

Violence in Eden: Indigenous Warfare in Peninsular Baja California

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Abstract

In most parts of the habitable world, warfare has long been endemic. Contrary to romanticized views portraying peninsular Baja California as a peaceful Eden, this area likewise suffered repeated conflicts carried on by force of arms between competing socio-political entities. This study provides ethnohistoric and archaeological testament of such for certain groups south of the notably bellicose Yuman peoples (Dieguino-Kumiaay, Kiliwa, Cocopah, Pai-pai, Quechan, and Kohuana), specifically the Pericú, Guaycura, and Cochimí who, although distinct from the Yumans in most aspects of social and material culture, were at least equally fierce and warlike.

The Idea of War on the Peninsula

The study of internal and external warfare among the Pericú, Guaycura, and Cochimí (Figure 1) has been generally neglected by historians, ethnologists, and archaeologists. Perhaps this situation is due to the peaceful appearance of these groups under the *Pax Jesuitica* that impeded open conflicts during the mission regime, or to the erroneous concept that widely dispersed population reduced violent conflict, or to the fantasy that war among indigenous groups conformed to the politically correct image of the American Eden prior to the arrival of Europeans. In fact, peninsular Indians lived under the constant shadow of violent death from warfare as demonstrated definitively by ethnohistorical evidence and to a lesser extent by archaeological evidence.

Origin myths of the Cochimí and Guaycura included wars and told of the ancients leaving their old lands

to the north due to a great conflict that erupted during a meeting of several groups. All took up arms, and the weakest fled to the south, pursued by the strongest until they were able to hide in the mountains. Others stated that the conflict was between two lords who separated the people into two opposing groups, and the victorious group, after much killing, forced the losers to seek refuge in the mountains and on the islands. Further, the Cochimí related that in ancient times people of extraordinary stature arrived from the north, fleeing others. They were the painters of pictographs, and they died by the hand of their pursuers and by the Californians who did not tolerate such strange peoples in their lands (Barco 1973:211-213; Venegas 1979, I:70-72). External and internal conflicts were continuous among the Guaycura due to what Baegert called “insignificant causes.” When one of the groups was defeated, it fled and settled again at a distance from the enemy. In this manner, the Californians sought refuge in the peninsula (Baegert 1952:57-58). The Pericú recounted that the creator had three sons, one of whom lived in the world and was murdered by people, and in the heavens they had great wars because two lords allied against the great lord who defeated them. This great lord, Niparaya, opposed war because all who died from arrows did not go to heaven, but the lords Wac and Tugarán favored war because people who died from arrows go to their realm (Venegas 1979, I:70-72, 102-104).

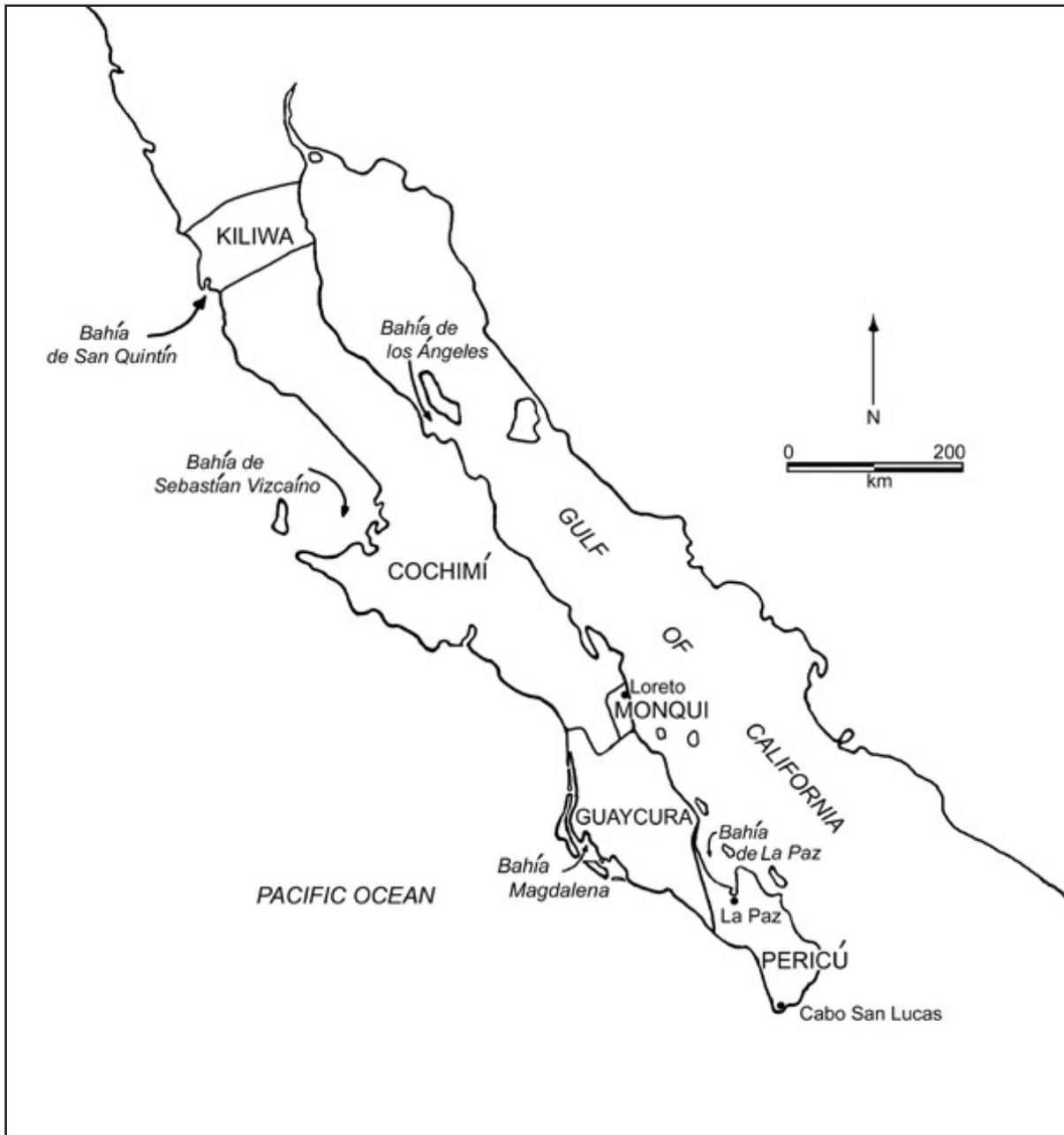


Figure 1. Map showing territories of Cochimí, Guaycura, Pericú and other ethnographically recorded peoples.

Warfare during Initial Contact: 1533-1697

Unlike other areas of the Western Hemisphere in which European settlements shortly followed discovery, isolated Baja California resisted permanent occupation for a century and a half. Nevertheless, between 1533 and 1697 short encounters between Spanish explorers and indigenous groups are well documented and provide substantial information regarding the physical and cultural characteristics of the Californians. Although these observations may be unscientific, in some cases superficial, Eurocentric, or Christian biased, and often made by uneducated explorers, taken as a whole they provide an excellent ethnography of the coastal cultures of the peninsula.

The Pericú occupied the region from Cabo San Lucas at 23° 53' N to approximately 24° 50' N on the watershed of the Gulf of California and the corresponding islands and to 23° 30' N on the Pacific watershed (Figure 1). At Cabo San Lucas they were constantly armed with bows and arrows and 1 to 2 m staves of fire-hardened hardwood with sharpened points, and on occasion some carried harpoons (Sebastián Vizcaíno 1596, published in Mathes 1965:135-139; Esteban Carbonel de Valenzuela 1632, published in Mathes 1970:229-233; Diego de la Nava 1632, published in Mathes 1970:223-224; Alonso González Barriga 1644, published in Mathes 1970:248-249). They were grouped in squadrons and led by a chief or captain (Diego de la Nava 1632, published in Mathes 1970:223-224), and they painted their bodies in several colors and wore small feather head pieces (Alonso González Barriga 1644, published in Mathes 1970:248-249). As a sign of peace, they placed their arms on the ground, offered to give them up, or threw them to the women; they might retreat to the bush or make signs of friendship by sitting or throwing sand in the air (Sebastián Vizcaíno 1596, published in Mathes 1965:35-139; Antonio de la Asunción 1602, published in Mathes 1965:166; Diego de la Nava 1632, published in Mathes 1970:223-224; Alonso González

Barriga 1644, published in Mathes 1970:248-249). They were at war with the people of the interior, whom they called Guaycura, and they sought alliances with the Spaniards against them (Alonso González Barriga 1644, published in Mathes 1970:248-249). At Bahía de las Palmas the Pericú used the same arms and were at war with the groups to the west, the Guaycura, and also those of the Bahía de La Paz, against whom they sought Spanish assistance (Esteban Carbonel de Valenzuela 1632, published in Mathes 1970:229-233; Diego de la Nava 1632, published in Mathes 1970:223-224; Juan Caballero Carranco 1668, published in Mathes 1970:259, 264).

The inhabitants of La Paz carried bows, arrows, fire-hardened wooden lances, and harpoons and were continually at war with the coastal people to the west called Guaycura (Nicolás de Cardona 1615, published in Mathes 1970:214; Francisco de Ortega 1633, published in Mathes 1970:236, 241; Juan Caballero Carranco 1668, published in Mathes 1970:259, 264). In 1633 the people of La Paz, led by a "king," were at war with the Guaycura over control of the fishing areas and a place where there was wild tobacco and sweet potatoes. While they slept at one of the fishing sites, the son of the king, his wife, one son, and more than 30 men, women, and children were surprised and killed by the Guaycura. The king and his warriors, accompanied by Spanish soldiers, went in search of the enemy; on finding a Guaycura ranchería next to a waterhole, they surrounded it and killed several Guaycura. Some Guaycura fled to the bush. Using bows and arrows and darts, the warriors' strategy of attack was that of surprise, and following a skirmish, they retreated into the bush (Francisco de Ortega 1633, published in Mathes 1970:236, 241).

The greater part of the information regarding the Guaycura, who occupied the area from 23° 30' N to approximately 25° 30' N on the Pacific coast and 24° 50' N on the gulf watershed (Figure 1), is derived from conflicts with the Pericú. Recorded observations are

few because of their bellicose actions toward indigenous and European strangers. To the north of La Paz, near Bahía San Carlos, the Guaycura were armed with bows and arrows and stones, were bellicose and menacing, and attacked with shouts and a shower of arrows (Sebastián Vizcaíno 1596, published in Mathes 1965:140-141; Nicolás de Cardona 1615, published in Mathes 1970:215-216). The sole mention of the taking of trophies by peninsular peoples was in a 1615 report that referred to the heads of five men who had been with Sebastián Vizcaíno in 1596 (Nicolás de Cardona 1615, published in Mathes 1970:215-216). The Guaycura on the Pacific coast at Bahía Magdalena and Bahía Santa Marina were armed with bows and arrows and fire-hardened darts that they also used for fishing. As a sign of peace, they acted submissively and handed over their arms (Sebastián Vizcaíno 1602, published in Mathes 1965:147-148; Antonio de la Ascención 1602, published in Mathes 1965:174). By 1683 the Guaycura occupied the shores of Bahía de La Paz. They demonstrated their extraordinary bellicosity by painting themselves for war and challenging through gestures, threats, and shouts that served to stimulate their bravery (Eusebio Francisco Kino 1683, published in Burrus 1954:27-29; Isidro de Atondo y Antillón 1683, published in Mathes 1974:252-255; Eusebio Francisco Kino 1683, published in Mathes 1974:329-330). They had bows and arrows. Warriors were led by captains. They employed ambush and encirclement when they found the enemy in the bush (Isidro de Atondo y Antillón 1683, published in Mathes 1974:252-255; Venegas 1979, I:220-227).

The Cochimí, the northernmost group considered herein, occupied the region from approximately 25° 30'N to 30° 25'N from the Pacific to the Gulf (Figure 1) and were among the earliest indigenous peoples described during the contact period. They were armed with bows and arrows near Isla Danzantes and Comondú, where they placed their arms on the ground and sat down as a sign of peace (Francisco Preciado 1539, published in Mathes 1992:18; Eusebio Fran-

cisco Kino 1683, published in Burrus 1954:73). On the Pacific coast at Bahía Magdalena and near Punta Abreojos, the Cochimí, painted in white and black, attacked by ambush and shouting, using thin bows longer than the height of the warriors, cane or wood arrows with stone points, lances possibly launched with atlatls, and stones thrown with slings. They then retreated, shouting, singing, running, leaping, and dancing. As a sign of peace, they placed their arms on the ground and danced, leaped, ran, and sang, raising and lowering their arms (Francisco Preciado 1539, published in Mathes 1992:30-36, 41-46, 78-79, 82-85). On Isla de Cedros, after sending the women and children to the hills, the Cochimí attacked head-on, armed with sharpened staves 2 m long and 6 cm in diameter, pine bows and arrows, wooden maces, and stones (Antonio de la Ascención 1602, published in Mathes 1965:19; Francisco Preciado 1539, published in Mathes 1992:55-57, 60-61, 87, 89). The Cochimí on the coast north of Isla de Cedros were armed with small bows of little power, small staves, short maces, and stones. They showed great daring and advanced in a warlike manner, painting their legs, arms, and chests with white clay, but they did not close in combat with the Spanish (Francisco de Preciado 1539, published in Mathes 1992:55-57, 60-61, 87, 89).

Warfare during the Mission Period: 1797-1848

Begun through the establishment of missions by the Society of Jesus, permanent settlement of the Spanish in Baja California not only allowed the recording of more detailed ethnological observations but also extended observations to the interior. During seven decades, the mission system reached from Cabo San Lucas to Santa María de los Ángeles bordering northern Yuman territory. Incorporation of the indigenous populations into the mission system was virtually complete. The establishment of permanent settlements altered the indigenous concept of the Spanish, who had initially been seen as invaders of valuable waterholes, possible allies against traditional enemies, and a

source of utensils and livestock through theft. On first occupying a mission site, the Spaniards were often aggressively received, but they were able to observe and learn the strategy and methodology of Indian warfare against their military escorts. Indigenous groups became more peaceful after recognizing the peaceful intentions of the missionaries and the physical and nutritional security that they offered. Thus, the *Pax Jesuitica* was established among Indian groups and between Indians and Spaniards. Although most missionaries had academic preparation, the superiority of the Jesuits is clearly evident as observers and compilers of information regarding Baja California cultures.

Conchó, the site of Nuestra Señora de Loreto, was a border zone between Guaycura and Cochimí. The latter demonstrated their methods of warfare during various attempts at the theft of property, horses, and livestock. Influenced by shamans, temporary alliances were formed between the Laimón (Cochimí), Didiú, Edú (Guaycura), and Monquí. Shortly after the arrival of the Spanish, four squadrons of these allied warriors, employing traditional arms of bows and arrows and stones, surrounded the entrenched soldiers before attacking them (Juan Maria de Salvatierra 1697-1699, published in Salvatierra 1997a:108).

Indian strategy of ambush or surprise attack, shouting and threats to give the impression of a larger force, followed by a shower of arrows and stones and more shouting, continued during the mission period. Retreat occurred with the blowing of whistles at sunset. Night attacks focused on the theft of livestock and horses, with a minimal risk of combat. It soon became evident that only ambush in open country should cause concern to the Spanish. Fortified barracks, trenches, and stockades, along with firearms, effectively resisted all indigenous forces, thus leading to the incorporation of defensive structures in the settlements. On recognizing that a campaign was in vain, an Indian captain would come forward accompanied by the women and children, all wailing,

to petition for peace. They would deliver their arms along with the children as hostages according to Juan María de Salvatierra writing in 1697-1699 (Salvatierra 1997a:108, 113-116, 1997b:21-125, 150; see also Venegas 1979, II:19, 22-33, 38-42; Río 2000:175). As before the arrival of missionaries, the Cochimí men were always armed, carrying bows, arrows, and darts. The enmity between rancherías continued. However, as a sign of peace on encountering missionaries or when accompanying them, they usually set their arms aside. Causes for warfare continued to be the same as during the pre-mission period—access to foodstuffs and water, women, the haranguing of shamans, and retribution for theft of objects of spiritual value—this according to Francisco María Piccolo's 1702, 1709, and 1716 notes (Piccolo 1962:64, 164; Burrus 1984:84, 87).

At the Bahía de La Paz, the Guaycura first fled from the missionaries, then received them armed, shortly after which they sat down as a sign of peace. The enmity between the Guaycura and the Pericú of Cabo San Lucas and of the islands of Espíritu Santo and San José was very evident, and the conflict continued due to hatred, treachery, murders, and revenge. The need to establish peace was recognized (Venegas 1979, II:227-229, 323-325, 373-375, 383-385; Jaime Bravo 1720, cited in Bravo 1989:44-45, 58, 62, 65). To the north there were also conflicts between the Guaycura and Cochimí, with the former signaling the enemy presence through the blowing of whistles, raising of arms, and feigning retreat (Clemente Guillén 1720, cited in Bravo 1989:90 and in Lazcano 2000:101).

English corsairs made observations of the Pericú at Cabo San Lucas shortly before their incorporation into the mission system in 1721. The Pericú were armed with bows 1.9 m to 2.1 m in length made of hard and flexible wood and strung with grass cords or deer sinew; arrows were 1.45 m in length, made of cane with four long feathers some 30 cm before the notch, finished with a length of hardwood inserted

into the cane body, and tipped with flaked and sharpened stone or a worked fish bone. George Shelvocke reported that he saw the men armed only on a few occasions (Edward Cooke and Woodes Rogers 1712; see also George Shelvocke 1726, cited in Andrews 1979:40, 68, 99-100). The conflict between the Pericú and Guaycura persisted during the expansion of missions in the Cape region. A night surprise attack on the Guaycura resulted in the death of five children, two or three women, and one man in addition to one prisoner. Only the separation of the two groups by the missionaries could avoid the conflicts. The dispatching of soldiers from the presidio of Loreto to maintain peace did little good (Ignacio María Nápoli 1721, cited in Río 2000:53-59, 66-64; Moriarty 1970:53, 60-61, 66, 69; Clemente Guillén 1725, cited in Burrus 1984:98-100).

The enmity between the Pericú and the Guaycura was exacerbated by the pressures of evangelization and the Pericú perception of missionary favoritism toward the Guaycura. It erupted in the Pericú revolt of 1734. Employing traditional arms and the tactic of surprise, the rebels did not leave an option for negotiating peace, even though there was little hope of victory according to Sigismundo Taraval's 1738 observations (Taraval 1996:63, 76, 82-83, 118-119, 124-125, 138-139, 172; see also Gaspar Rodero 1737, cited in Burrus 1984:190,194-196; Baegert 1952:151-154). Following the defeat of the Pericú in 1737, the survivors continued fabricating arms to renew combat. Miguel del Barco noted in 1738 that the arrows carried designs indicative of the makers (Barco 1973:242).

The advancement of the mission frontier into Cochimí territory brought contact with groups who, in turn, were in occasional contact with northern Yumans as reflected by the presence of weapons for close combat. In the region of Bahía de los Ángeles and Bahía San Luis Gonzaga, the Cochimí were always prepared to fight and were well armed, carrying arrows in quivers. They threatened and provoked

combat by leaping, running, and using gestures and shouts. They would attack at night by surprise, and after releasing all their arrows, they would shout and flee. They licked arrows to signal to others to take up arms, and they divided themselves into groups for assault (Fernando Consag 1746, cited in Venegas 1979, III:155-156, 170-171).

To the north of San Borja, the Cochimí, as in other areas, attacked by surprise at dawn, and in addition to fighting at a distance with bows and arrows, they used hardwood arms for close combat. One of these was a mace in the form of a short staff 18 cm in diameter with a stick over 18 cm long that extended from the center to serve as a grip. Another was similar to a rock pick, with the pick on one end and a small cutting hatchet on the other, with a proportionately long stick in the center as a handle. A third was similar to a short, curved sword that in place of a hand grip had a handle in the shape of a knife with the sharp edge outward; there were other weapons of distinct shapes, all one piece of wood. Similar arms had not been previously seen among the peninsular inhabitants (Wenceslaus Linck 1766, cited in Barco 1973:307-309, 349-351).

On the Pacific coast the Cochimí made arrows from reed grass, and they signaled hostilities by placing a pitahaya or cardón branch pierced by branches or broken arrows along the trails leading to their rancherías to show the treatment that they would give to strangers. A dialect difference from other Cochimí was noted among these groups. They possessed a throwing stick made from a branch of hardwood flattened in the form of the letter "C" or "G" with its tips pointing inward, having a circumference of 75 cm. When held to throw, it appeared as an inverse "C." It was launched close to the ground for hunting rabbits and jackrabbits, or it was used at the beginning of a surprise attack that was finished with bows and arrows (Fernando Consag 1751, cited in Lazcano 2000:161, 169,175, 180).

Generally, Jesuit chroniclers reported that aboriginal groups were constantly involved in warfare because of revenge and over access to foodstuffs and water. In instances of revenge, the offender or his relatives were threatened, and then war was declared against them with much shouting and the open collection of quantities of reed grass for arrows and stone for arrow points. The threats were designed to intimidate the enemy. The warriors appeared in battle without any organization. Shouting, they approached until they reached the range of arrows and then shot their arrows until they used them all or became tired. Arrows were of reed grass cane with sharp, flaked stone points without poison. No poison plant for this purpose was recognized. When they closed in combat, they used short lances or wooden darts with sharp, fire-hardened points. Victory came through fear instilled in the enemy, not as a result of force or military skill. Thus, revenge perpetuated war between all groups (Venegas 1979, I:80-81, 96-98). Described in detail were the simple bows of a single curve made from fire-hardened wood, thicker in the center and thinned toward the points, with the string of deer sinew or intestine. The shortest of these were 60 to 70 cm, and the longest were 90 cm to 1 m in length. Arrows were 80 cm in length, the final third of hardwood and the remainder of thin reed grass, the wood being inserted into the cane and affixed with tar and sinew, with fletching of three half hawk feathers 18 cm in length and in the form of an equilateral triangle. For warfare an equilateral triangular stone point was affixed with sinew and tar to create a larger wound that would not permit easy removal of the arrow (Barco 1973:175, 192-195).

Bows, probably Guaycura, were described as over 1.9 m long, with a slight curve, made from wild willow root, rounded, and 10 cm in circumference at the center and thinner at the ends. The string was sinew, and the arrows were of reed grass, straightened over fire, and over 60 cm long. They were finished with a notch and three or four feathers some 9 cm long that projected only slightly from their attachments in grooves. At the

distal end there was a length of wood 15 cm long that ended with a hafted, triangular, serrated stone point. They practiced shooting from childhood, and the principal work of men was the making of bows and arrows (Baegert 1952:64-65, 82-83).

Archaeological Evidence

Archaeological and osteological evidence regarding warfare has been scarce in that burials are dispersed and cremation was common among the Cochimí. Thus, discoveries of skeletal remains demonstrating traumatic death are relatively few. The use of the atlatl, or spear-thrower, an implement of great antiquity, endured into the contact period in Baja California, probably as a tool of warfare, since there was little game of a size that would justify its use in hunting. Generally the atlatl was replaced by the bow and arrow beginning in North America as recently 2500 years BP. In Mesoamerica, however, archaeological and ethnohistoric evidence indicates that it remained in use among isolated groups of Guaycura, Pericú, Cora, and Huchití as late as 1642, although this use was not confirmed to the north of Ligüí (Massey 1961; also published in Mathes 1992). Archaeological evidence at site Cerro Cuevoso at Cabo Pulmo, where four atlatls were found tied in a bundle of palm fibers accompanying a male burial, supports the hypothesis of atlatl use just prior to the mission period. These atlatls were 82 cm long and from 1.1 to 1.3 cm in diameter; each was a single piece of burnished hardwood, with a rounded, tapered hook with a slight spur to receive the butt of the dart. On the forward end was a bark finger loop, tinted red, tied to the shaft with sinew. They were the more common masculine type, without counterweights, designed to receive a concave dart base (Massey 1961; also published in Mathes 1992). Other arms found in southern sites were Guaycura bows of 108 to 210 cm in length, arrows of 137 cm with stone or bone points, and lances without points used for war and hunting (Massey 1966:349-352; also published in Mathes 1992).

A study of crania from Bahía de los Ángeles and other Cochimí sites, as well as Pericú sites at Cabo Pulmo, La Paz, Piedra Gorda, El Pescadero, and Isla Espíritu Santo, revealed that in the Cochimí region trauma appeared in no males but in three females. In the Pericú region trauma was evident in eight males and four females—that is, in 28.5 percent of males and 38.9 percent of females; nine lesions were frontal, two frontal/parietal, and four parietal. The trauma was not attributed to acts of war but was speculated to have been the result of self-administered injuries caused by striking the head during mourning (Tyson 1977a).

Among 43 burials studied from Cabo San Lucas, where Father Ignacio María Nápoli had reported that only the brave killed in combat were buried and the remainder were cremated, five males showed fractures, two of which were greenstick fractures. Three males and three females had healed frontal and parietal trauma. Two males showed dislocations (Tyson 1977b).

Excavations in Pericú territory at Piedra Gorda (Bahía de las Palmas) produced skeletons of a 35 year-old male whose body had been quartered and another of undetermined sex, 30 years of age, with cranial trauma, and as described above, at Cerro Cuevoso (Cabo Pulmo) a 19 year-old male was buried with four atlatls (Carmean and Molto 1990). Among the burials at La Matancita (El Pescadero), one included four atlatls between 68 and 91 cm in length. Two male crania had frontal fractures; one of those males also had a nasal fracture. The female remains did not show signs of trauma. Two of the six male burials showed trauma caused by attack (Molto and Fujita 1995).

These studies notwithstanding, others do not consider archaeological aspects relating to the study of war, and data regarding skeletal trauma and other evidence of possible war wounds have been omitted from

important studies (Noble 1973; Tyson 1975, 1987; García Uranga 1988; Carmean 1994; Rosales-López and Fujita 2000). The scarcity of data regarding the Pericú and Guaycura does not permit reconstruction of their languages; however, the Yuman and Cochimí linguistic evidence supports the concept of north-south migration. Warfare related terms such as arrow, bow, to kill, and warrior are found in Cochimí (Mixco 1978:80, 82, 89, 99).

The foregoing ethnohistorical and archaeological evidence attest to the state of war among Baja California Indians, and the “Great Murals” of the Cochimí region graphically exhibit the imagery of war. Sites in the sierras of Guadalupe (El Carrizo, Santa Isabel, La Angostura de San Juan, El Zolotar, Agua Puerca, Los Venados, La Trinidad, San Borjitas), San Francisco (Cueva de las Flechas, La Palma), and San Borja (Campo Monte, San Matías) show human figures (*monos*) that have been pierced or over-painted with arrows and/or darts. Although these images may signify only a desire or hex, with the over-painted projectiles suggesting wounds and with the piercing indicating death, there can be no doubt that they show violent trauma in humans caused by other humans (Crosby 1997:12, 60, 62-64, 90, 113-115, 121, 125, 133, 141, 148, 156-157, 177-178, 202, 205-207, 216). Some European images also demonstrate aspects of war. Notable are those done in 1632 by Nicolás de Cardona (Mathes 1970), in 1712 and 1726 by Edward Cooke and George Shelvock (Andrews 1979), and in the margins of the *Mapa de la California su Golfo, y Provincias Fronteras en el continente de Nueva España* of 1757 that show armed Indians, the martyrdom of Father Lorenzo Carranco, and the martyrdom of Nicolás Tamaral (Venegas 1979, III). The drawings of Ignaz Tirsch, Jesuit missionary at Santiago from 1736 to 1768, showing an armed Pericú and another Pericú shooting arrows into three women who had robbed him of fruit, are particularly striking (Tirsch 1972:Plate XXX, 88-89; Plate XXXII, 92-93).

Conclusions

There is abundant evidence demonstrating that the indigenous inhabitants of peninsular Baja California, their ages, sex, or cultural conditions notwithstanding, lived under the perpetual threat of attack, warfare, and violent death. They were similar to people in other regions of the world where hostile competition for sparse food resources existed.

The Pericú, Guaycura, and Cochim exemplified the general definition of warfare among hunter-gatherer-forager societies, those organized in small bands of up to 20 persons. For ceremonial purposes from 100 to 200 individuals would come together (Keeley 1996). These three linguistic groups shared virtually the same material culture, and warfare was principally for obtaining access to and possession of foodstuffs and fresh water. However, there was also vengeance for a prior defeat and for the rape or carrying off of women. Little security, vigilance, or intelligence regarding the presence of the enemy was practiced, and frequently spontaneous combat occurred within perceived limits of hunting-foraging territories.

The tactics of surprise, hiding, ambush, attack on rancherías at dawn, menacing shouts, insults, and whistles at the moment of attack to instill fear generally produced flight or retreat to avoid wounding or death, the flight option available due to the low density of population, the immensity of the land, and the few possessions of those attacked. Warriors were volunteers, not organized into specific groups and without formal training, although they were led by a captain with greater experience than others. Some arms permitted the launching of projectiles from a distance over open country without planning or strategy. There were no logistics, and thus battles were brief, without closure, and generally were ambushes with relatively few casualties in number but occasionally high in percentage relative to the entire group. When there were survivors or refugees

that could not escape, they were integrated into the victorious group—that is, their status was not that of captives or slaves. Booty was not taken since there was no property. Evidence for the taking of trophies is limited to the single mention by Cardona of the five severed heads of men under Vizcaino (see Mathes 1970:215-216), and there was no suggestion of cannibalism. When there was peace, it was due to isolation and adequate sustenance; common culture and language did not prevent conflict.

Among the peninsular groups, warfare against Spanish explorers, soldiers, and missionaries did not vary from that employed internally, and initially it was driven by fear of loss of sustenance. The inequality between the professional Spanish soldiers equipped with horses, firearms, steel-edged weapons, and light artillery and the Indians with their primitive arms would at first glance make warfare seem totally futile, and such was usually the case in assaults against Spanish settlements, where trenches and stockades and access to provisions, equipment, and personnel permitted maintenance of extended battles employing artillery and free fire from individual weaponry. Nevertheless, combat in open country generally produced a retreat on the part of the Spanish because of the ease of frightening, wounding, or killing horses, and because of the time the Spanish needed to reload firearms, thus bringing into play bayonets and swords, shock arms that required close combat. Generally the numbers of Spanish soldiers were smaller than those of the Indians, and the Spaniards presence was difficult to hide. Although the Spanish enjoyed logistics to sustain battle and permit retreat, the Indian groups were able to employ espionage, surprise, stealth, and the feigning of friendship by lowering their arms, thus attracting the Spanish force into their midst and allowing the Indians to surround it. Further, the Indians enjoyed knowledge of the topography, had the advantage of mobility, and possessed bows and arrows that were tactically at least equal to bayonets and swords. However, a lack of logistics required

instantaneous attack; it was rapid but unsustainable. Through shouting and maneuvers, they had the means of appearing more numerous, and the Spanish were thus disadvantaged.

Following the Pericú revolt, hostilities against the Spanish diminished notably due to recognition of the European intent to remain permanently and to the incorporation of virtually all the indigenous population into the mission system where it enjoyed security and adequate nutrition. This situation permitted the establishment of Euro-Christian societal norms that allowed the establishment of the *Pax Jesuitica*, ending the causes for internal warfare and, ultimately, warfare against the Spanish.

The Eden of Baja California sought by the missionaries and dreamed of by later travelers did not exist. On the contrary, from its peopling and during the majority of its history, Baja California was among the regions most given to warfare in the hemisphere, a region where war was a daily threat or reality.

Acknowledgments

Many thanks to Dr. Matthew Buxt for suggesting that I research this topic. I very much appreciate the comments of Dr. Ruth Gruhn of the Department of Anthropology, University of Alberta, as well as the comments of two anonymous reviewers. I also thank Joe Cramer for rendering the map of Figure 1.

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