia natural*, p. 407.
14. Píccolo, *Informe del estado,* p. 305.
15. Guillén, *1744 Informe*, p. 4. Guillén's report of 1744, the original of which is in

the Bancroft Library in Berkeley, bears a title on a separate page by someone other than Guillén, himself. It reads in the upper righthand corner: "Californias" and then "Mission de N. S^{a}. de los Dolores en la Nacion Waicura Su P Missionero actual el P^{e}. Clemente Guillen." This separate title page appears to match the one found on Hostell's report on San Luis Gonzaga of the same year: "Californias Mission de San Luis Gonzaga en la Nacion Waicura Su P. Missionero actual el P^{e}. Lamberto Hostell (Burrus, *Jesuit Relations*, p. 252, note 1) The original in this case is in the Mateu Collection in Barcelona. The two reports were probably together at one point, perhaps in the hands of Burriel, before they wandered to their present destinations. Guillén's was written on August 27, 1744, and Hostell's on Sept. 28, 1744. The English translators of Francisco Javier Clavijero's 1789 *Storia della California* have Guillén writing a *Noticias de la Misión de Los Dolores del Sur de California, alias S. Juan Talibat a Liqui y de sus pueblos Concepción, Encarnación, Trinidad, Redención, y Resurrección*. (p. 219) They also have Hostell writing a similar document: *Noticia y Descripción de la misión de San Luis Gonzaga y de sus Pueblos, S. Juan Nepomuceno y la Magdalena*, (p. 337) and Venegas using these manuscripts. It is likely that the references here refer to the informes of 1744, used not by Venegas in his original work, which was completed before this time, but by Burriel in his revision of it. (p. 377 and part III, XXIII, p. 547 in the edition of Burriel in *Obras Californias.*)

16. Barco, *Historia natural*, p. 253-4. Miguel del Barco was augmenting and correcting Miguel Venegas' *Empressas apostólicas* which Venegas had finished by August 5, 1739, and which had been edited and transformed by Andrés Marcos Burriel in order to bring it up to 1752, and which was finally published in Madrid in 1757.

17. Ibid., p. 263.

18. The original is in BNM, Archivo Franciscano 4/62.1.

19. Rodríguez, *Descripción*, p. 14-15.

20. Ibid., p. 20.

21. Hostell, *1744 Informe*, p. 241.

22. Ibid., p. 242.

23. Ibid., p. 242-244.

24. Burrus, *Jesuit Relations*, p. 137-8.

25. Ibid., p. 206-7.

26. Ibid., p. 221.

27. This is probably a reflection of the pastoral norms enforced in the Mexican Province under which the Eucharist could not be kept in the mission churches, or brought nearby to the sick, or taken by horseback to them when they were further away. They were to be brought to the Church, all this under the threat of excommunication for fear the Eucharist would be desecrated. Baegert, *Letters*, p. 106.

28. Hostell, *1744 Informe*, p. 243.

29. Barco, *1744 Informe*, in *Historia natural*, p. 423.

30. Crosby, *Antigua California*, p. 258 and p. 493, n. 156.

31. Ibid., p. 479, n. 105.

32. Ibid., p. 492, n. 133.

33. Barco, *Historia natural*, p. 266.

34. Mathes, *Clemente Guillén,* p. 26.

35. Ducrue, *Ducrue's Account*, p. 11. Burros, *Jesuit Relations*, p. 236, n. 20. Mathes has Bernardo Zumziel helping Hostell establish Los Dolores at La Pasión in 1737. Mathes, *Las Misiones*, p. 89. But this is unlikely since it appears clear that the mission was not moved to La Pasión until 1741, and other sources have Zumziel arriving in California in 1744. *Jesuit Relations*, p. 69.

36. Ducrue, *Ducrue's Account*, p. 9.

37. Crosby, *Antigua California*, p. 405.

38. Barco, *Historia natural*, p. 263, and note 53.

39. W. Michael Mathes places him reconnoitering the Bahía de Santa María Magdalena in 1750 to once again see if it could serve as a port or as a settlement. *Clemente Guillén,* p.89.

40. Baegert, *Observations*, p. 126.

41. The dating of some of these documents is a bit confused and confusing. Burrus, in his *Jesuit Relations*, gives the date of Hostell's *1744 Informe* as 1748, and his letter to Burscheid as January 17, 1750, when it was probably January 17, 1758 because in *Jesuit Relations*, p. 252, n. 15, he tells us that the original source was the Austro-German mission magazine *Welt-Bott* in which is found the following note: "N. 763. The fourth letter of Rev. Fr. Joseph Burscheid of the same order

and province, written from the same place as the previous three letters and on the same day, month and year." And Hostell's Letter to his Father is 1758 instead of 1750 because it mentions his ministry of confirmation which took place in 1755.

42. Hostell, *1758 Letter to his father*, p. 173.

43. Hostell, *1758 Letter to Burscheid*, p. 246.

44. Ibid., p. 246-7.

45. Ibid., p. 250. It is easier to understand the tabu against eating wildcat meat, perhaps in terms of the animal's spirit somehow possessing the child, than it is to comprehend what Hostell meant by killing the first-born child "in order to preserve its life and form."

46. Barco, *Historia Natural*, p. 317-8.

47. Baegert, *Letters*, p. 225-6.

48. Ibid., p. 227.

Chapter 4

1. For biographical and bibliographical information see the translators' introductions and notes in *Obervations* and *Letters*.

2. Crosby, *Antigua California*, p. 404.

3. Baegert, *Letters*, p. 21.

4. Ibid., p. 86.

5. Early missionary maps add virtually nothing to our knowledge of our area. Consag's 1746 map, (see Map 1) a copy of which is in León-Portilla's edition of Barco's *Historia natural,* (and the original is in the Karpinski Collection, n. 558, in the Archivo General de Indias in Seville) shows, for example, San Carlos on the coast, and the islands of San José and San Francisco. There were, in fact, two Consag maps, one showing the peninsula north of our area, and this one showing the entire peninsula. Inland we find Dolores, and two names mutilated by a crease in the map. One is near the west coast and reads: _ia? de Nuestra Señora de Loreto, perhaps an error for Bahía de Santa María Magdalena. The other appears right below Dolores and reads: Mon(t?)…n. The best guess in Montalvan. Venegas tells us of an Isla Montalva(n?) in the bay of Los Dolores,

which also appeared on one of the 1857 maps of José María Esteva that accompanied his *Decreto sobre la pesca de perla* as Montalvan. It is likely that Consag's map shows it because it was known to the pearlers. On a modern map Isla Montalvan migrates to Cape Montalvo and Cerro Montalvo north of Los Dolores, and Isla Montalvan becomes Isla Habana. On the 1788 map that appears in Clavigero's history we find San Luis Gonzaga and shows M(ar)ia Addolorata i.e., Our Lady of Sorrows, with Tagnuetia directly below, which is our Tañuetiá. Bill Frank of the Huntington Library was kind enough to check some of these readings for me.

6. Baegert, *Letters*, p. 151.

7. The first edition of *Observations* appeared in 1771, and a second edition was corrected by Baegert before his death in 1772, and appeared in 1773. Part of Baegert's motivation for writing the book was to counteract unfounded stories about Baja California that were circulating in Europe, more specifically, it appears, in the preface to the French translation of Burriel's edition of Venegas. See Murr's "Refutation" in Ducrue, *Ducrue's Account*. Baegert's Letters were not published until 1982. Did Baegert have the letters he wrote to his brother when he wrote his *Observations*? It appears unlikely if we compare incidents that are in both places, for example, the boat incident, *Observations*, p. 150, and *Letters*, p. 225-6, the Ascension Day murder, *Observations*, p. 150, *Letters*, p. 225, or the story of Clemente the Cow, *Observations*, p. 90, *Letters*, p. 229, we see the same pattern emerge. In the *Letters* the story is more graphic and detailed, while in *Observations* it is blander, more general and abbreviated, omitting facts that Baegert would probably have added if he had the letters before him.

8. Baegert, *Letters,* p. 128.

9. Baegert, *Observations*, p. 25.

10. Baegert had had health problems in Europe, and after some relapses in the early part of his stay, grew healthier and even gained weight. Baegert, *Letters*, p. 198.

11. Baegert, *Observations*, p. 24.

12. Baegert, *Letters*, p. 129.

13. Baegert, *Letters*, p. 157.

14. Ibid., p. 162.

15. Baegert, *Letters*, p. 170-1. Baegert describes the house's foundation being cut into bedrock so it is possible that its location could still be found.

16. Ibid., p. 210, 212.

17. Utrera, *Nuevo estado,* p. 108. We see an echo of this visit in the discussion Utrera had with Baegert about the size of the missions in the Mexican province. *Letters*, p. 187.

18. Ibid., p. 109. Miguel del Barco places the loss of the Los Dolores canoe in 1750 vs. other sources that places it in 1759, for example, Clavigero, *History*, p. 337. And more importantly, Baegert puts it "last year" in his letter of 1761. *Letters*, p. 225. Here we see that there was still a canoe at Apaté in 1755. A study of the ruins of La Pasión shows a simple rectangular building, (Aguilar, *Misiones*, p. 128.) divided into three sections. The text (p. 95) says two sections. Nearby is a small square space enclosed by low walls. It is unclear whether this building is what Utrera saw. We are left with the impression, though, that the physical plant of the mission at Apaté was more elaborate than its second foundation here at La Pasión.

19. Baegert, *Letters*, p. 199.

20. Baegert, *Observations*, p. 59.

21. Ibid., p. 124-5.

22. Ibid., p. 120.

23. This is probably not the statue that is to be found in the church today, which is of Our Lady of Sorrows rather crudely carved out of some sort of volcanic material.

24. Baegert, *Letters*, p. 212.

25. Baegert, *Observations*, p. 125.

26. Ibid.

27. Baegert, *Letters*, p. 152.

28. Baegert, *Observations*, p. 133.

29. Ibid., p. 143.

30. Baegert, *Letters*, p. 165.

31. Baegert, *Observations*, p. 143.

32. Baegert, *Letters*, p. 177.

33. Baegert, *Observations*, p. 146.
34. Ibid., p. 147.
35. Baegert, *Letters*, p. 191-2.
36. Baegert, *Observations*, p. 147.
37. Ibid., p. 26.
38. Baegert, *Letters*, p. 212-3.
39. Ibid., p. 160.
40. Ibid., p. 212.
41. Baegert, *Observations*, p. 85.
42. Baegert, *Letters*, p. 231.
43. Ibid., p. 155.
44. Baegert, *Observations*, p. 143.
45. Baegert, *Letters*, p. 150.
46. Baegert, *Observations*, p. 150-1.
47. Baegert, *Letters*, p. 170.
48. Baegert, *Observations*, p. 38.
49. Ibid., p. 37.
50. Baegert, *Letters*, p. 130.
51. Baegert, *Observations*, p. 39.
52. Baegert, *Letters*, p. 136.
53. Ibid., p. 151.
54. Ibid., p. 128.
55. Baegert, *Observations*, p. 90.
56. Ibid.
57. Ibid., p. 77.

58. Crosby, *Antigua California*, p. 404.

59. Baegert, *Observations*, p. 140.

60. Ibid., p. 21-2.

61. Hostell, *1758 Letter to his father*, p. 173.

62. Baegert, *Letters*, p. 153.

63. Ibid., p. 202, 231, *Observations*, p. 176.

64. Baegert, *Letters*, p. 154.

65. Ibid., p. 193.

66. Baegert, *Observations*, p. 56.

67. Ibid., p. 55.

68. Baegert, *Letters*, p. 163.

69. Baegert, *Observations*, p. 57-8.

70. Baegert, *Letters*, p. 137.

71. Baegert, *Observations*, p. 53.

72. Ibid., p. 176.

73. Ibid., p. 53.

74. Ibid., p. 87, 180.

75. Ibid., p. 60.

76. Ibid., p. 88.

77. Ibid., p. 63.

78. Ibid., p. 88.

79. Ibid., p. 64.

80. Ibid., p. 65.

81. Ibid., p. 84. Perhaps like the fragmented point in Plate 3: 3b.

82. Ibid., p. 93.

83. Baegert, *Letters*, p. 177.

84. Baegert, *Observations*, p. 59.

85. Ibid., p. 60.

86. Ibid., p. 70.

87. Ibid., p. 60.

88. Baegert, *Observations*, p. 85.

89. Ibid., p. 62.

90. Ibid., p. 69. In *Letters*, p. 143, we read that the Indians are frying certain foods "on hot planks," which probably refers to the same process, and planks should be understood as coals shaken with the seeds in woven trays.

91. Ibid., p. 66.

92. Ibid., p. 69.

93. Ibid., p. 40.

94. Ibid., p. 23.

95. Baegert, *Letters*, p. 196.

96. Ibid., p. 176.

97. Ibid., p. 137.

98. Baegert, *Observations*, p. 80.

99. Ibid., p. 81.

100. Ibid., p. 83.

101. Ibid., p. 87.

102. Ibid., p. 93.

103. Ibid., p. 124.

104. Baegert, *Letters*, p. 179.

105. Baegert, *Observations*, p. 88-9.

106. Ibid., p. 80.

107. Baegert, *Letters*, p. 202.

108. Baegert, *Observations*, p. 74.

109. Baegert, Letters, p. 223.

110. Baegert, *Observations*, p. 62.

111. Ibid., p. 58.

112. Baegert, *Letters*, p. 201.

113. Ibid., p. 203.

114. Baegert, *Observations*, p. 78.

115. Ibid., p. 88.

116. Ibid., p. 90.

117. Baegert, *Letters*, p. 223-4.

118. Aschmann, *The Natural and Human History*, p. 70.

119. Baegert, *Observations*, p. 95.

120. Ibid., p. 91.

121. Ibid., p. 88.

122. Ibid.

123. Ibid., p. 73.

124. Ibid., p. 72.

125. Ibid., p. 74.

126. Baegert, *Letters*, p. 141.

127. Baegert, *Observations*, p. 55.

128. Ibid., p. 56.

129. Ibid., p. 53.

130. Ibid., p. 88.

131. Ibid., p. 121.

132. Baegert, *Letters*, p. 154.

133. Mission life here can be compared to the picture of life at San José de Comondú that Harry Crosby has pieced together. See *Antigua California*, pp. 197ff and 201ff.

134. Baegert, *Letters*, p. 176.

135. Ibid., p. 223.

136. Baegert, *Observations*, p. 62.

137. Baegert, *Letters*, p. 138.

138. Crosby, *Antigua California*, p. 421.

139. Lizasoáin, *Noticia*.

Chapter 5

1. Massey, "Tribes and Languages," p. 303.
2. Taraval, *The Indian Uprising*, p. 38.
3. León-Portilla, *La California Mexicana*, p. 101ff.
4. Laylander, *The Linguistic Prehistory*. See, for example, the two letters of Nicolás Tamaral of 1730 to Padre Visitador José Echeverría on mission San Joseph de las Coras where he uses the phrase, "Cora, or Pericú." See Tamaral, *1730 Informe*, Burrus, *Jesuit Relations*, p. 149ff. But for a counter argument, see Crosby, *Antigua California*, p. 430 note 60.
5. Laylander, p. 22.
6. Hostell, *1744 Informe*, p. 242.
7. Ibid., p. 252, note 10. The Spanish reads: "Habitan este lugar los gentiles huchipoeyes. Con éstos se juntaron allá los de Ika, Añubeve y de Ticudadei. A todos halló el ministro bien inclinados a oír el santo evangelio, como lo manifestaron por el intérprete de su lenguage, mui distinto del idioma waicuro." Hostell, *1744 Informe*, p. 264.
8. Guillén, *1719 Expedition*, p. 52.
9. Hostell, *1743 Letter to his father*, p. 167-8.

10. Hostell, *1758 Letter to Burscheid*, p. 250.
11. Baegert, *Observations*, p. 95, note.
12. Ibid., p. 55.
13. Taraval, *The Indian Uprising*, p. 120.
14. Ibid., p. 121.
15. Ibid., p. 158.
16. Guillén, *1720 Expedition*, p. 64.
17. Ibid., p. 77.
18. Ibid., p. 79-80.
19. León-Portilla, *Testimonios*, p. 101, note 25. See further the comments of Don Laylander at: www.innerexplorations.com/bajatext/don.htm
20. Guillén, *1720 Expedition*, p. 80.
21. Crosby, *Antigua California*, p. 112.
22. Venegas, *Empressas apostólicas*, n. 1303.
23. Ibid., n. 1304.
24. Ibid., n. 1305.
25. Massey, "Tribes and Languages," p. 277, 279.
26. Rodríguez, *Descripción*, p. 13.
27. Venegas, *Empressas apostólicas*, n. 1554.
28. Rodríguez, *Descripción*, p. 14.
29. Massey, "Tribes and Languages," p. 275.
30. Barco, *Noticia*, p. 243.
31. Utrera, *Nuevo estado*, p. 108.
32. Baegert, *Letters*, p. 156.
33. Baegert, *Observations*, p. 96.

34. Ibid., p. 155.

35. Ibarra, *Vocablos*, p. 79. But this sounds somewhat dubious, and enemies might be more accurate.

36. Gursky, "On the Historical Position of Waikuri."

37. Laylander, *The Linguistic Prehistory*, p. 68.

38. Swadesh, "Lexicostatistic Classification."

Chapter 6

1. Engelhardt, *Missions*, p. 305.

2. Ibid., p. 306. By way of comment Engelhardt cites Elliott Coues who wrote: "If in 1821 (i.e., the Mexican revolution) the Mexicans remembered the arrogant assumption in the last clause - 'que nacieron para callar y obedecer, y no discurrir, ni opinar en los altos asuntos del Gobierno,' - they can hardly be blamed."

3. Crosby, *Antigua California*, p. 383.

4. Baegert, *Observations*, p. 159.

5. Ibid., p. 118.

6. Ibid., p. 171.

7. Ibid.

8. Ducrue, *Ducrue's Account*, Ch. V

9. This was certainly not in my mind when my wife and I were married in the Mission of San Diego some 200 years later.

10. Palóu, *Historical Memoirs*, p. 40-1.

11. Ibid., p. 53-55.

12. Ibid., p. 56.

13. In 1976 a fishing boat trawling from Loreto to Juncalito caught a bell in its nets, which is now in the museum of Loreto with a plaque claiming that it was a bell from the wreck of the San José. If this were so, then it could have been one of the bells of Los Dolores, but the inscription on the bell, which is quite abraded,

probably reads San Agustín, and there is no way of knowing where it came from. Why it was attributed to the San José I don't know. There are various stories about the bell and where it was found, for example, off the island of Espiritú Santo, (see also O'Neil, *Loreto*, p. 262) but the most likely version, which I heard from Quintín Muñoz, is that the bell was caught in the net near Loreto and dragged for a while before the fishermen realized what they had.

14. Palóu, *Historical Memoirs*, p. 63.
15. Ibid., p. 86.
16. Ibid., p. 86-7.
17. Engstrand, *Joaquin Velazquez*.
18. Palóu, *Historical Memoirs*, p. 86.
19. Ibid., p. 143.
20. Ibid., p. 145.
21. Ibid., p. 146.
22. For more on Juan Crisóstomo de Castro see Crosby, *Antigua California*, p. 415.
23. Palóu, *Historical Memoirs*, p. 148.
24. Ibid., p. 167.
25. Probably the same José Dominguez described in Crosby, *Antigua California*, p. 416.
26. Moreno y Castro, "Sobre el mal trato."
27. Palóu, *Historical Memoirs*, p. 177.
28. Mora, *Los Informes*, p. 26.
29. Ibid., p. 28.
30. Hovens, "The Origins," p. 17.
31. Ibid. See also ten Kate's article.
32. The Salesio surname was apparently taken by some of the Indians of San Luis, and recently we heard a story in La Paz of someone having descended from the Guaycuras. Ibarra, *Vocablos*, p. 147.

33. Diguet, Fotografias del Mayar y de California. 1893-1900.

Chapter 7

1. If we adjust these figures for the 9 boys who lost their fathers, and imagine they were orphans, then we have 92 instead of 83 families, and the children per family drops to 3.5.

2. If we look at some of the rancherías, about which we can presume that most of the people were baptized by 1730, we see higher numbers, but still lower than what Cook suggests. Dolores, itself, has a population of 60 people. If we take Atembabichí, which was north on the coast not far from Dolores, and imagine that this ranchería had been completely baptized, we still see only 35 people. For Quaquihué up in the sierra above Apaté, the number is 39, and in Cunupaquí, where we know Guillén had converted some of the people during his expedition of 1719, and ministered to in 1730, we come out with 89. A place like Aripaquí (San Carlos) only shows 10 people, but Guillén tells us in this report that they had been attacked by the Cubí. If we average the figures for Dolores, Atembabichí, Quaquihué and Cunupaquí, we arrive at around 55 people per ranchería, and if we correct this for those who have already died by 22%, we arrive at a pre-contact figure of 67 per ranchería. This appears too high if Guillén's estimate of 1,300-1,400 for the whole area is sound.

3. This is significantly above Guillén's estimate, but well below the 4,690 we would obtain by estimating each ranchería at 67. Baegert will estimate that his Ikas never had more than 500, but if this westside group had that many, then our 2,380 is within bounds.

4. Aschmann puts the average number of people per square mile at .97. See *The Central Desert*, p. 178.

5. The Los Dolores baptismal register, created after the Isleño Pericue, had torn to pieces the old one of San Juan Malibat, showed that that mission from 1715 to 1722 had had 114 baptisms, while 3 pages of the old book that had survived showed 101 baptisms. Guillén, *1744 Informe*. Unfortunately, the registers from Los Dolores and San Luis Gonzaga have disappeared.

6. Baegert, *Letters*, p. 193.

7. Lassépas, *De la Colonización*, p. 107.

8. Cook, "The Extent," p. 18.

9. Ibid., p. 24.

10. Estimates of mortality run as high as 90%. Adovasio, *The First Americans*, p. 31.

11. Ducrue, *Ducrue's Account*, p. 155.

12. The Jesuit missionary Julián de Mayoraga was the representative of the Inquisition in Baja California, although just what he would have found to do is another matter. Crosby, *Antigua California*, p. 486, n. 16. Baegert leaves us the impression that the Indians were considered so backward in their understanding of Christian doctrine that one could not really be concerned about the heresies they might utter. The cases of the Inquisition in Mexico ranged from dealing with Protestants and Jews to witchcraft and immoral behavior. Águeda, *Catálogo de Textos*.

13. Baegert, *Observations*, p. 203. The comparison would have even been better to the Bushmen, for the Hottentots were pastoralists.

14. van der Post, *The Lost World*; Bjerre, *Kalahari*; Thomas, *The Harmless People*. The preceding comparisons have been drawn from these books, and more scientific accounts demonstrate the remarkable grasp of the San hunters of the world of animals and their behavior, and the elaborate social customs like the sharing of meat that ensure the unity and harmony of the band, as well as the child care practices which can be compared to Baegert's statements of the neglect of the Guaycura children. *Observations*, p. 76. See Lee, *Kalahari*, especially the following articles: Nicholas Blurton Jones and Melvin J. Konner, "!Kung Knowledge of Animal Behavior"; Lorna Marshall, "Sharing, Talking, and Giving"; and Patricia Draper, "Social and Economic Constraints on Child Life among the !Kung."

15. Baegert, *Observations*, p. 76.

16. Baegert, *Letters*, p. 205, 217.

17. Ibid., p. 225.

18. Sales, *Observation*, p. 61, 197 note 50.

19. Sullivan, *Salvation Outside the Church?*, p. 88ff.

20. Baegert knew the work of his fellow Jesuit, José de Acosta (1540-1600) who had championed the rationality of the Indians and urged that they should not be excluded from communion. *Letters*, p. 155. But Acosta apparently also allowed the use of force in regard to free-roaming savages in order to bring them to Christianity. He also rather remarkably suggested before the exploration of the

Bering Sea that the Indians had come overland from Asia perhaps some 2,000 years before the arrival of the Spaniards. Adovasio, *The First Americans*, p. 6-7.

21. Baegert, *Letters*, p. 92.
22. Ducrue, *Ducrue's Account*, p. 169-170.
23. Baegert, *Letters*, p. 217.
24. Ibid., p. 219.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid., p. 220.
27. Ibid., p. 221.

Chapter 8

1. Palóu, *Historical Memoirs*, p. 41.
2. Lassépas, *De la Colonización*, p. 193.
3. A later copy still exists in the Pablo Martínez Archive in La Paz. This copy made by Francisco Betancort on August 31, 1847 had been made from a copy of Felipe Barris (Barri) on July 16, 1775, and the grant, itself, is dated April 29, 1769.
4. Harry Crosby adds to this picture. Romero mistakenly called Luis instead of Felipe in one document, had been born in Río Chico, Sonora in 1721, and was described as a mestizo. He enlisted in Loreto in 1740, went with Padre Consag to explore the Río Colorado in 1746, and was a sergeant at the Real de Santa Ana in 1768. Romero had held an earlier grant for land at San José de Cabo. Crosby, *Antigua California*, p. 420.
5. Mora, *Los Informes*, p. 56, note 6.
6. Crosby, *Antigua California*, p. 285, 502 note 101; Baegert, *Letters*, p. 188.
7. Lassépas, *De la Colonización*, p. 193. And Pablo Martínez tells us that most of Romero's descendants had clear or greenish eyes. *Guía Familiar*, p. 28.
8. Engelhardt, *Missions*, p. 568.
9. Crosby, *Last of the Californios*, p. 54-5.

10. Ibid., p. 55.
11. Sales, *Observations*, pp. 87, 90.
12. Longinos, *Journal*, p. 28.
13. Mathes, *Clemente Guillén*, p. 90.
14. Crosby, *Last of the Californios*, p. 75-6.
15. Engelhardt, *Missions*, p. 683.
16. Mathes, *Baja California Cartográfica*, p. 7.
17. Ibid., p. 8.
18. North, *Mother of California*, p. 64.
19. Smith, *A Forty-Niner*, p. 486.
20. Ibid., p. 486-7.
21. Ibid., p. 487.
22. Beal, *Reconnaissance*.

Chapter 9

1. Padrón de habitantes de la jurisdicción de intermedios desde San Luis hasta San Hilario correspondiente al año de 1851. (PMA, II-V-47/L8-6FF, 0460)
2. Crosby, *Last of the Californios*, p. 120.
3. Veredas was probably near San Gregorio where the tax roll of 1854 places Murillo.
4. Mathes, *Baja California Cartográfica*, p. 30.
5. Lassépas, *De la Colonización*, p. 110.
6. Engelhardt, *Missions*, p. 692-3.
7. 1216. Intermedios, Julio 17, de 1854, Benigno de la Toba, Juez de Paz, de Intermedios, da a conocer a José Ma. Blancarte, Jefe Sup. Político de la Baja California, la lista de las personas que tienen pendientes el pago del Canon Territorial. (PMA, II-V-54-Bis-L7-2FF).

8. McDonald, *Baja*, p. 157.

9. North, *The Mother of California*, p. 81.

10. Mathes, *Clemente Guillén*, p. 91.

11. J. Ross Browne, *Resources*, p. 52. Was the Gulf road described by the author of *Descripción* still being used?

12. Gabb, *Exploration*, p. 49.

13. Ibid., p. 91.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid., p. 92.

16. Ibid., p. 93.

17. Stickeen, Janes, *The Adventures*, p. 32-3.

18. Ibid., p. 84.

19. Weber, *The Peninsula*, p. 73.

20. Mathes, *Clemente Guillén*, p. 91-2. Family legend has it that my grandfather, Francis Xavier, ran away and joined the Navy, and sailed with the Great White Fleet. I would like to think of him here at Magdalena Bay.

21. Nelson, *Lower California*, p. 39-42.

22. North, *The Mother of California*, p. 64. A large format map, Carte de la Cote de l'Amérique sur l'océan pacifique septentrionel, accompanies Duflot de Mofras' 1844 book. In our area we find from north to south on the Gulf Coast: Agua Verde, Anse S. Marta, Anse Tembabiche, Isla Morena, Punta Roja, B^{e} Los Dolores, Anse Barras (Burros), Punta de San Abarito (for Evaristo?), Punta Hechado (in the text, Mechado for Mechudo), San Eulogio, Saint Cart(as)? On the Pacific side from north to south: Jacinto, Santa Cruz, Re(b?)anbros, Jesús María, Aguajitos, El Cayo, C'da(r?) Baternes, Misión, N.S. Los Dolores, M^{on} S. Luis Gonzaga. (In the text, San Luiz détruit, probably meaning Los Dolores in ruins.) I had the pleasure of seeing this map through the kind assistance of Joseph Bray at the Mandeville Collection of the University of California at San Diego.

23. Carl Beal, exploring for oil in 1920-21, traveled extensively throughout Baja California, and left us a map which shows in our area Rancho Colorado, as we saw, as well as a Tepetate, and an Agua Blanca, which have disappeared from modern maps. Beal, *Reconnaissance*. Baegert has told us about the roads

reduced to rocks by erosion, and this is perhaps where the tepetate, or bedrock, name came from. Homer Aschmann, in "The Baja California Highway," http://math.ucr. edu/ftm/bajaPages/BajaRoadPages/ Route1/RoadHistory.html gives details of the history of the peninsula's roads, and he mentions that he had in his possession a typescript of a study Beal did for the U.S. Army on the roads of Baja California called "Baja California - Route Studies," written in 1922 that covered 27 single-spaced pages.

24. North, *Camp and Camino*, p. 234.

25. Ibid., p. 222.

26. Belden, *Baja California*, p. 47. See note 23.

27. Bancroft, *The Flight of the Least Petrel*, p. 214-16.

28. Gerhard, *Lower California Guidebook*, p. 206-7.

29. Lewis, *Baja Sea Guide*, p. 242.

30. Hancock, *Baja California*, p. 141. Gerhard, *Lower California Guidebook*, map 14.

31. Wortman, *Bouncing*, p. 114.

32. Gerhard, *Lower California Guidebook*, p. 167.

33. This is unlikely. As we have seen, there has been no mention of a chapel between Dolores and San Luis Gonzaga. Rather, San Luis Gonzaga, itself, remained open.

34. MacDonald, *Baja*, p. 114-16.

35. Barco, *Historia natural*, p. 277. Crosby, *Antigua California*, p. 274-5.

36. Carrizo was probably used as a thatch early on, (Crosby, *Antigua California*, p. 497 note 30) but this was the same carrizo used by the Guaycuras to make their arrow shafts, not the larger variety seen today. Baegert tells us that the roof of his house was thatched with palm leaves that had been imported from the mainland, then covered with reed mats, and finally with soil and mortar. *Letters*, p. 171.

37. Crosby, *Antigua California*, p. 242, 274.

38. See the video companion to this book, "An Expedition to the Guaycura Nation."

39. Crosby, *Antigua California*, p. 284.

40. Crosby, *Last of the Californios*, p. 134, 140, 142.

41. Ibid., p. 178.

42. Ibid., p. 180.

Chapter 10

1. Someone collected projectile points in the Toris area which are now in the Anthropological Museum in La Paz.

2. Massey, "Brief Report," p. 350-351.

3. Massey, *Cultural History*, p. 354. Based on the excavation of BC 68 and BC 69 at La Paz Bay, Massey writes: "it appears likely that the Pericú of the historic period may have been the descendants of groups of shell-gathering and fishing people who found their way into the peninsula at an early date… There is nothing in the archaeology or historic ethnographic data to indicate that any of the (other) tribes of the Cape region were skilled fishermen." (p. 354) We might make an exception for the west coast bands at Magdalena Bay, perhaps connected with our Uchití-Cubí.

4. Ibid.

5. Hancock, *Baja California*, pp.142, 143

6. The aboriginal artifacts of Baja California that have come down to us include projectile points and other stone objects like knife blades, blanks from which presumably finished objects would have been made, manos and metates, pipes, and so forth. There are also artifacts of other materials like bone awls, shell tools and ornaments, palm fiber and other materials used for netting, baskets, hats, etc., wood implements and carrizo arrow shafts. There are collections of these artifacts at various places in the peninsula and beyond, but as yet there is no common registry. Here is, no doubt, a very imperfect list: The Anthropological Museum in La Paz. Extensive collections, including material from the excavations near Comondú carried out by Massey and Tuohy. Tuohy, *Culture History*, p. 59. Most of this material is fragments of carrizo; there is also a small collection of projectile points from the Toris area. Loreto museum: Extensive collections of native, mission and rancho artifacts. Mulegé museum: A good collection of projectile points on display, as well as other Indian artifacts, including a basket that looks like it might have been used as a hat. The Castaldí Collection of Mulegé: a large collection of projectile points. We will look at William Massey's study of it later. The actual collection has disappeared. See note 55. Rancho El

Batequi: A large collection mostly of projectile points. Rancho Santa Marta: A collection of projectile points and other objects. Berger, *Almost an Island*, p. 159. Another collection is at Rancho San Francisco. All these ranches are in the San Ignacio area. There is a museum in Ensenada, and Gardner (*Hovering Over Baja*, p. 23-4) mentions a Goldbaum Collection of artifacts at Ensenada whose location is now unknown. Museo del Hombre, Mexicali. Various Pericú area artifacts, shells, beads, etc. (DuShane, "Artifacts," p. 69) Also a stone bowl from the Comondú area. (Alvarez, "Stone Bowls," p. 32) The Anthropological Museum of Mexico City has artifacts from the painted caves in the Sierra de San Francisco, (Meighan, *Indian Art*, p. 72) the Palmer Collection and some skeletal material from Massey's excavations. The San Diego Museum of Man has various objects, including lithics, seashells and pottery fragments, from Buena Vista and the Cabo San Lucas areas. The Phoebe Hearst Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley has William Massey's collection of lithic objects, as well as the four atlatls he excavated. It apparently also has some materials from the Comondú area. (Tuohy, *Culture History*, p. 58.) The Museum of Man in Paris: Skeletal materials, lithics, shells and fiber objects from the work of León Diguet. (Tyson, "Artifacts," p. 19) And Pablo Martínez leaves us two intriguing stories: "In Cape Pulmo on a large rock 7 to 8 meters in length, facing the sea, there can be seen something which is an inscription with heavy characters, among which many believe there are Gothic, Hebraic and Chaldean symbols." "The author of this work has seen, on a solitary monolith on a great plain at the foot of the Sierra de la Giganta, engravings, not paintings of some figures of animals. The polished stone is in a convex form and on a previously prepared surface there is sculptured, with a degree of perfection, a deer, a tortoise, and a lizard." (Martínez, p. 29-30)

7. Eric Ritter, "The Description," discovered a number of rock circles and other aboriginal rock structures in the Conception Bay area. Similar structures might exist in the Guaycura nation, but they have not been reported, or probably even looked for.

8. Taraval, for example, writes of the Monquí: "I am inclined to believe that this is a branch of the Vaicuro and that the latter comprises three main groups, the Huchitíes, the Periuues, and the Loretans. Although they appear to differ radically yet they have certain rites and customs in common; however, they speak totally different languages." Taraval, *The Indian Uprising*, p. 30 as cited by Laylander, *The Linguistic Prehistory*, p. 21.

9. Aschmann, *The Central Desert*, p. xii; The reference is to Hostell's 1758 Letter to Burscheid.

10. Massey, "Archaeology and Ethnohistory," p. 344.

11. Ritter, "Spirit Sticks."

12. Napoli, *The Cora Indians*, p. 51.

13. Ibid., p. 68.

14. Bravo, *Razón de la entrada*, p. 50.

15. Aschmann, *The Central Desert*, p. 116.

16. Aschmann, *The Natural*, p. 66. Crosby, *Antigua California*, p. 493 n. 158.

17. Aschmann, *The Central Desert*, p. 112.

18. Massey, *The Castaldí Collection*, p. 5.

19. Howe, *Ancient Tribes*, Figure 196.

20. Ken Hedges, "Painted Tablets," reported on a small collection of eight painted tablas from the northern part of the peninsula that might have been used in ceremonies to prevent the return of the dead. Meigs, "Meigs on Tablets," commented on this article. Eric Ritter, "A Magico-Religious," found a tabla in a small cave near Conception Bay. It was a narrow rectangular piece of wood, probably mesquite, approximately 82 m. long and 13 cm. wide. It had two holes in one end and traces of yellow and white pigment in a checkerboard pattern. Miguel del Barco mentions small wooden tablets used to preserve arrow feathers (*Ethnology*, p. 48), while Molto and Fujita ("La Matancita," p. 49) examined other small wooden tablets which showed signs of wear on their edges, and which might have been used for cutting mescal.

21. Aschmann, *The Central Desert*, p. 115-6.

22. Massey, L.G., "Tabla and Atlatl," p. 26.

23. Sales, *Observations*, p. 44-45.

24. This tabla is no longer in the museum in La Paz, and is thought to have been placed in the ill-fated Paralelo 28 Museum at the Monument of the Eagle, and lost with the rest of that collection when the museum was no longer supervised. Aschmann in regard to this tabla notes: "Fr. Lambert Hostell's use of the expression little tablet (*Täfferlein*) does not fit well so large an object." *(The Central Desert*, p. xii) There are discrepancies between his account and that of Massey as far as the source of this material. Aschmann puts the cave "in the hill country north of La Paz," and the wand coming from the same source in the area

of San Luis Gonzaga.

25. Hostell, *1758 Letter to Burscheid*, p. 246-7.
26. For the full story, see Lost Treasures: Señor Juan, where are you? at www.innerexplorations.com /bajatext/ltjuan.htm
27. Crosby, *The Cave Paintings of Baja California*, p. 157.
28. Ibid., p. 169.
29. Garduño, *En donde se mete el sol*, p. 169.
30. Aschmann, *The Natural and Human History*, p. 92-3.
31. Meigs, *The Kiliwa*, p. 47.
32. Stewart, "The Chronology."
33. Aschmann, *The Central Desert*, p. 113.
34. Ibid., p. 114.
35. Massey and Osborne, "A Burial Cave," p. 350.
36. Sales, *Observations*, p. 48-9.
37. Eliade, *Shamanism*, p. 302-3.
38. See the description in Meigs, *The Kiliwa*.
39. Meigs, "Capes of Human Hair from Baja California and Outside," p. 22.
40. See Meigs, "Capes of Human Hair from Baja California and Outside." He was unaware of the hair cape that E. Palmer had found in a cave at Bahía de los Angeles which had probably contained a string of olivella shells.
41. Jacoby, *Señor Kon-Tiki*, p. 98.
42. See Heyerdahl, *American Indians in the Pacific* , and *Early Man and the Ocean*.
43. See Panoff, *Trésors des îles Marquises* , p. 125.
44. See Dodge, The Marquesas Islands Collection.
45. Hawthorn, Art of the Kwakiutl Indians, p. 177.
46. Brooks, *Japanese Wrecks*, p. 13-14.

47. Bonnichsen, *Who Were*, p. 15.

48. Massey, "Archaeology and Ethnohistory," p. 340-1. He notes the existence of pick-like percussion flake tools at Lake Chapala and the south side of La Paz Bay. Marvin and Aletha Patchen describe what might be a similar object which they found in the Timbabichi area and gave to the Museum of Natural History in San Diego. Patchen, Baja Adventure, p. 84-5.

49. Massey, "Archaeology and Ethnohistory," p. 342.

50. Ibid., p. 353.

51. Massey, *Cultural History*, p. 347-8. For more recent evaluations of the links between Baja California and the cultural complexes to the north, see Eric Ritter, "Los Primeros Baja Californios," and Miguel León-Portilla, "Los Primeros Californios: Prehistoria y Etnohistoria."

52. Tuohy, *Culture History,* p. 354.

53. Massey, "A Burial Cave."

54. Kowta, "An Anthropological Survey," p. 101.

55. Kowta, "The Layer-Cake," p. 4.

56. Ibid., p. 9.

57. Molto and Fujita also note some highly distinctive cranial traits among the La Matancita material in terms of the ossification of the pterygobasal ligament and infraorbital suture. Molto and Fujita, "La Matancita," p. 50.

58. Modern native Americans have been dated to about 6,000 B.C. while before 7,000 B.C. we see a different kind of skull. The skull of the Kennewick Man is described as closest to those of the Polynesian Moriori of the Chatham Islands, and in another way to the Ainu and Easter Islanders, as well as two European populations. Chatters, *Ancient Encounters*, p. 231.

59. Molto and Fujita, "La Matancita," p. 51.

60. *Discover*, March 2003, p. 11.

61. Kirchhoff, "Introducción," in *Noticias.* Kirchhoff, doing some of the earliest archaeological reflection about the Guaycuras, discusses a whole range of hypotheses of how the peninsula may have been populated, and examines the cultural traits that exist there and not elsewhere.

62. See

http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2003/07/0717_030717_bajarockart.html

63. Whitley, *A Guide to Rock Art Sites* , p. 20-21.
64. Ibid., p. 26.
65. Crosby, *The Cave Paintings*, p. 234.
66. Ibid., p. 118.
67. Ibid., p. 103.
68. Jones, "Shamanistic elements…" p. 14.
69. Meigs, *The Kiliwa*, p. 49.
70. Lewis-Williams, *Images of Power*, p. 70, 75.
71. Ewing, Cueva Flechas, p. 15.
72. Lewis-Williams, *Images of Power*, p. 63.
73. Ibid., p. 130.
74. See http://canales.t1msn.com.mx/educacion/cultura/leer_noticias.cfm?newsid=202728
75. Massey, "The Survival."
76. Massey, L.G., "Tabla and Atlatl."
77. Molto, "La Matancita."
78. Massey, "The Survival," p. 84. See L.G. Massey, "Tabla and Atlatl," on the interpretation of *dos palmas*.
79. Massey, "The Survival," p. 85.
80. Massey, "A Burial Cave."
81. Píccolo, *Informe on the New Province,* p. 64.
82. Guillén, *1720 Expedition*, p. 109.
83. However, atlatl darts appear to have been in the 4 foot or more range: 138 cm. Grant, "The Spear-Thrower," p. 9; 92.5 cm. for the dart found at Bahía de Los

Angeles. Massey, "A Burial Cave."

84. Burrus, *Misiones Mexicanas*, p. 239.

85. Venegas, *Empressas apostólicas*, n. 1304.

86. Kowta, "An Anthropological Survey,"p. 67.

87. Massy, "The Survival," p. 91.

88. Hester, "Archaeological Materials."

89. This atlatl is now in the Favell Museum in Klamath Falls, Oregon..

90. Allely, "Atlatl Notes." It is not clear whether the Baja California atlatls were all much larger than the Great Basin ones. In the passage we read from Massey, if a palma is taken to be 20.9 cm. then the atlatl described here would be the same size as one found in a cave near Condon, Oregon, but they would differ in many other characteristics.

91. Massey, *Cultural History*, p. 306.

92. Ibid., p. 314.

93. Ibid., p. 316.

94. Ibid., p. 355.

95. Massey, *The Castaldí Collection*. This was particularly fortunate because the collection has disappeared, perhaps as part of the loss of material from the Paralelo 28 museum. The location of Massey's original photos is unknown, as well. Pictures of two of these boards appeared in Gardner's *Off the Beaten Track,* p. 360. See Plate 4, 1d, and we are told that Carlos Margain of the Anthropological Museum in Mexico City, who was accompanying Gardner, took photographs of the collection, as well.

96. Massey, *The Castaldí Collection,* p. 14.

97. Carmean, "A Metric Study," p. 52.

98. Ibid., p. 70.

99. Kowta, "An Anthropological Survey," p. 66.

100. Rosales-López, *La antigua California*, p. 106.

101. There are about 20 points collected in the Toris area near La Pasión

which are in the Anthropological Museum in La Paz.

102. Overstreet, *Indian Arrowheads*, p. 176.

103. It is not clear what purpose these flutes served. They may even have had some sort of cultic signifcance. Adovasio, *The First Americans,* p. 258.

104. Aschmann, "A Fluted Point."

105. Hyland, "An Obsidian Fluted Point," p. 104. Neither the Aschmann nor this fluted point match the photo of a fluted point in the INAH museum in San Ignacio.

106. Clavigero, *History*, p. 85.

107. Bonnichsen, *Who Were*, p. 4.

108. Ibid., p. 13.

109. Dillehay, *The Settlement,* p. 67.

110. Adovasio, *The First Americans,* p. 40.

111. Dillehay, *The Settlement,* p. 283. This wider perspective on the peopling of America would make it interesting to revisit earlier work that has bearing on the question of the first people in Baja California. Ritter, "Los primeros" sums up some of these studies, for example, the work of Childers and Minshall who found lacquered stone tools in the Arroyo Yuha-Pinto for which they proposed a date of 50,000 years ago, as well as the work of George Carter in the San Diego area who dated sites to 80,000-100,000 years ago.

112. Dillehay, *The Settlement,* p. 10.

113. Ibid., p. 70.

114. See www.centerfirstamericans.com/mt.html?a=60>

115. Ravelo, "El descubrimiento," and Fujita, "Arqueología de Isla Espíritu Santo."

Epilogue

1. Ecomundo. See www.innerexplorations.com/ simpletext/ecomundo.htm For a visionary view of the future of Baja California see Arias, "El Oasis Cresciente."

2. Kuyima. See www.innerexplorations.com/ bajatext/kuyima.htm

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