IV. THE RUMSEN OF MONTEREY, AN ETHNOGRAPHY FROM HISTORICAL SOURCES

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Preface

In presenting the following essay, I beg the reader's indulgence for its deficiencies. It was written in 1953, when I was a first-year graduate student, and it looks a bit unsophisticated to me now. I had filed it away, intending to revise it and add more material to it before publication. However, it has been sitting in my files for seventeen years now, and when Prof. R. F. Heizer suggested publishing it in the CONTRIBUTIONS series I decided that it was better to make it available for whatever usefulness it might have in its present form, instead of waiting interminably for the hard-to-find time to revise it completely. I have corrected a few errors of translation and tried to smooth out one or two rough passages, but that is all. I therefore ask that it be accepted, with my apologies, for what it is: the work of a beginner.

Introduction

The Rumsen of Monterey were one of the many small groups of Indians in California who were thoroughly absorbed into the Spanish missions and have since become extinct. Their culture vanished gradually as they were incorporated into Mission life, and later Mexican and American communities. Their language is now forgotten. Very few even of their descendants are left. Although many of the fine old Spanish families have a little of the Indian in them, they are very loath to admit it. Socially, culturally, and linguistically, the Indians of Monterey are dead.

It is, therefore, impossible to obtain much information concerning the Rumsen by standard ethnographic field methods at this late date. There are no informants left to interview. There is, however, one place where such information may be obtained: the historical record. The material is scattered, and consists mainly of small items, the result of chance observations rather than purposive research, but it is of some value. It is to be found in the official and private journals and memoirs of travellers, the accounts of early settlers, documents concerning the Mission, letters, and the like. The present paper represents an attempt to gather together some of this material and to present it in an orderly manner.

One major source of error in this paper will undoubtedly be the fact that not only the Rumsen, but also Esselen groups were drawn into Carmel Mission. Hence, when writers speak of the Indians of Carmel Mission, it is

impossible to tell whether they are referring to the Rumsen or to the Esselen except in a very few cases. However, the Esselen of the Santa Lucia Mountains and the Big Sur region were the immediate neighbors of the Rumsen. It is probable that the two groups were culturally very similar, and that most statements apply to both.

History of white contact and early descriptions of the Indians of the Monterey Region

The first recorded white man who is believed to have seen Monterey Bay was Cabrillo. Wagner (1923-27, VII:26) believes that the Bahia de los Pinos in which Cabrillo anchored November 16, 1542 (ibid., p. 50) was the northern part of Monterey Bay. Cabrillo, however, did not land, owing to the heavy surf. He left no description of the Indians of the region.

The next voyager who may be presumed to have visited the region is Cermeño. Wagner (1923-27, III:6) states that Cermeño's "Bay of San Pedro" "was certainly Monterey Bay..." It was seen by Cermeño on December 10, 1594 (ibid, p. 15). He did not stop there, but anchored farther south, perhaps near Point Sur.

The first travellers to describe the Indians of the Monterey region were those of the Vizcaino expedition of 1602-3. Several accounts of this expedition remain to us. A number are in the Archives of the Indies in Madrid (Carrasco y Guisola, 1882): these include Vizcaino's own account, and the so-called Bolanos derrotero, prepared in actuality by Geronimo Palacios. An important account of this voyage was written, perhaps ca. 1611 (Wagner, 1923-27, VII:269), by Fray Antonio de la Ascención, a Carmelite friar who was with the expedition. The original manuscript of this account is in the Ayer collection of the Newberry Library; the Bancroft Library has a microfilm copy. A stylistically unrepresentative translation of this account has been published by Wagner (1923-27, VII:295-394); it does not seem to have been published in the original. Torquemada (1723: 1st ed., 1611) included an abbreviated and somewhat garbled version in his Monarchia Indiana. This was translated into English in the eighteenth century. It was reprinted in a limited edition in 1933 (Vizcaino, 1933) by the Book Club of California. The version that will be used here is the original manuscript, with the writer's translation, which attempts to adhere to the style of the original more closely than did Wagner's.

Sebastian Vizcaino had been sent by the Viceroy of Mexico to attempt to find a suitable spot on the coast of California for a harbor for the ships from the Philippines. The galleons were already sailing down the coast of California on their way to Acapulco, making landfall at Cape Mendocino or the Sierre de Santa Lucia south of Monterey. Ascención states (ms, f.74^{r}) (1):

> "...and they were near a sierra, very high and white, and on the slopes all reddish, covered with much brush, this

> is called the Sierra de Santa Lucia, which is ordinarily sighted by the ships which come from the Philippine Islands..."

Vizcaino arrived at Monterey Bay December 16, 1602 (Ascención, ms. f. 74v; Carrasco y Guisola, 1882, p. 98). He decided that it would be an admirable port for the scurvy-ridden galleons to recuperate, and at once dispatched a glowing account to the Viceroy the Conde de Monterrey, after whom he had named the port. He left Monterey January 3, 1603.

The following accounts of the Indians of the region were included in the official reports filed in the Archives of the Indies:

(Carrasco y Guisola, 1882, p. 99; Vizcaino's own account) (2):

> "The land [is] well populated with Indians without number, many of whom came on different occasions to our camp. They seem to be gentle and peaceful people; they say with signs that there are many villages inland. The sustenance which these Indians eat most of daily, besides fish and shellfish, is acorns and another fruit larger than a chestnut; this is what we could understand of them."

(Carrasco y Guisola, 1882, p. 169; the "Bolanos Derrotero") (3):

> "There are Indians although they are distrustful of dealing with us. That is to say that the aforesaid Indians came in peace, and from appearances are good people, they brought us shellfish and made great efforts to bring us to their town which they made signs was inland...."

The following is Ascención's account (Ascención, ms. f. 83^v) (4):

> "The port is all surrounded with rancherias of affable Indians, good natives and well-disposed, who like to give what they have, here they brought us skins of bears and lions and deer. They use the bow and arrow and have their form of government. They were very pleased that we should have settled in their country. They go naked at this port."

Vizcaino made several attempts to persuade the authorities to make a settlenent at Monterey, but nothing was done about it until 1769. In the intervening hundred and fifty years, it is uncertain whether Monterey was ever visited by the Spanish. It seems quite likely that the Manila galleons occasionally stopped in Monterey on their way down the coast, but there is little direct evidence that they did. Cabrera Bueno, chief pilot of the Filipine fleet, in a book on navigation ~~published in Manilla~~ in 1934 gives a <u>derrotero</u>--a set of sailing directions--for the route from Cape

Mendocino to Acapulco. His description of Monterey does not appear to have been copied directly from the Vizcaino reports; his phrasings are different, and he mentions details which are not in the Vizcaino reports. He says of it (Cabrera Bueno, 1734, p. 303) (5): "...and it is a good port for the relief of the ships from China for it is the first land they recognize, when they come to New Spain.." It seems possible that Cabrera Bueno, or other pilots of the Philippine fleet, may have actually seen the bay.

A second suggestion of occasional visits by transPacific trading vessels comes from the San Carlos baptismal records. Entry number 834 reads (6):

> "On the 4th of October /1783/ in the church of this Mission of San Carlos of Monterey I solemnly baptised an ancient man of more than a century of age, native of the rancheria of Sargenta ruc, married, whose wife still lives; his birth was in this neighborhood, and he says that he remembers when of old the ship from China used to make port here, that they dealt with these people giving them glass beads for otter skins, and that on one occasion they left on Cypress Point a cask or barrel that they might avail themselves of the iron of the bands, he was called in his gentile state Pechipechi and was held by his own people in great veneration, I gave him for a name Juan Francisco, his godfather was Manuel Buitron, corporal of the guard, and in order that it should be recorded I sign it, Fr. Matias Antonio de Santa Catarina."

It is uncertain how much weight this statement should be given. The phrase "Nao de China" (ship from China") is probably the priest's own interpretation of the old man's statements; it seems unlikely that he himself would have known where the ships came from, much less the Spanish expression. Moreover, Sargentaruc was near the Big Sur River (Culleton, 1950, p. 86), and would be an unlikely spot for the galleons to harbor. The suggestion, however, is strong and tempting.

More definite information than these rather shadowy and dubious suggestions could, perhaps, be found in the records of the Manila trade. For the present study, this has not been investigated. However, it is of some importance; it might mean a hundred and fifty years of occasional contact with whites, instead of one contact in 1602 and then none until a permanent settlement was made in 1770.

1769 saw the first attempt to establish a Spanish settlement in Monterey. This was the date of the first Portolá expedition, travelling north overland from San Diego to find Monterey to establish a mission there. The Spanish had several reasons for making settlements in California at this time. The Franciscans saw there a virgin field for missionary work. The government and the military were beginning to be afraid of Russian and English expansion. They

saw that if they did not soon establish a port at Monterey, the only harbor they knew of on the coast, the Russians or the English would be there before them and have a port actually within the Spanish domain. So the Franciscans, under Father Serra, established a mission at San Diego, and Portolá and his party went north to find Monterey. They carried with them, as a guide, Cabrera Bueno's aforementioned work on navigation. The accounts of the trip written by Crespi (Palóu, 1857, VI:285-423), Costansó (Teggart, 1911, and Costansó, 1950), and Portolá himself (Smith and Teggart, 1909) show that they did not have an easy time. They travelled up the coast until the Santa Lucia mountains made further progress impossible; then they turned inland and came out in the Salinas Valley, which they followed to the sea.

There, they found themselves on the shores of a great sweep of bay. They recognized Point Pinos and Point Ano Nuevo, the north and south limits of Monterey Bay. But although they explored up and down the coast, they were unable to locate the famed harbor they were supposed to take possession of, "el puerto de Monterrey". They could not find anything that looked like a harbor to them. Carmel Bay attracted their attention, but it did not fit the description in Cabrera Bueno, which seems to have been their sole on-the-spot source of written information: although they speak of Vizcaino, there is no sign that they had any of his writings with them. Following a set of sailing directions backwards on land must have been confusing at best, especially for a party of landsmen. However, the real difficulty seems to have been that they did not realize, either from their available information or from what they could see, that the famous harbor was merely the southeast corner of Monterey Bay. Although it is well-sheltered from prevailing winds, as nearly all the early writers (including Cabrera Bueno) emphasize, there is deep water close to shore and the bottom is sand, these features were not easy to recognize from land. From the sea, it seems to have been much easier to recognize; when the San Antonio arrived in 1770, she does not appear to have had the slightest difficulty finding the sheltered anchorage.

Failing to find any satisfactory harbor between Point Pinos and Point Ano Nuevo, the confused party decided that their destination must still lie ahead of them.

Whatever the reason for their confusion, they decided that this was not Monterey Bay, and that it must lie ahead. So, on October 6, 1769, they left their camp at the then mouth of the Salinas River, and proceeded northwards. Travelling up the coast, they came to what was then known as San Francisco Bay, and now as Drake's Bay, which they recognized by the Faralones and Point Reyes. They then realized that they were too far north, and that Monterey Bay must lie behind them. So they decided to retrace their steps, and on November 28, 1769, arrived once more at their old camp at the mouth of the Salinas; they later moved to the mouth of San Jose Creek, south of the Carmel River. They stayed there until December 10, waiting for the sea expedition which was supposed to join them. Food was running desperately

short. When the ships did not arrive, they decided to risk staying no longer. They set up two crosses--one on the Monterey side of the peninsula, the other at the mouth of the Carmel River--and set off again for San Diego.

While at Monterey in 1769, the diarists made little mention of Indians. Crespi, on Dec. 1 states (Palóu, 1857, VI:354) (7): "We did not see a single Indian hereabouts" (they were then camping at the mouth of the Salinas). On November 30, apparently while camping at the mouth of San Jose Creek, he states (Palóu, 1857, VI:392) (8):

> "This afternoon there came to the camp some ten or twelve gentiles who said that their rancheria was up the valley of the river that empties in the estuary /i.e., up the Carmel Valley/. They brought us their gift of a good ration of pinole and seeds which they distributed among the people and the Commander /Portolá/ replied with a few glass beads."

On December 5, the following statement was written by Crespi, and gives a clear picture of the confused and disappointed state of mind of the party (Palóu, 1857, VI:395) (9):

> "At Point Pinos no port is to be found nor have we seen on all the route more unpopulated country than in this neighborhood nor people more rough than are to be seen in this diary, considering to the contrary the voyage of Commander Sebastian Vizcaino; that Monterey was well populated with the very best of gentiles, although this is easier to get confused than a port as famous as was Monterey in past centuries;..."

Costansó's diary for that day reads very similarly (Teggart, 1911, p. 120) (10):

> "We must also say, that land more depopulated than those situated in the aforementioned latitudes principally at the end of the Sierra de Santa Lucia, we have not seen in all the journey, nor people more rough, nor more savage, than its natives: Where is then the populous/land/ which those of old so greatly emphasized, and the extreme docility of its inhabitants".

It should be noted, Wagner (1923-27, VII: fn. 170) to the contrary not withstanding, that the Portolá party saw some Indians near Monterey Bay, although very few.

Another land expedition went up the coast from San Diego in 1770, while another was sent by sea. The land expedition arrived at Monterey May 23, 1770; the San Antonio arrived on May 31, and stayed until July 9. The mission of San Carlos Borromeo was established, somewhere near the site of the present Royal Presidio Chapel in Monterey, and a presidio built. Palóu (1787, p. 103) states (11):

> "On the same day when possession was taken of the port.. the Mission was founded with the appropriate name...The gentiles did not let themselves be seen in those days, because naturally they were terrified by the multitude of artillery and musketry shots that the troops let off; but in a little while they began to come near..."

The first local Indian, a five-year-old boy, was baptized on December 26, 1770.

Costansó, in his official diary covering both Portolá expeditions, gives the following description of the Indians (Costansó, 1950, pp. 63-64; von Hemmert-Engert and Teggart, 1910, pp. 64-67) (12):

> "The natives of Monterey live in the hills, the nearest about one and a half leagues from the beach. They come down sometimes and go out fishing in little rafts of reeds. It seems, however, that fishing does not furnish their chief means of sustenance, and they have recourse to it only when hunting yielded little. Game is very plentiful in the mountains, especially antelopes and deer. These mountaineers are very numerous, extremely gentle and tractable. They never came to visit the Spaniards without bringing them a substantial present of game, which as a rule consisted of two or three deer or antelopes, which they offered without demanding or/even/asking for anything/ in return/. Their good disposition has given the missionary fathers well-founded hopes of speedily winning them over to the faith of Christ."

This description forms an interesting contrast to Costansó's remarks on the first expedition.

In 1771, it was decided to move the Mission from the shores of Monterey Bay to the banks of the Carmel River, some five miles to the south. There was a better water supply there, and the fertile land of the Carmel Valley to cultivate. Also, doubtless, Serra did not relish the idea of his mission being in the middle of a military establishment, particularly with the irascible Catalan, Pedro Fages, in charge of it. The move was started at the beginning of August, and not completed until the end of December. Palóu (1787, p. 474) says of the new site (13): "In the neighborhood of the mission there are various rancherias of gentiles, that after the founding of the mission began to frequent it, and their reduction soon began..."

After a severe initial struggle with problems of supply, the population of the mission began to grow (see Appendix 1, Table 1). However, it never became one of the largest of the missions. The number of neophytes living at the mission never seems to have exceeded seven or eight hundred.

Vessels began stopping at the new port. The packet San Antonio came every year with supplies. Several Spanish voyages to the Northwest coast stopped there; in 1775, Juan de Bodega y Cuadra was there from August 29 to September 11 (Palóu, 1857, VII:243, 247). The first foreign visitor to Monterey was Lapérouse, in the ships Boussole and Astrolabe, from the fifteenth to the twenty-fourth of September, 1786. The account of his voyage contains considerable material on the Indians at the mission.

Lapérouse was followed by others on voyages of discovery: Alejandro Malaspina was there in 1791 from September 12 to September 25. Although he apparently questioned the Indians at the mission with the aid of two native interpreters, the publication of his papers (Malaspina, 1885) gives little of the material he obtained. The publication was by no means complete, and there is doubtless much more material from this voyage in the archives of the Dirección Hidrográfico in Madrid.

In 1792 the voyage of the Sutil and Mexicana stopped in Monterey from September 23 to October 22, on its way to the straits of Juan de Fuca. George Vancouver stopped there from November 26 of the same year to January 14, 1793. He returned the next November, but stayed only the first three days. In 1794 he returned again, and stayed from November 6 to December 2. In 1796 a Frenchman, Péron, stopped in Monterey from November 31 to December 8.

After Péron's visit, there is a long gap when no major voyagers seem to have visited Monterey. Humboldt gives an account of Monterey in his description of his voyage of 1803, but it is clearly quoted from the voyage of the Sutil and Mexicana, and was probably obtained from the Mexican archives. The only reliable information located for this period is the reply written by Father Amorós in 1814 to the 1811 questionnaire sent to the missions by the Spanish government.

The next voyager to stop at Monterey was Captain Beechey, in the ship Blossom. He was there from the first to the fifth of January, 1827. The account of his voyage gives little information concerning the Indians of San Carlos Mission. In the same year, the ship Héro, commanded by Duhaut-Cilly, stopped in Monterey from March 9 to March 27. She returned in 1828, and stayed from the third to the thirtieth of May.

In 1834 Mission San Carlos, along with all the other Spanish missions in California, was secularized according to the decree of Governor Figueroa. Already poverty-stricken, with few Indians left, it began to fall into ruins.

In 1936 Ruschenberger visited Monterey from the twenty-fourth to the thirtieth of October. In 1837, the French frigate Vénus, commanded by Abel du Petit-Thouars, was amchored at Monterey from October 18 to November 14; one of her seamen died there and was buried at Carmel Mission. In 1839, the Artémise, under Laplace, was there from August 24 to September 5. The illustration of Mission San Carlos in the account of Laplace's voyage shows it already

in a state of some disrepair, but by no means in ruins. T. J. Farnham visited the mission on April 25, 1840; he describes it as "ruined" and almost forsaken. 1842 saw two travellers come to Monterey: Sir George Simpson of the Hudson's Bay Company, from January 15 to 19 and Eugene Duflot de Mofras.

By the 1840's there were few Indians left in the vicinity of Monterey, and those that remained were, as far as can be gleaned from the literature, completely missionized. The last pagan Indian in the area under the jurisdiction of Mission San Carlos had been baptised long before, on September 17, 1808 (Culleton, 1950, p. 168). In later years the sources speak little of the Indians; they are more interested in recording the quaint customs of the Spanish Californians.

Terminology

The name applied to the Costanoan speakers of Carmel Mission is Rumsen or Runsien. It appears to have been the name of one of several Costanoan villages within the area taken by Carmel Mission for proselytizing purposes. There is no indication that it was the principal village of the area, nor, indeed, that there was any super-village organization of any description. It has been, and is here, used simply to distinguish between the Costanoan and Esselen speakers at Carmel Mission.

The earliest explorers gave no name to the Monterey Indians. None of the Vizcaino accounts make any mention of tribal or village names. Neither do the accounts of the two Portolá expeditions. The first indication of any subdivision of the Indians of the region appears in Fages' account (Fages, ms, p. 52). He divides them into those of the port and the mountaineers of the Santa Lucia range, which appears to correspond to the linguistic Costanoan-Esselen division. The only tribal or village name mentioned by him is Zanjones, six leagues on the road to San Diego, who sometimes troubled travellers (*ibid*., p. 51). They were Esselen.

The first writer to apply general names to the Indians of the region was Lapérouse, or rather de Lamanon, who wrote the linguistic notes on the Indians of Mission San Carlos. He states (Lapérouse, 1797, II:289) (14): "Monterey, and the Mission of San Carlos which depends on it, includes the country of the Achastliens and the Ecclemachs." And (*ibid*, p. 290) (15): "The country of Ecclemachs stretches out at more than twenty leagues to the east of Monterey; the language of its inhabitants differs absolutely from all those of their neighbors.." Achasta was another Costanoan village near Carmel Mission (Pillin, ms. 1, p.6), from which the term *Achastliens* is clearly derived.

The term Runsien appears to have been used first in the account of the voyage of the *Sutil* and *Mexicana*. Here it is stated (Navarrete, 1802

p. 164) (16): "The Indians who come to this Mission, are those of the Runsien or Eslen tribes which are the principal ones, or of those of the Ismuracanes or Aspaniaques..." and (p. 167) (17): "From the information that our Missionaries have been able to acquire concerning the customs of the two nations, Eslen and Runsien, who occupy all of northern California /sic/, it seems that the former is the most numerous, and that the individuals of both are wandering and scattered..."

Malaspina also used the term Runsien. Although he visited Monterey before the Sutil and Mexicana expedition, his account seems to have been written after the account of that voyage was available, since he refers to it. His usage of the term must therefore be considered later than that in the aforementioned voyage. He stated (Malaspina, 1885, p. 443) (18):

> "Three tribes, different and perpetual enemies among themselves, live now united in this mission...These tribes are called that of the Runsien, of the Eslenes and of the Vaysh, to which /plural/ follow towards Santa Clara and San Francisco those of the Ymuracan and Aspaniac..We will carry no further the thread of our comparisons, and he who wishes to continue them, may read in the relation of the voyage to the Straits of Fuca the information that has been inserted there concerning these natives and it conforms to that acquited by us in the campaign of 1791...."

Who the Vaysh were remains unknown. No such name appears in Pilling's list (ms. 1, p.6) of village names, and Harry Downie (personal conversation) had never heard of it in the mission records.

Doubtless more material on these tribes exists in the archives of the Dirección Hydrográfico in Madrid, with the rest of the documents from Malaspina's expedition. The 1885 publication was only partial, and the remainder of the material is not at present available.

In reply to the 1812 questionnaire it is stated (Amorós, 1950, pp. 468 and 477):

> "Seven Indian tribes live at this mission. They are the Excelen and Egeac, Rumsen, SargentaRuc, Sarconenos /p. 468: Sanconeños/, Guachirron, and CalendaRuc. The first two are from the interior and have the same language or speech, which is totally distinct from the other five, who also speak a common language."

And (pp. 468 and 478):

> "These seven tribes speak two languages: the one is Rumsen, the other Excelen; they differ entirely."

Excelen and Egeac were Esselen villages. Of the five Rumsen "tribes" listed by Amorós, Rumsen, SargentaRuc, and CalendaRuc are given by Pilling (ms. 1, p.6) as Costanoan villages, as Rumse-n, Sirhin-ta-ruk, and Kalinta-ruk. "Sanconenos" and Guachirron (Wacharo-n) are given as Costanoan villages of unknown location.

As noted above, "Sarconenos" is given in the Spanish version as "Sanconeños". Since "-eños" is a Spanish suffix meaning "dwellers of", the name of the village would not be Sanconenos, but Sancon-; certain final syllables are dropped before this suffix. It is possible that the village referred to is Los Zanjones (Spanish for "the deep ditches"). Culleton (1950, p. 271) identifies this with Ensen, an Esselen village. The same writer (1950, p. 174) considers it unlikely that Father Amorós knew either language; if this is true, it would probably explain the confusion, if such it is. Culleton (1950, pp. 206 and 271) seems to regard Guachirron as part of GalendaRuc, on the lower Pajaro River.

The Rumsen language is a member of the Costanoan group. It appears to have been so considered by Powell when the group was first established by him (Powell, 1891, pp. 70-71). His opinion seems to have been derived from suggestions by Latham (1853, p. 78; 1856, pp. 83-84) that a group of languages near San Francisco Bay, called by him Costano, were related to Rumsen or Ruslen (which, however, was placed in a "Salinas" group, with Esselen and apparently Salinan) and the Soledad dialect, and also to Mokelumne. A further source for the Costanoan group was Gatschet's statement (1877, p. 157):

> "Mutsun--This name, of unknown signification, has been adopted to designate a family of dialects extending from the environs of San Juan Bautista, Cal., in a northwestern direction up to and beyond the Bay of San Francisco and the Straits of Karquines, in the East reaching probably to San Joaquin River. It is identical with the language called Runsien or Rumsen..We can distinguish the following dialects: - San Juan Bautista;..Mission of Carmelo, near the port of Monterey; the Eslenes inhabited its surroundings. Santa Cruz,...La Soledad Mission;../and/ Costaño,..."

Gatschet suggested that these languages were related to Mokelumne and Miwok; Powell in 1877 (1877, pp. 536-537) followed this, but in 1891 (1891, p.70) repudiated it. The notion was, however, not killed; it was still available to Kroeber in 1904 (Kroeber, 1904, p. 69). In 1910 Kroeber again presented the possibility of relationship between Costanoan and Miwok (Kroeber, 1910, p. 259). This was followed in 1919 by the establishment of the Penutian family by Dixon and Kroeber (1919, pp. 48-102). It then consisted of Costanoan, Miwok, Maidu, Wintu, and Yokuts, and has since been extended to include certain languages outside California. Hence, the Rumsen language is now considered a member of the Costanoan group of the Penutian family.

Region

The Rumsen, for the purposes of this paper, are those people of Costanoan speech who inhabited the area served by Mission San Carlos Borromeo del Rio Carmelo, and who were in course of time incorporated into that mission. Such a definition implies the area of this group; however, it is defined in terms of the mission, and not in terms of native groupings. It has, therefore, no real significance from the point of view of the aboriginal ethnographic situation, and for this reason no attempt has been made in the present paper to define its boundaries. There does not appear to have been any native grouping larger than a village. It is now impossible, except in a very few cases, to separate the data on the Rumsen from that concerning the Esselen living at Carmel Mission, let alone to separate the information on specific Rumsen villages. The historical records speak only of the Indians of Carmel Mission, and often they are not even that specific. At the present time, the only possible way to obtain information on Mission tribes that are now extinct seems to be to take them in the groupings formed by the missions, remembering always that these are Spanish, not aboriginal groupings and areas.

In general, the area under consideration is the southern half of Monterey Bay, the Monterey Peninsula, Carmel Bay and a short distance up the Carmel Valley, and down the coast about as far as Big Sur. This area consists of the coastal plains of the Salinas and Carmel valleys, which are separated by a line of hills terminating in the pine-forested Monterey Peninsula; and the seaward slope of the northern part of the Santa Lucia mountains. For such a limited area, the habitat is quite surprisingly varied: well-watered valley floor, steep mountains, pine forest, several types of sea-coast, and the marshy lagoons on both sides of the Peninsula. It still supports a richly diversified flora, and in former times a similarly varied and abundant fauna, several of the larger members of which are no longer to be found. Trees growing there include the Monterey pine and cypress, oaks, willows, both black and white poplars, alders, and maples (Ascención, ms, ff. 74^{v} and 81^{v}; Vancouver, 1798, II:35). Several berry plants are also to be found: blackberries, huckleberries, and strawberries. Piñons grow in the Santa Lucias. The land fauna included bears, wildcats, mountain lions, elk, deer, antelopes, cottontails and jackrabbits, foxes, squirrels, and a great variety of birds. Aquatic fauna included quantities of fish and shellfish, among which should be mentioned sardines, steelhead, mussels, and both black and red abalones as likely to have been important food resources; whales, seal, sea otters, and such aquatic birds as gulls, cormorants, and pelicans, besides beach birds and those of the lagoons. Sea otters were believed to have been hunted out of existence by 1842 (Duflot de Mofras, 1844, p. 394); however, in recent years they have made a comeback in this area, and may often be seen off various coastal points.

Physical appearance, costume, and ornament

Early travellers, except those of Vizcaino's expedition, all seem to

have regarded the Monterey Indians as a physically rather unprepossessing group. They are described as being short or of medium stature, rarely running to fat; dark skinned, with straight black hair, thick black eyebrows, small, deep-set black eyes, prominent cheeks and cheek-bones, a short nose depressed at the root, a large, thick-lipped mouth, and good teeth (Lapérouse, 1797, VI:37-38; Petit-Thouars, 1841, II:112). Rollin gives a series of physical measurements taken at Monterey (see Appendix 1, Table 2). In short, the Rumsen do not appear to have differed significantly from most other Californian groups in their physical appearance. Most writers remark on the lack of intelligence of these Indians; however, such observations of eighteenth century writers are so likely to be heavily weighted with cultural factors that they say less about the observed than about the observers, and consequently have little or no scientific value.

Ascención and Navarrete state that the Indians of Monterey went naked (Ascención, ms. f. 83v; Navarrete, 1802, p. 167). This appears to be an exaggeration, since other writers describe a specific costume; however, Menzies (1924, p. 293) states that the men went naked. It seems likely that at least a large proportion of the men went naked most of the time. When they wore anything, it consisted of a loincloth of otter-skin (Lapérouse, 1797, II:271), and a rabbitskin cape from shoulders to waist, tied under the chin with a string (Lapérouse, loc. cit.; Fages, ms, p. 53). Lapérouse further states that some of the men wore well-woven basketry hats; Merriam (ms., p.14) denies this, although he mentions a head kerchief woven of fine grass, longer than broad, which was worn in the hot sun (see also p. 63).

Female costume consisted of a piece of buckskin or sea-otter skin draped around the hips, falling to the knees, and an apron of braided/?/ tule, apparently sometimes dyed or painted red and white. Over their shoulders they wore a cape of buckskin. Girls under nine years of age wore a girdle only; small boys went naked. Early sources make no mention of shoes, and Merriam states that no moccasins were worn; Petit-Thouars (1841, II:113) states that women wore a piece of cowhide attached to the feet as shoes. (Fages, ms, p. 53; Laperouse, 1797, II:271; Menzies, 1924, p. 293; Merriam, ms. pp. 13-14).

Red ochre was worn as body paint by warriors in time of war. Tattooing was unknown. Ornaments of abalone shell were worn, and ears were pierced for the attachment of ornaments. A necklace of spherical beads was worn; it was made from a white stone splashed with blue that came from Hash-show'-wen (Jamesburg), the home of the Esselen in the mountains southeast of Carmel. It was also used as money. The chief wore a headdress of white seagull down; dancers, of flicker feathers. A nose-stick was not worn. (Laperouse, 1797, IV:39; Malaspina, 1885, p. 371, fn.1; Navarrete, 1802, p. 169; Beechey, 1941, p. 68; Merriam, ms. pp. 14-15).

Laperouse and Menzies state that the hair of both sexes was worn cropped to about four or five inches from the head, this operation being done with a lighted brand (Laperouse, 1797, II:271; Menzies, 1924, p. 293). Petit-Thouars

(1841, II:113) states that the women wore their hair loose over their shoulders, or with a cord tied around the head dividing it into three tufts, one on each side and one at the back. This may represent a change in fashion over the forty-year period between the visits of Menzies with Vancouver, and Petit-Thouars.

Rollin (Laperouse, 1797, IV:38) states that both men and women removed beard and body hair by plucking with bivalve shells or with a stick split at the end. Menzies, however (1924, p. 293), states that the men wore long beards; this sounds rather improbable.

Economy

The economy of the Rumsen was on a hunting and gathering basis. Their diet consisted of acorns, wild oats, buckeye nuts, pinenuts, blackberries, strawberries, mushrooms, and seaweed among vegetable products; steelhead and other fish, abalone, clams, duck eggs, deer, antelope, moles, rats, and squirrels. They did not eat frogs, toads, or owls, these being the only animals they feared (Amoros, 1950, pp. 472 and 482). An unidentified fruit is mentioned by Fages (ms, p. 55) (19):

> "...and another wild fruit of the size of an ordinary pear, which they eat roasted or boiled, although it is a little bitter. The tree that bears it is rather whitish and like the fig tree, not very tall: when it bears fruit it is divested of its leaves."

The method of gathering pinenuts was to light a fire at the foot of the tree; after a few hours, it fell to the ground, and the nuts could be collected by hand without difficulty (Fages, ms, p.55). Wild oats mush was one of the principal foods before the padres came (Merriam, ms, p. 27).

Fishing was done from tule balsas (Costanso, 1950, p. 63). No early descriptions of fishing methods exist; Menzies (1924, p. 293) states that the women collected shellfish, but gives no indication of method. Pilling (ms. 2) states the following:

> "As late as the 1880's, the Indians still fished in the Carmel River for steelhead. It was called salmon then. The old folks used to camp along the river and wait for the steelhead to run. They could hear the fish in the rapids just above the mouth of the Carmel. When they heard the fish they would take their torches and go to the river and spear the fish. The torch was made of long stiff grass tied together at various places, so as not to burn all at once...The torch was kept near the fire ready to use. When the run started, the torch was lit in the fire and the old folks went out into the river. They used a three-prong spear with the prongs set out from the main stem at an angle. The blacksmith at Monterey used to make the spears for the Indians of iron. If they did not use these spears they used pitch forks."

A hunting disguise has been described by several writers (Vancouver, 1798, II:36; Menzies, 1924, p. 284; Navarrete, 1802, p. 164; Laperouse, 1797, II:251). It consisted of a deer-skin, with head and horns intact, the head being stuffed with dried grass to maintain its shape. In this attire the hunter joined a herd of deer, using his left hand as a foot and carrying his bow and arrow in his right. He imitated the movements of the deer, and pretended to browse; according to Navarrete, he imitated the behaviour of the opposite sex from that of the group of animals he was among. This he did so cleverly that Laperouse reports that at thirty paces the hunters of his company would have shot at the Indian hunter if they had not been prevented. When he came close enough to an animal--within two or three yards, according to Vancouver--he discharged his arrow from a stooping position, while the attention of the animal was directed elsewhere. The first or second arrow usually proved to be fatal.

The only hunting weapons reported are the bow and arrow (for description, see Weapons, p.64). With these they were very skilful and patient hunters. They crouched, hid themselves, and crawled near to the game, which they shot at a distance of fifteen paces or less. In this way they killed the smallest birds (Menzies, 1924, p. 294; Laperouse, 1797, II:250). Menzies states:

> "...they seldom missed their aim, when they saw us therefore miss a shot with our Fowling Pieces at a Bird flying, they would then exult in the superiority of their own mode & weapons by shewing us their dexterity."

During the periods of shortage of food supplies at the Mission, the neophytes obtained their own food according to their old methods. When Serra returned from Mexico in 1773, the Indians were all in Monterey at the beach in search of food; however, when the frigate arrived with supplies, they rejoined the Mission once again. (Palou, 1857, VI:608; VII:29; Laperouse, 1797, II:269).

According to Amoros, (1949, pp. 475 and 485), when a hunter killed a bear or a mountain lion, he would extract a claw or a tooth and wear it around his neck, as a token of his bravery. He was then respected.

Pilling (ms. 2) makes the following statement:

> "The chief used to tell the people when they were to go and get what food. At one time, when the acorns were ripe, they went and collected acorns. When the fish were running in the Carmel, they fished. When the duck eggs were ready to be collected, they went over to the marshes in the Salinas Valley and collected duck eggs. When the young ducks were just short of flying they went over again and caught the fledglings. In between times they stayed at the village and collected shell-fish for food."

The above statements apply to, probably, the last quarter of the nineteenth century, well after the end of the Mission period. It seems possible that this function of the chief was a carry-over from Mission days rather than an aboriginal pattern, the chief taking over the funtion of the departed padres. However, the pattern of work seems completely aboriginal: a sequence of gathering seasons with periods of dependence on the most permanent food supply, shellfish, in between. The wide range of collecting area is noteworthy: at that date, a group apparently living in the Carmel Valley had at least some collecting rights in the Salinas Valley. Since this was probably the last organized community of Indians in the area, and there were probably none such in the Salinas Valley, it is impossible to say whether such extended gathering rights were customary in prehistoric times.

Seeds (wild oats) were parched with hot coals on a flat, wide basket, called by Merriam a "snowshoe-shape winnower". Laperouse remarks upon the evenness and skill with which this operation was performed (Merriam ms, p. 22; Laperouse, 1797, II:268). Seeds and acorns were then ground. Laperouse, Peron, Petit-Thouars and Vancouver describe the mano and metate only for this process. Laperouse (1797, II:266) states that grain was crushed on a stone with a cylinder; Vancouver (1798, II:35) describes the apparatus as follows:

> "...two small stones placed in an inclined position on the ground; on the lower one corn is laid, and ground by hand by rubbing the other stone of nearly the same surface over it."

Petit-Thouars merely says that acorns were crushed between two stones (1841, II:117). Peron gives the following account of the milling operation (1824, p. 128) (20);

> "...fifteen to twenty Indians were sitting on their heels, having before them a flat stone two and a half feet long and one and a half wide; with both hands they held another stone, prismatic in form, with which they crushed the grain."

All of these, except for the vague account of Petit-Thouars, sound like metates and manos of the Mexican type which were in use by Spanish and Mexican families in Monterey until at least the last generation. Merriam (ms, pp. 19 and 22) gives words for bedrock mortar ("these and portable ones also used at Sur"); portable stone mortar; metate; mortar or milling basket, i.e. hopper mortar ("= stuck-on basket, because fastened to mortar by means of asphalt"); pestle of stone; and hand stone for rubbing (i.e., mano). All these implements are known archaeologically in the area, indeed, from the mission itself. It is probable that all were in use, in late prehistoric and historic times at least. They may have been used for different purposes; the sources yield no clue on this point.

Once ground, acorn meal was winnowed in the snowshoe-shaped winnower

above mentioned. Wild oats and pinole seeds were sifted in a basketry sieve. Acorn meal was next leached, sometimes in a burden-basket, to remove the tannic acid (Merriam, ms, p.22; Petit-Thouars, 1841, p. 119).

According to Petit-Thouars (1841, II:118-119), leached acorn meal was allowed to ferment somewhat, and then made into cakes which were cooked to keep for winter provisions. The same author (1841, II:113) states that food, presumably including acorn mush, was cooked by stone-boiling in water-tight baskets. It was not seasoned with salt or butter (Laperouse, 1797, II:266). Merriam (ms, p. 19) states that baskets were the only cooking vessels, and (ms, p. 22) that burden baskets were sometimes used to cook mush in. He also mentions an "abalone shell shovel on long wood handle...to carry hot stones from fire to cooking basket." (ms, p. 20). Mush of wild oats was one of the principal foods before the Padres came (Merriam, ms, p.27). Merriam gives the only clue to the way foods were served: he gives words for two kinds of "small mush or soup bowl (twined)", and a "very small/one/ (used for dipper & cup)." This seems to indicate that food was dipped out of the large cooking vessel with a very small basket, and served in small basketry bowls.

Kelp was dried in the sun and roasted in front of the coals before it was eaten (Merriam, ms, p. 28).

When plenty of food was avilable, the Rumsen would eat until they had gorged themselves (Amoros, 1949, pp. 471 and 481). They were described by Rollin as "moderate due to idleness, and gluttons in time of abundance" (Laperouse, 1797, IV:44). This habit of a succession of periods of gorging and starving was probably the result of the succession of gathering seasons mentioned on page 16, above; brief periods of plenty of perishable foods, followed by interims when food was harder to get and more monotonous.

Animal fat was regarded as a great delicacy (Laperouse, II:268).

Architecture

Two kinds of structures are known to have been built by the Rumsen: dwellings and sweat-houses. Dwellings were hemispherical huts, six feet in diamter and four in height. The frame was composed of boughs the thickness of an arm, which were embedded in the ground, and came together at the top to form a vault. This was covered with tules or broom (Merriam, ms, p. 16); Laperouse (1797, II:262) states eight or ten bundles of "straw" were used, and that two or three such bundles were kept in reserve near the hut in case of need. He says that more than half of the structure remained open, whatever the weather. However, he visited the Mission in September, when the weather is usually warm and dry. Further, in another place (1797, II:269) he says that when all the inhabitants were absent, the hut was closed with one bundle of straw. Merriam (ms, p. 16) states that the structure came to a point above, and was big enough for two families. Navarrete (1802, p. 165) mentions a foundation circle of stones or adobes, but his description of the structure is so vague that it is

difficult to know how much weight to give this statement. The only furnishings mentioned for these huts are skins laid out around the fire to sleep on (Laperouse, 1797, IV:45).

Merriam (ms, p. 20) states that these houses were large enough for two families. Laperouse (1797, II:262) states that in 1786 seven hundred and forty Indians, including children, were living in some fifty of these huts; that is, an average of about fifteen per hut. This seems to corroborate Merriam's statement.

During the mission period, the Indians were extremely difficult to dissuade from their aboriginal form of dwelling. According to Laperouse (1797, II:263), the Indians said that they liked the fresh air, and that when the house became infested with fleas it was a simple matter to burn it down and build a new one. To judge from the accounts of later travellers (Taylor, 1871, p. 136), this must have been no mean advantage. Further, the wild Indians are said to have been constantly on the move, and hence found it advantageous to have quickly-built dwellings, (Laperouse, 1797, II:263; Vancouver, 1798, II;34; Navarrete, 1802, p. 165). After the close of the mission period, the Indians lived in adobe huts with tile roofs (Farnham, 1850, pp. 99 and 101).

Menzies (1924, p. 294) says that the groups of Indians seen by him near Monterey Bay built no huts, "but generally kindled a fire in the open air near to where they collected their food and huddled together round it at night, covering themselves with Deer Skins & the Pelts of other Animals." These parties appear to have been groups of gentiles who came down to fish on the Bay. It seems likely that they were from established villages inland, and were merely camping on the Bay, and hence would not go to the trouble of constructing proper houses.

Sweathouses appear to have been semi-subterranean. They are described as a circular hole in the ground, covered with "a sort of bell" (presumably a conical roof, probably thatched) (Navarrete, 1802, p. 166). The entrance was low and narrow, and it was necessary to go through it on all fours; it had no covering. It does not appear to have been in the form of a tunnel, but simply an opening left at the side of the structure. The fire was built next to the doorway, and served as the only means of closing the entrance. No mention is made of the use of steam in sweating. The sweathouse held six to eight persons. (Fages, ms, p. 54; Navarrete, 1802, p. 166; Petit-Thouars, 1841, p. 120; Merriam, ms, p. 16). (For use of sweathouse, see Sweating, p. 76).

Merriam (ms, p. 16) describes what may represent a third type of structure. This is a "brush wickiup...large & square; framework of poles covered with brush and plastered with mud on outside." This description is on the line following that of "domed hut (tule or thatched)...Rook'...". No native name is given for the "brush wickiup". It is therefore not perfectly clear whether the description is part of the description of the rook', or whether it represents a

distinct structure for which Merriam did not obtain the native name. However, since the rook' is described as round, and the "wickiup" as square, and since no description of the domed hut mentions mud plaster on the outside, it seems likely that Merriam's "wickiup" is actually distinct from the domed hut. It may have been some kind of roofless sun- or wind-shelter.

Rollin (Laperouse, 1797, IV:45) says that preferred locations for villages were the edges of riverbanks and the sides of mountains that were exposed to the midday sun. Pilling (ms. 2) says: "The Indians always built high and away from water. They never lived on the creeks." It seems probable that high, sunny locations were preferred, and the banks of at least the Carmel River were avoided, perhaps owing to danger of flooding.

Basketry

According to Merriam (ms, p.22) all Rumsen basketry was twined, and none was coiled. It was all made from Salix nigra (ibid, p.23). Types of baskets included burden baskets, sometimes used also for leaching acorn meal and cooking mush; two kinds of seed paddle, one with a handle like a dipper for gathering oats, and one with a round bottom but no handle; a large flat-bottomed cooking bowl; two kinds of small mush bowl; a very small bowl, used as a dipper or cup; a "snowshoe-shape winnower...for winnowing acorn meal, like Piute winnower but broader at narrow end, used also to roast seeds"; a basket sieve, for sifting ground wild oats and pinole seeds; a baby basket; a trinket basket, to be described later; a small subglobular choke-mouth bowl, 3 to 12 inches in diamter, apparently used for carrying water; a hopper mortar basket, stuck to the base with asphaltum; and a storehouse basket (Merriam, ms, pp. 22-23). Laperouse (1797, II:271) mentions also a basketry hat, worn by the men; Merriam (ms, p. 22) denies the presence of such hats. Since more than a hundred years intervene between the visits of Laperouse and Merriam, it is possible that such hats may have fallen into disuse; on the other hand, it is possible that Laperouse may have confused his memory of the costume of the Indians of Baie des Français, which he visited before Monterey, with that of the Rumsen.

The trinket basket was a small bowl, decorated on the outside with abalone pendants and features--black ones from the crest of the California quail, and others of different colors. It was used to hold sewing materials, and was burned as a sacrifice when people died (Merriam, ms, p. 22); Petit-Thouars, 1841, II:113; Beechey, 1941, p. 69).

The storehouse basket was three to four feet high, and made of peeled willow rods fastened with willow bark. The bottom was covered with cattail leaves, and the top with madrone leaves. It was kept in the house and used for storing split acorn meats. (Merriam, ms, p. 23).

Weapons

The sole Rumsen weapons appear to have been the bow and arrow. The bow was well-made, sinew-backed, from three to four feet long; the bowstring was made of sinew. The arrows were about the same length as the bow, tipped with a neatly-worked flint point, "with jagged edges" (serrated?), which was attached by means of pine-tree resin. Both bow and arrow might be wrapped with sinew cord (probably at the grip and to attach the point). The Rumsen were skillful archers (Laperouse, 1797, II:272; Menzies, 1924, p. 294; Merriam, ms, p.20).

According to Rollin (Laperouse, 1797, IV:58), if the Rumsen used any poison on their arrows, it was not particularly effective. The Spaniards Rollin spoke to knew of no fatal arrow-wounds over a period of several years.

Miscellaneous manufactures

The only kind of boat in use by the Rumsen was the tule balsa (Merriam, ms, p. 21). It is mentioned by Costanso (1950, p. 63) as "balzita", that is, a small raft. It was used for fishing, apparently in the ocean. Judging from the fact that the Spanish do not describe the vessel further, it seems likely that the form was that with which they were already familiar from other parts of the New World to the south: a long narrow raft constructed of two or more bundles of tule, with tapering ends tending to curve upwards. There is nothing to indicate that it was any more or any less elaborate or well-made than the well-known form [the diminutive used by Costanso does not carry the derogatory meaning implied by certain other Spanish diminutive suffixes.] It seems probable that the balsa was paddled rather than poled, since Merriam (ms, p.21) gives a native word for "paddle", but not for "pole".

The fire drill used by the Rumsen was made of elder. Dry manure was used as tinder (Merriam, ms, p. 19).

The Rumsen tobacco pipe was straight, and made of cane (Merriam, ms, p. 20).

Two kinds of thread were in use: one was made of sinew, and was used as bowstrings and for wrapping bows and arrows, but not for sewing. The other was made of nettle, and was used for all kinds of sewing. Cord or rope was also made of nettle. (Merriam, ms. pp. 20-21).

A soaproot brush was "used for hair and other purposes". A carrying band for the head was "used here but name forgot" (Merriam, ms, p. 21).

Political and Social Organization

Comparatively little is known of the political and social organization of the Rumsen. The political unit appears to have been the village or settlement

unit, with little or no wider ties; Amoros (1950, pp. 468 and 477) states that the villages in the gentile state were continually at war with one another. Fages (ms, p. 51) says that war between the Indians of Monterey Bay and of the Sierra (i.e., the Esselen) was frequent. Malaspina (1885, p. 443) states that the Runsien, the Eslen, the Vaysh, the Ymuracan and the Aspasniac (all apparently villages) were in a constant state of war.

The chief appears to have been at least the principal governmental agency; he is the only one mentioned. He could be either a man or a woman (Merriam, ms, p. 32). He appears to have been a man who was respected for his prowess in war and possibly also the hunt. Navarrete (1802, p. 167) says: "...by his greater valor and skill in war he had obtained the subordination and obedience of the rest." Amoros (1950, pp. 474 and 484) makes the following statement:

> "The prominent Indians are the captains or kings. There is one for each tribe/nacion: probably "village"/. They command obedience and respect during their lifetime. This office is hereditary, or, in default of an heir by direct descent, it goes to the closest relative. This chief alone among the pagans could retain or desert a number of unmarried women; but if he had children by one of them, she was held in higher esteem and he lived permanently with her. He retained the privilege of living with unmarried women whenever he so desired. The entire tribe rendered service to him in the days when they were pagans, as well as now that they are Christians. He led the van in battle, supplied the bows and arrows, and encouraged his people. He was, as a rule, a very good archer. Even today they show more respect and submission to their chiefs than to the alcaldes who have been placed over them for their advancement as citizens. The chiefs are always recognized as elders and teachers of their tribes, even in the event that old age forces them to give the chieftainship over to a successor. They wear no distinctive mark of any kind. In the days of paganism, a cloak made from rabbit skins usually distinguished them..."

The sentence chosen by Amoros to illustrate the Rumsen and Esselen languages is also of interest in this regard: "Men who are good bowmen are esteemed and well liked." (Amoros, 1950, pp. 468 and 478). He also states (pp. 470 and 480) "At the close of their seed-harvest, the chiefs of each tribe customarily give a feast, at which they eat, sing and dance."

There seems to be no other evidence to corroborate Amoros' statement that the office of the chief was hereditary. It seems possible that it was not formally so, but that the son of a chief had a slightly greater chance of

succeeding his father than did another youth. All it may mean is that Amoros knew of one or two cases where the son had succeeded the father, and was generalizing from these. It seems more probable that the chief was simply a man who was well respected for his ability as a war leader, and thus became the natural leader of the group.

The duties of the chief appear to have been to lead the group in time of war; to advise and direct in other activities, including the gathering of food (Pilling, ms, 2; see above, p. 15); and, apparently, to give a feast at the end of the gathering season (acorn harvest?). One of the last functions of the Indian "capitán" late in the historic period was to arrange for the feast and festival of San Carlos Day at the Mission (Harry Downie, personal conversation).

Marriage

Evidence concerning the number of partners in marriage is somewhat contradictory. Navarrete (1802, p. 169) says that among both the Rumsen and the Eslen only one wife was permitted. Laperouse (1797, II:270) says that polygyny was permitted, and that a man might marry all the sisters of one family. Amoros (1950, pp. 474 and 484; quoted above) says that the chief alone might retain a number of "unmarried women", but that if one of them bore him children, she apparently became his principal wife. The statement of Laperouse may, perhaps, not apply to the Rumsen in particular; it may well have been hearsay obtained from the priests at the Mission, and refer to groups at other missions. The remarks of Navarrete and Amoros are not irreconcilable; Navarrete was probably considering the group in general, while the chief had a special status. However, it seems a little odd that Navarrete should omit to mention an exception to his blanket statement covering both tribes. It is the kind of detail that a European usually notices rather readily.

Marriage was arranged in the following manner. The parents or next of kin would decide that their son or daughter should marry a certain person. Having reached agreement, the consent of the marriageable child was asked. Marriages were sometimes made contrary to the wishes of one (or both?) partners, but such marriages seldom lasted. When consent had been obtained, the relatives went to see the intended. If he (or she) agreed, the contract was complete, and the man was free to go to eat at the home of his future bride. He procured for her a gift of beads or the like. His relatives contributed a share of this bride-price gift. When the bride was given to the groom, the gift was divided among her kinsmen. (Amoros, 1950, p. 471; Navarrete, 1802, p. 170) (22).

Barrenness and incompatibility appear to have been major grounds for divorce (Amoros, 1950, pp. 469 and 478). It is not clear whether adultery was so considered: Amoros (loc. cit.) states that it was the cause of much war and death in gentile times. Navarrete states that an unfaithful wife was not punished physically, but that her accomplice was cut or beaten with sticks, sometimes to the cost of his life. He says that the Eslen repudiated an unfaithful wife, but

not necessarily permanently, or turned her over to her new lover in return for indemnification for her bride-price. Such a specific statement implies that among the Rumsen, an adulterous wife was not divorced.

Fages (ms, p. 54) states that whenever married persons cohabited, they scratched each other.

Kinship

The kinship system of the Rumsen is fairly adequately recorded. The early sources yield no information on this subject. From their silence, it may be inferred that descent was probably patrilineal, since matrilineal descent would have been more likely to arouse comment from European visitors.

Three lists of Rumsen kinship terms exist: Merriam's (ms, pp. 2-4); Pinart's (Heizer, 1952, pp. 7-8); and Kroeber's (Gifford, 1922, p. 76). Of these, Merriam's is the most complete, while Kroeber's is the most phonetically reliable. Merriam's list was obtained from three female informants; Pinart's from one male; Kroeber's, from one of Merriam's informants. The following is a reconstruction from these three sources of the probable forms of kinship terms used by the Rumsen. The scheme of presentation is that of Gifford (1922); the phonetic symbols are those of Bloch and Trager (1942). A complete comparative listing of all terms given in the sources, in the original orthography, will be found in Appendix 1 (table 3). In both listings, the possessive prefix has been deleted, and replaced by a dash to show that the form given is a combining form. A question mark in parentheses indicates that the form occurs in only one source, without supporting evidence.

Parent class

ápa, - apan(?) F

ána, - a·n M

isuin S, wmn. spk.
inšinš S, mn. spk.
isuin∼læ čut (?) D, Wmn. spk.
kan D, mn. spk.

Grandparent class

pap Gf

ména,--men Fm

ána (?) Mm

meresens Gs

mersens (?) Gd

Sibling class

ták-a ∼-s; --takan Ob

tan-a ∼-s; --ta·n Cas

taú·sixs (form of Sibilants uncertain)Ysb

Uncle class

éte, --éten U	'meresena Np
ánakans A	--mers (?), --kan, (?), kaná (--ná?) (?) No

Spouse Class

úrin H	xáwan W

Parent-in-law class

úxin ~ xowom (?) Ml	mars (?) Sl
xowom (?) Pl	tíšan (?) Dl

Sibling-in-law class

mers (?) ~ hau·nake (?) Bl	tíšan Ssl

A few details of explanation should be added to this listing. The form inšinš (Son, man speaking), given by Pinart, is supported by the Mutsun form inis given by Gifford (1922, p. 75); likewise kan, (daughter, man speaking) Mutsun ka. Merriam's form úxin (mother-in-law) is supported by the Santa Clara and Mutsun form uxi (Gifford, 1922, pp. 74 and 76); Kroeber's xowom (parent-in-law) resembles no other term in any Costanoan dialect, unless it be Santa Cruz howo (father's father) (Gifford, 1922, p. 74). Pinart's form uxi (aunt) resembles Merriam's Santa Clara and Mutsun forms for mother-in-law, whereas Merriam and Kroeber agree on anakans for aunt. It is likely that some confusion is involved. Kroeber and Pinart both give only one term for younger sibling; Merriam twice has the same term for younger brother as for younger sister; he has crossed it out both times, and has replaced it by tah'-kah, which is identified as brother. What appears to have happened is that Merriam asked for the term for younger brother, and heard a word which he associated with younger sister. Checking this, he is likely to have asked the informant, "Isn't that the word for 'younger sister'? What is 'brother'?, in reply to which he would get the only term that referred specifically to a brother, and meant "older brother".

The form for niece is rather dubious. Pinart gives "ca-mers o ca-can" for niece; "o" is certainly Spanish "or", and Pinart is here giving two forms, -mers and -can. Merriam gives the form kah-nah', cousin or niece. In every other form where kah- is prefixed, Merriam specifies that it means "my", but not in this case. If kah- is part of the term, it looks very much like Pinart's -can (/kana, kan/). Pinart's -mers appears to be phonologically identical with the forms given by Kroeber for "son-in-law" and by Merriam for "brother-in-law".

The form for brother-in-law presents another problem. Merriam gives mărs (/mers/), Kroeber gives hauunake. These may well be alternative terms. However, mers is the same form as that given by Kroeber for son-in-law; and Kroeber's

terms for daughter-in-law and sister-in-law are identical with each other. If symmetry is to be expected from the system, mers is probably the term to be preferred.

Apart from the above considerations, which concern simply the forms of terms of kinship, a few details of the system merit particular attention. One is the fact that the terms for nephew and grandson are identical. The same trait occurs in the Mutsun system; and there the reciprocal terminological equation occurs - namely, uncle equals mother's father (Gifford, 1922, pp. 75-76). According to Gifford (1922, pp. 248-249), these equations are two of twelve associated with marriage to the wife's brother's daughter, either polygnyously or as a widower. The same author states (op. cit. p. 252) that this appears to be primarily a Penutian institution, reaching a maximum expression among the Wintun; and points out (op. cit. p. 253) that such equations may result from "diffusion of the marriage institution, the resultant terminology, or both."

A second point to be noted is the merging of terms for siblings-in-law with those for children-in-law. Concerning this, Gifford (1922, p. 180) makes the following statement:

> "Among relatives by affinity, those of the parent-in-law classes and sibling-in-law classes are as a rule denoted by special terms...Hence the merging of parents- and children-in-law in siblings-in-law is of peculiar interest. It occurs among the Colorado river Yuman tribes, among the Yokuts, and sporadically with the Rumsen and Southwestern Pomo."

The classification of offspring among the Rumsen is also interesting, although not quite clear. Three or--possibly--four terms were employed: man's son, man's daughter; and probably woman's child, although Merriam gives two terms for this. The Mutsun had such a three-term system; otherwise, only the Yuman tribes possessed it. Four-term systems were restricted to the Southern Athabascans in California (Gifford, 1922, p. 126).

The classification of grandparents involves a somewhat similar problem. The terms for father's father and mother's father were clearly identical, and hence equal grandfather. However, Merriam gives different terms for father's mother and mother's mother; the other two sources give simply "grandmother". In the case of Pinart, this probably means that "grandmother" was all he asked for. Kroeber, however, may have asked for both mother's and father's mother, and received identical terms. Since Merriam's term for mother's mother is identical with that for mother, it is possible that some confusion occurred. Whether or not this is so, the classification was one of two types: two-term, grandfather -- grandmother, or three-term, grandfather --father's mother -- mother's mother. In the first case, Rumsen would be aligned with fourteen other California tribes, including most Penutian groups, in the second commonest Californian system. If the system was three-term, Rumsen would belong to

a group of tribes, all on the borders of the Penutian group, with what Gifford calls a "hybrid" nomenclature. They all occur sandwiched between the Penutian system and a four-term system. The systems of the tribes immediately neighboring the Rumsen are unknown (Gifford, 1922, pp. 128-129, and map 2).

Crime, punishment, and quarrels

According to Laperouse (1797, II:269), theft was unkown among the Rumsen in 1786, despite the flimsy structure of their houses. No home had anything to tempt the cupidity of its neighbors. Navarrete (1802, p. 171) found the same condition in 1792. By 1814, stealing at least from the Spanish had increased to such an extent that Amoros (1950, pp. 473 and 483) placed it first in a list of the "vices" of the Rumsen: they called it "no more than taking." However, on the same pages Amoros states: "They give, lend, and make agreements (23) not as strangers, but as brethren." This statement implies some laxity in the concept of personal property; a laxity which would not be appreciated by the Spanish. There is no mention of native punishments for stealing.

Laperouse (1797, II:275) states that homicide was very rare, even among the wild Indians. It was punished only by general contempt. Navarrete (1802, p. 171) states that it was regarded almost with indifference; he contrasts the Eslen, who punished homicide with death. If a man was killed by a group attack, it was supposed that his fate was deserved, since he had attracted so many enemies (Laperouse, 1797, p. 275). Adultery was punished on the person of the male partner (see above, p. 67) (Navarrete, 1802, p. 170).

Duplicity and lies were not so common in the gentile state as they became after missionization. The neophytes lied brazenly in 1814 (Amoros, 1950, pp. 473 and 483).

If two men quarrelled, they fought each other with the bone spatulas used in the sweat bath, which they carried at all times. As soon as blood was drawn, no matter how little, the battle was over, and the contenders reconciled, even if it were over a major affront (Fages, ms, p. 53).

Life Cycle

The sources have little to say concerning the course of pregnancy. Rollin (Laperouse, 1797, IV:54) states merely that women suffered little inconvenience during gestation. This statement appears to be obstetrical rather than cultural. Nothing is known concerning the presence or absence of pregnancy tabus.

Childbirth was easy, and labour short, Old women acted as midwives. As soon as the child was born, the old women cut the umbilical cord and bathed the child in cold water. The mother immediately went and washed herself in the sea or in a stream. On coming out of the water, she sat on a hot stone and was covered with skins, and sweated until the stone grew cold; she then plunged once more into

cold water. This procedure was sometimes repeated on several following days (Laperouse, 1797, IV-54).

Amoros describes a somewhat different post-natal sweatbath (1950, pp. 472 and 482). A hole was made in the floor of the hut; a fire was built in it and rocks heated there. When they were hot, they were covered with green herbage, to form a sort of mattress. The mother and new-born child lay on this; the woman sweated profusely, and the child was kept warm. This was done for six or seven days, after which the mother was asvigorous as if she had not given birth.

When accidents occurred (in the sweatbath? or in the course of delivery?), the midwives treated the affected parts with a fomentation made from a decoction of emollient seeds like linseed, called passelle (Laperouse, 1797, IV:55).

Abortions were not very rare. The woman behaved in the same way as in the case of a normal delivery, unless she suffered hemorrhage. In this case, she remained in bed, and cold fomentations were applied to the genitalia (Laperouse, 1797, IV:55-56). Difficult deliveries or abnormal presentations usually resulted in the death of both mother and child (Laperouse, 1797, IV:54).

Infants were given the breat until they were eighteen to twenty months of age, normally. However, the period had no definite limits; sometimes it was very short (Laperouse, 1797, IV:56).

Rollin (Laperouse, 1797, IV:56) and Petit-Thouars (1841, II:113) have left brief descriptions of cradling practises. The infant was wrapped in skins, the limbs being aligned along the body and held there by strips of leather. He was then placed in "a/piece of/ tree bark, of a size proportionate to the child, and in the form of a /mission?/ tile" (Rollin) or "a kind of basket made from tree bark" (Petit-Thouars), to which he was held by bands or strips of skin. This cradle was almost certainly a basket; Merriam (ms, p. 22) gives a Rumsen word for "baby or papoose basket". It is not perfectly clear whether this cradle was carried on the mother's back; it probably was. A child might also be carried piggy-back on the hips, held there with a strip of untanned leather (probably buckskin) (Petit-Thouars, 1841, II:113). This statement sounds as if it might apply to an older child rather than to a very young infant.

Children were much loved by their parents, and were never struck except when they showed meanness in childish squabbles. As the children grew older, however, they cared little for their parents. They scarcely recognized their father, although their attachment to their mother lasted longer. Girls would help their mother all their lives (Amoros, 1950, pp. 469 and 478; Laperouse, 1797, II:272).

There appears to have been little formal instruction of children. Boys were taught the use of the bow and arrow; girls probably learned to perform household tasks from their mother, since they are said to have assisted her (Amoros, 1950, pp. 469 and 478).

Merriam (ms, p. 31) gives a native word for a puberty dance. Apart from this, no accounts of puberty ceremonies have been found in the literature. As in every other case where information is lacking, this does not necessarily mean that they did not exist.

Marriage arrangements have already been discussed in another connection (see p. 66 above).

When old age made it impossible for a man to support himself by hunting, he was provided with food by the rest of the village. The old people were treated with respect (Laperouse, 1797, II:272). Old women might become midwives (Laperouse, 1797, IV:54). At least one important religious function was also open to them; they could also become shamans (see below) (Amoros, 1950, pp. 469-470, 479).

According to Laperouse (1797, II:273) the dead were usually cremated. However, Fages (ms, p. 53) and Amoros (1950, pp. 473 and 482) both state that burial was the custom; and Merriam (ms, p. 30) denies the presence of cremation. There was no special cemetery. A hole was dug, and the deceased placed therein. An unweaned child was buried with its deceased mother if the family was unable to care for it. Clothing, beads, and seeds were placed with the corpse. (Fages, ms, p. 53; Amoros, 1950, pp. 473 and 482). Merriam (ms, p. 29) states that abalone shells were used to dig the grave, and that the dead were buried sitting up, wrapped in skins. Amoros (1950, pp. 470 and 480) states that all the belongings of the deceased were destroyed; clothing and goods were burned; in mission times, animals were killed and plants uprooted, all in order to eradicate the memory of the departed. However, Navarrete (1802, p. 172) states that this was specifically an Eslen custom, and that the Rumsen divided the property among the relatives of the deceased.

Mourning involved cutting the hair--if no knife was available, it was burned off a little at a time--smearing the body and face with ashes; and loud and profuse weeping. At the funeral of Father Serra, the weeping and wailing of the neophytes drowned out the singing of the choir (Palou, 1787, p. 280). Old women smeared their faces with pitch, the effects of which lasted for months. At the funeral of a chief, the whole tribe /village?/ gathered together to mourn around the corpse, and the ceremony lasted sometimes for four days (Amoros, 1950, pp. 470 and 480, 473, and 482-483; Navarrete, 1802, pp. 171-172; Laperouse, 1797, II:271).

There was a strong tabu on the name of the dead, as is usual in California. If a child was orphaned at an early age, no one would tell him the name of his

parents. A person was offended if the name of a dead relative was mentioned in front of him,"Your father is dead" was a severe insult (Laperouse, 1797, II:271-272; Amoros, 1950, pp. 470 and 480). According to Harry Downie (personal communication) traces of this tabu still persist among the descendants of the Indians. They dislike talking about the dead people.

Warfare

Warfare among the Rumsen villages and with the Esselen was almost continuous, if the early accounts are to be trusted (Malaspina, 1885, p. 443; Amoros, 1950, pp. 468 and 477; Laperouse, 1797, II:272; Fages, ms, p. 51). According to Fages (Ms, p. 51), the major cause of war was transgression of collecting and gathering rights. When the coast Indians went into the mountains to gather acorns, the mountain Indians (Esselen) fought them; and vice versa, when the mountain Indians descended to the coast, Amoros (1950, pp. 469 and 478) states that in the gentile state, much war and killing arose from the infidelity of the women. The reference is not entirely clear, and may refer simply to severe corporal punishment for adultery. Amoros (1950, p. 473) (24) and Navarrete (1802, p. 168) state that the continual state of war was due to the persistent memory of old injuries and resentments, which made small transgressions sufficient cause for war. Wars, though frequent, were short, and casualties few; as soon as two or three had fallen, the others retreated (Navarrete, 1802, pp. 167 and 169).

Surprise is said to have been the main strategy. Sometimes, however, battles were fought by appointment. The time and place were set, and the chiefs advised their subordinates, who came with bow and arrows and "leather jackets" (cuera: perhaps some form of leather armor), painted with red ochre and wearing feathers. The women and children often accompanied the war party, taking care to keep their distance from the battle, so that they were on hand for victory celebrations and yet were ready to flee should it be necessary.

In order to intimidate the enemy, each side tried to make the other hear its preparations. When battle commenced, the warriors formed up into two lines, and advanced towards each other singing military songs "mixed with strange screams". When the lines came close together, they started shooting arrows. To further intimidate the enemy, before his eyes, atrocities were committed on the first victims (Navarrete, 1802, pp. 169-170). Laperouse (1797, II:272) states that although prisoners and enemy dead were not ordinarily eaten, if a chief or a very brave man was killed, a small part of his body might be consumed in homage to his valor and to increase that of the eater. He further states (pp. 272-273) that scalps were taken, and that eyes were removed and preserved as tokens of victory; the last sounds dubious, from both a practical and an ethnological point of view.

Two signals of a desire for peace have been reported. Fages (ms, p. 53)

gives the obvious one of unstringing the bow. The two Portola expeditions came into contact with the other: feathered sticks and arrows set upright in the ground. Crespi (Palou, 1857, VI:441) states that when the 1770 expedition arrived, he, the lieutenant of the Voluntarios de Cataluna, and a soldado de cuera went to examine the cross that had been set up in 1769 on Monterey Bay. They found it surrounded by arrows and feathered sticks, a row of sardines, a piece of meat, and at the foot of the cross a little heap of clams. No such offerings were found at the cross at the mouth of the Carmel River (op. cit., p. 443). Palou (1787, p. 106) states that when the neophytes began to speak Spanish, they told the padres that the Indians had been very frightened of the great sign left by the Spaniards, that at night it shone and appeared to grow until it reached the skies. That it should not harm them, they offered it food. On seeing that the food was not eaten, they offered it their arrows and feathered sticks, to show that they wanted peace with the cross and the men who had placed it there.

The 1769 expedition had already experienced this sign of peace somewhat to the north of Rumsen territory. Crespi (Palou, 1857, VI:356) says that, on the way north from Monterey, the advance explorers had come across a rancheria of some fifty souls. The people did not know the Spanish were coming, and were thrown into confusion. Some ran for weapons, some screamed, the women burst into tears. The soldiers did their best to reassure them. The sergeant dismounted, and approached with signs of peace. The Indians would not let him go to the rancheria; they made signs that he should stop. The Indians all seized their arrows and threw them into the ground, together with other darts (banderillas--darts used in bullfighting) and plumes which they had just brought from their houses. They then retired. The sergeant deduced that this was a sign of peace, and went up to and seized some of the arrows and other things. This pleased the Indians greatly; they applauded, and with signs invited the Spanish to eat.

This incident, although it did not take place in Rumsen territory, occurred not far away and within Costanoan territory. It seems highly probable, therefore, that the known Rumsen action with regard to the cross had a similar basis. It seems, however, to have religious overtones. In both cases the reaction was to one of extreme fear; the one, probably, to men on horseback, and the other to the supernatural behaviour of a wooden cross. It is clear from both accounts that some other kind of feathered stick, besides arrows, was used. As Kroeber has noted (Heizer and Whipple, 1951, pp. 55-56), feathered wands as offerings have also been reported from the Chumash and Maidu, and one is irresistibly reminded of Southwestern prayer-sticks.

Relgion

The sun appears to have been one of the principal deities of the Rumsen. It was believed that the sun had once been a man, and that he had had the power to take away their lives (Navarrete, 1802, p. 170). Offerings of tobacco smoke were blown towards the sun, the moon, and certain beings who were believed to dwell in the sky, all of which affected their needs. The offerer said, "There

goes this wisp of smoke that you may give me a good day tomorrow." A handful of pinole, flour, or seeds would also be thrown towards the sun, moon, or sky, with the words "I send you this so that another year you may give me more abundance (Amoros, 1950, pp. 470 and 479).

Certain old women were believed to have control over the fertility of the plants. They received gifts for this. When the year was a poor one, it was because the old woman was angry, and she had to be placated with further gifts. In good years, she was contented and approving, and everyone humored her (Amoros, 1950, p. 470).

It was believed that when someone died, he went to the place where the sun set. There, there was a man who received the dead. The dead sometimes returned to visit their relatives in dreams, which frightened them very much (Amoros, 1950, pp. 475-485). The Esselen believed that the dead turned into owls, which bird they held in great veneration (Navarrete, 1802, p. 170).

Medicine

Among the Rumsen, medical practice was in the hands of shamans. These were old people; it is not clear whether they were men or women, or could be either. To relieve pain, the shaman sucked on the aching part, and produced from his mouth a stone, which he said had been inside the sufferer, and was the cause of the illness. For this, the shaman was paid. Other old people sang and danced before the patient, and also received pay for it (Amoros, 1950, pp. 469-470, and 479). Merriam (ms, p.32) states that all doctors had the power of witches. He also (p. 31) gives a native word for the medicine man's dance. Putting these two sets of statements together, it appears likely that there were two kinds of shaman among the Rumsen: a sucking shaman, and the other a dancing one. The statement of Amoros implies that the two functions were vested in different persons. Both had supernatural powers.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that Rollin (Laperouse, 1797, IV:50) while at the mission saw a woman afflicted with epilepsy. The attacks usually lasted two hours. The normal duration of an epileptic fit is from five to twenty minutes; a two-hour seizure would be highly exceptional. On the other hand, two hours would be a reasonable length of time for a shamanistic performance.

Besides such performances, several other, more "practical" medical techniques were in use. Sweating (q. v. p.76) was a favorite remedy. Techniques for the reduction of dislocations were known, but were somewhat inefficient. Fractures were set, held in position with a bandage, and immobilized in a casing of bark (? This may be a basket, since it occurs in the same work in which the baby basket was referred to as a piece of bark) held in place by skin cords; the patient rested until consolidation was complete. Wounds and

ulcers, in simple cases, were left to heal by themselves. In severe cases, certain herbs were applied, either whole or crushed. If the pus produced by ulcers caused pain or wasting of the affected part, it was bathed with a lotion made from emollient plants or seeds. Hemorrhage was stopped with the aid of tampons made from animal hair, to which gentle compression was applied with the aid of pieces of skin held in place by cords, like bandages. The wad of hair was permitted to remain until it fell off owing to suppuration, after which the rest of the cure was left to nature.

Swellings containing fluid were left alone, unless they became inflammatory in nature. In this case, emollients were applied, either topically or in fomentations. The Rumsen knew nothing of methods for reducing hernias (Laperouse, 1797, IV:57-59).

The pain in an aching limb was sometimes relieved by binding it fast. Blood-letting was also a frequent practice: the aching part was punctured with a jagged flint, and the wound scraped, so that blood flowed freely. A root like a parsnip ~~was used as a~~ remedy for bloody (probably bacillary) dysentery; it was beaten to a powder, and administered as a drink with a little water. Sea water or amole sap were used as emetics; the latter was also taken as a purgative. No use was made of hot springs (Amoros, 1950, pp. 471-472 and 481-482).

Throat and chest ailments were treated with drinks of infusions of herbs; the herbs were afterwards crushed and applied to the epiglottis or to the site of the pain. Fevers were treated by making the patient vomit by forcing the finger back in the throat, and by sweating (Laperouse 1797, IV:49-50). Tobacco and abalone shells, mixed together and powdered, were given as an emetic (Merriam, ms, p. 28).

Sweating

The sweatbath appears to have been an important institution to the Rumsen, as it was throughout California. The structure of the sweathouse has already been described. It was used daily by the men; the women did not use it, although they also sweated after childbirth, but not in the sweathouse. According to Fages (ms, p. 54), the men sweated three times daily, in the morning, at midday, and at night.

The sweathouse held six or eight persons; the fire was near the door. Inside the sweathouse, the men scraped themselves or each other with shells or with bone spatulas, which they carried at all times, and used to scrape off sweat when marching and also as weapons in personal quarrels. To while away the time, various games were played. After about an hour of sweating, the men emerged, and plunged into the river (Fages, ms, pp. 53 and 54; Navarrete, 1802, p. 166; Amoros, pp. 472 and 481-482; Petit-Thouars, 1841, II:120-121; Merriam, ms, p. 16).

According to Rollin (Laperouse, 1797, IV:52-53, 57), sweating was a

favorite remedy, and, together with a decoction of sudorific plants, was regarded as a specific for syphilis. However, the form in which he describes it is not the normal sweathouse. A hole was dug in the sand about a foot deep and two wide, as long as the patient was tall. A fire was built throughout the hole and on the displaced sand. When it was all heated the fire was put out and the sand replaced superficially, to make the heat even. The patient removed his clothes and lay down in the hole. He was covered to the chin with heated sand. When the sand cooled and sweating diminished, he went and bathed in the sea or a nearby stream. This process was repeated until a cure was effected. It seems likely that this form of sweatbath was strictly medicinal, whereas the sweathouse had social functions as well, and was used in time of health.

It may be worth while to quote, in translation, Rollin's description of the plant which was drunk as a decoction in association with the sweatbath with a view to curing syphilis (Laperouse, 1797, IV:54 (25):

> Calix: four parts, ovoid, of the same size as the corolla, inserted in the fruit; it falls with the flower;
> Poly-petallic corolla: Petals four, small, entire oval, inserted in the receptacle;
> Stamens: Eight, inserted in the receptacle, of the same size as the corolla; fillets pulpy, furrowed or concave on one side, and convex on the other, wings rough, anther simple;
> Pistil: Fruit obrond (meaning not located), hairy pentangular, divided into five segments, enclosing an oblong seed; the hairs of the pericarp are very apparent, although very fine;
> Habit: I should judge that it must be a shrubby tree, at the most, of medium height; the stalks are angular, bushy, knotty, and covered with a sticky varnish; the insertion of the lateral branches alternates, and they are quite close to each other; the leaves smell, petiolate, bilobed, opposed, smooth underneath; flowers axillary, sometimes terminal, pedunculate, solitary, and sometimes geminate.

This plant was known t the Spanish as gouvernants.

Amusements

A number of Rumsen games have been reported. The hoop and dart game is described by Laperouse (1797, II:273); the native name for it is given by Rinart (Heizer, 1952, p. 13), and is recognizable as the same as that given by Laperouse (Pinart, tikirši; Laperouse, takarsia). The field was a space ten fathoms square, cleared of grass and surrounded with brush. The ring

was three inches in diameter; the darts were five feet long, and the thickness of an ordinary cane. The game was played by two men. Each tried to throw his dart through the hoop as it rolled, which gained two points; or to have the ring, when it stopped, fall on the dart, which gained one point. The game consisted of three points. It was a fast game, since the ring or the darts were always in motion.

A stick guessing game is described by Laperouse (1797, II:273-274); Fages (ms, p. 54); Lyman (1924, pp. 222-223); and Merriam (ms, p. 34). The object of this game was to guess which of the opponent's hands the object was in. According to Laperouse and Fages, the object was one stick; Merriam, a single marked shell or bone; Lyman, a particular one of two sticks. In order to distract the attention of the guesser, the player made many gestures, keeping his hands and body in motion the whole time; he sang, as did the onlookers, according to Fages and Lyman. Lyman states that the hands were held under a blanket. Laperouse states that four persons played it at once, apparently in teams of two--one hiding the stick, the other making distracting gestures--and that a profound silence was observed. If the guesser guessed right, he won a point and the right to hide the stick; if not, he lost a point. Five points made the game. Bets were laid on the outcome of the game; a skin, a handful of seed, a quiver, a glass of wine; Laperouse states that among the gentiles, the favors of the women were the stakes. Later in mission times, clothing was staked (Amoros, 1950, pp. 475 and 485; Lyman, 1924, p. 223). In the American period, the Indians were passionately fond of gambling, and would continue from Saturday evening to Monday morning (Lyman, 1924, p. 223).

Lacrosse was also played by the Rumsen; it was called *xils* (Heizer, 1952, p. 13) or *ils* (Merriam, ms, p. 33). Since Pinart's *x* probably represents an unvoiced glottal spirant, (or possibly a stop) which is very easy to miss, these two renderings undoubtedly represent the same word. Merriam (ms, p.33) states that the stick was curved like a golf stick; at the beginning of the game the ball was buried in the ground, and the first player struck it out with his curved stick.

Another game, called *trălk* or *tsǎlk* (Merriam, ms, p.34) was played with twenty sticks. These were split branches, flat on one side and curved on the other. They were thrown down, and if ten came flat side up, a count was made.

Pinart (Heizer, 1952, p. 13) mentions an unidentified ball game. Since the native word given by Pinart looks like no other name of a game, it is probably a different game from any described here.

Music

The musical instruments of the Rumsen consisted of the alder flute, the split-stick rattle (made of the wood of the California laurel, *Umbellaria*), the

bone whistle, and a rattle made of two cocoons (Amoros, 1950, pp. 474 and 484; Merriam, ms, p. 31). The hollow-log drum was unknown (Merriam, ms, p. 31).

Amoros (1950, pp. 474 and 484-485) states that the split-stick rattle was used to beat time for chants, which had the same rhythm whether joyous or sad. A chant of joy or vengeance would be sung to the same rhythm; the words consisted simply of naming the cause of their joy, or shouting disparaging words against the enemy. These chants were very simply: "Acorn a^{a}... a^{a}...Acorn," or "Maimed one o^{o}...o^{o}... Maimed one," or the like.

Kroeber (1910, pp. 258-259) gives eight Rumsen songs. Of these, four are dance songs; three of these appear to have mythological reference, and the other refers to a woman's white face paint. The longest of these runs as follows:

ka istun xaluyaxe	I dream jump
ka mas ictunine	I you dream-of
werenakai	rabbit
tceicakai	jackrabbit
eksenakai	quail

"I dream that you jump, I dream this of you, Rabbit, Jackrabbit, Quail." According to Kroeber, this was sung by Rat to the three animals mentioned, who danced.

Of the four other songs, two are charms--one to bring a husband home, the other a hunting charm; one is the quaint love-song:

hayeno	come!
ha-me ka rut·ano	you I mean
ha-purps tcokolate	hat chocolate-colored

"Come! I mean you with the chocolate-colored hat." The other song is stated to have been played by a blind man on his flute. A girl was attracted, came to him, and became his wife. The song is a very simple one:

piina watena tot·i	there goes meat

The story sounds like a folktale, but could well be true.

Merriam (ms, p. 31) gives Rumsen words for several dances. These are: medicine man's dance; devil's dance ("used bone whistle in this dance"); bear dance; coyote dance; dove dance; and puberty dance. They are not described.

One further note remains to be added with respect to music. On board ship in the vicinity of 55° North latitude, Crespi makes the following remark concerning some Indians approaching the ship in canoes (Palou, 1857, VI:645) (26);

> "From a good distance from the ship we heard them sing, and from the tune we knew they were gentiles, since those of San Diego and Monterey use the same song."

This statement is probably not to be taken too literally; it is to be remembered that the harmonies of Indian music were unfamiliar to Father Crespi's ears, and hence songs that were actually very different might well sound alike to him.

Calendar

The year was measured from one acorn harvest to the next. It was counted off in moons; the Indians would say that it was four moons until the harvest. The years of their age were not counted, nor the years since the death of a relative; owing to the tabu on the name of the dead, Father Amoros found that the Indians disliked such questions. Particular periods were remembered as when there was war, or when the sea was angry, or when a ship came (Amoros, 1950, pp. 472 and 482).

Appendix 1.

Table 1. Mission Statistics

Date	Population of mission	Source
Dec. 26, 1770	first convert	Palou, 1787, p. 105.
1773	154	Palou, 1857, VI:452 Palou, ms, f. 156v
1775	151	Fages, ms, 51
1784	ca. 700	Palou, 1787, p. 278
1786	711	Laperouse, 1797, II:253
1792	ca. 700 ca. 800	Menzies, 1924, p. 284 Vancouver, 1798, II:34
1803	700	Humboldt, 1811, I:326-327
1827 (Jan.) (March)	260 306	Beechey, 1941, p. 71 Duhaut-Gilly, 1835, II:150
1834	500 /!/	Duflot de Mofras, 1844 I:520
1836	almost abandoned	Ruschenberger, 1838, p. 507
1837	abandoned	Petit-Thouars, 1841, II:80, 117
1840	a few families only; a family of half-breeds are caretakers	Farnham, 1850, pp. 99-100
1842	40	Duflot de Mofras, 1844,
	no converts, no priest, a man and wife are caretakers	Simpson, 1847, p. 203

Table 2. Physical measurements (after Rollin) (Laperouse, 1797, IV:60)

	Men			Women		
	Feet	Inches	Lines	Feet	Inches	Lines
Average height	5	2	6			
Great diameter of head		9	-		8	5
Small " " "		5	4		5	3
Length of upper extremities	2	1	9	2	1	-
" " lower "	2	9	-	2	6	-
" " feet		10	-		8	6
Width of chest	1	1	-		10	9
" " shoulders	1	7	-	1	2	8
Height of vertebral column	1	11	-	1	8	6
Circumference of pelvis	2	6	8	2	6	-
Distance from one superior anterior spine to the other					8	5

"These proportions were measured in the following manner: for the upper extremities, from the head of the humerus to the end of the middle finger; for the lower extremities, from the head of the femur to the heel, and from the heel to the great toe; the width of the chest, from one superior humeral articulation to the other; the height of the vertebral column, from the first cervical vertebra to the sacrum; the great diameter of the head, from the superior angle of the occipital to the symphisis of the jaw, and the small diameter, from one parietal boss to the other." Owing to the peculiar nature of Rollin's measurements, they are of more historical than scientific interest.

Table 3. Kinship terminology

Kroeber	Merriam	Pinart	meaning	Kroeber	Merriam	Pinart	meaning
Parent class:							
apa	Ah'-pahn	--appan				--ǐnsinš	S, man spk.
	Ap'-pah	appa	F		--e'-soo-win	--isuin	S, wmn. spk.
						--can	D, man spk.
ana	An'nah,	--aan			Lǎ-choot	--isuińe	D, wmn. spk.
	--ahn	--ana	M	iswin			Ch, wmn. spk.
Grandparent class:							
	Pahps,					meršenš	Gs, man spk.
	pahp		Mf				
	Pahps,			meresens			Gch, wmn.spk.
	pahp		Ff				
pap		--pap	Gf				
	Men'-nā		Mm				
	An'-nah		Fm				
men		--men	Gm				
Sibling class:							
taka	Tah'ks, tah'kah	--tacan	Ob		Tah'-kah*	--taušinš	Yb
					Tow'-o-six, Ta-ow'-siks	--taušinš	Yss
tana	tahns, tow'-six, tǎ-ow'-six	--taan	Oss	tauusis			Ysb
Uncle class:							
	st'tä,			meresens		--mērs enš	Np
	--st'-tan		Fb				
	et'tā, --st'-ten		Mb			--mers, --	
	ahn'-nah-kans		Fss			--can	No, man spk.
	ahn'-nah-kans		Mss				
					Kah-nah'		No or cousin, wmn. spk.
ete		--etten	U				
anakens		--uji	A				
Spouse class:							
urin	--oor-rín	--urin	H	xawan	--how'-wan	--xauan	W

* Tow'-o-six, Tă-ow'-sike deleted in two places, and replaced by Tah'-kah, identified as brother.

Table 3--continued.

Kroeber	Merriam	Pinart	meaning	Kroeber	Merriam	Pinart	meaning
Parent-in-law class:							
	oo$^{ch'}$-in		Ml	mers			Sl
xowom			Pl	tictan			Dl
Sibling-in-law class:							
	mârs		Hb		Tish'-tan		Hss
	mārs		Wb		Tish'-tan		Wss
				tictan			Sl
hauunake			Bl				

Endnotes

(1) "...y se Sallaron cerca de una cierre muy alta y blanca y porlas faldas toda bermeza Poblados de muchas /74^{v}/ arboledas llamase esta sierra de santa lucia al aqual bienen a Reconocer de ordinario los naos que bienen de las yslas filipinas..."

(2) "La terra muy Poblada sin numero de yndios de que binieron en diferentes Besses cantidad de ellos á nuestro Real. paresse ser gente manssa y apassible; dicen por senas abar en la tierra ademtro munchas Poblaciones. El sustento que estos yndios comen mas cotidiano de mas del pescado y marisco as bellota y otra fruta mas gruesse que castana, que es lo que podimos entender de ellos."

(3) "Ay yndios aVnque rreselos de tratar con nosotros. digo que los dichos yndios se Vinieron de paz al pareser es gemte Buena y nos trujeron marisco y hacian mucha dilig^{a} por lleuarnos a su pueblo que senalauan estar tierra ademtro,..."

(4) "Esta todo este puerto cercado de Rancherias de yndios afables, y de buenos naturales y bien dispuestos y amigos de dar lo que tienen, alli nos trujeron Pieles de Osos y de leon y de benados usan arco y flocha y tienen su modo de gobierno tenian much gusto de quenos estubieramos de asiento en su tierra andan des nudos aeste puerto..."

(5) "...y es buen Puerto para socorro de las Naos de China por ser la tierra primera que reconocen, quando vienen a la Nueva Espana:..."

(6) "En 4 de Octubre/1783/ en la Iglesia de esta Mision de San Carlos de Monterey bautice solemnemente un hombre de mas de un siglo de edad natural de la rancheria de Sargenta ruc casado cuya mujer aun vivia su nacimiento fue por estos contornos y dice se acuerda cuando antiguamente aportaba por aqui la Nao de China que trataba con estos gentes dandoles abalorios por pieles de nutria y en una ocasion dejaron en la punta de Cipreses uns pipa o tonel para que se aprovesharse del fierro de los aros, llamabase en su gentilidad Pechipechi y era tenido de los suyos en mucha veneracion pusele por nombre Juan Francisco fue su padrino Manuel Buitron cabo de la escolta y para que conste lo firme. Fr. Matias Antonio de Santa Catarina"

(7) "No vimos por estos contornos gentil alguno;..."

(8) "Esta tarde vinieron al real unas diez ó doce gentiles que dijeron tenian su rancheria dentro de la canada del rio que desagua en el estero. Trajeron su regalo de buena recion de pinole y semillas que se repartió entre la gente y correspondió el senor comandante con unos abalorios."

(9) "En la Punta de Pinos ningun puerto se halla ni hemos visto en todo el camino tierra mas despoblada que la de estos contornos ni gente mas bronca como se vé en esta diario, ponderando lo contratio el viage del comandante Sebastian

Vizcaino; que Monterey está muy poblada de gentiles sumamente buenos, sunque esto es mas fácil de trastornarse que un puerto tan famoso como era en los siglos antecedentes Monterey;..."

(10) "Hemos de decir tambien, que tierra mas despobladas que las situadas por las alturas expresadas maiormente al salir de la Sierra de Santa Lucia, no las hemos visto en todo el viage, ni gente mas bronca, ni mas salbage, que sus naturales: Que es pues de lo populoso que tanto ponderan los antiguos, y de la suma docilidad de sus moradores?"

(11) "En el mismo dia que se tomó posesion del Puerto...se fundó la Mision con el propio nombre...Los Gentiles no se dexaron ver en aquellos dias, porque desde luego les causó espanto la multitud de tiros de artilleria, y fusileria que se dispararon por la Tropa; pero á poco tiempo empezaron á acer-/104/carse..."

(12) "Los Naturales de Monterey viven en la Sierra: los más cercanos á la Playa distan da ella como legue, y media, bajan á vezes, y salen á pescar en Balzitas de Enea, pero no debe ser la pesca su principal mantenimiento, y sólo recurrirán á alla quando les ayudare poco la caza que abunda mucho en lo interior de la Sierra, sobre todo la del verrendo, y venado. Son estos Serranos muy numerosos, en extremo dociles, y mansos; nunca salian venir á visitar á los Espanoles sin llevarles buen regalo de caza, que comunmente se componía de dos o tres Venados, ó Verrendos, que /64/ ofrecían sin exigir, ni siquiera pedir cosa alguna: sú buena índola ha dad á los Reverendos Padres Misioneros bien fundadas esperanzas de Conquistas brevement á la Fe de Christo."

(13) "...en las cercanías de la mision hay varias rancherias de gentiles que desde luego de fundada la mision le empezaron á frecuenter y empezó en breve su reduccion,..."

(14) "Monterey, et la Mission de S. Carlos que en dépend, comprennant la pays des Achastliens et des Ecclemachs."

(15) "Le pays des Ecclemachs s'étend a plus de vingt lieues a l'Est de Monterey; la langue de ses habitans differe absolument de toutes celles de leurs voisins;..."

(16) "Los Indios que ecuden a este Mision, ya sean de las tribus Runsienes ó Eslenes que son las principales, ó de las de los Ismuracances ó Aspaniaques.."

(17) "Por las noticias que had podido adquirir nuestrós Misioneros acerca de las costumbres de las dos naciones Eslen y Runsien que ocupan toda la California septentrional, parace que aquella es la mas numerosa, y que los individuos de ambos viven errantes y despersos;..."

(18) "Tres tribus diferentes y perpetuamento enemigas entre sí, existen ahors unidas en esta misión...Denomínase estas tríbus, la de los Runsien, de los

Eslenes y de los Vaysh, á las cuales siguen hacia Santa Clara y San Francisco las de Ymuracan y Aspaniac...No lleveremos más adelante el hilo de nuestras comparaciones, y el que guste continuarlas, podrá leer en la relación del viaje al Estrecho de Fuca las noticias que se han insertado allí de estos naturales y son conformes á las adquiridas por nosotros en la campana de 1791..."

(19) "...y otra fruta silvestro del tamano de una Peru regular que cemen azada y cosida, aunque amarga un poco. El Arbol en que se dá es un tanto blanquisco y al mode de la Higuera, no mui alto: Quando lleva fruta queda todo depojado de sus ojas."

(20) "...cuinze a vingt Indins étaient assis sur leurs talons, ayant devant eux une pierre plate de deux pieds et demi de long et un et demi de large; ils tenaient a deux mains une autre pierre de forma prismatique avec lacquelle ils écrassient le grain."

(21) "...por su mayor valor y destraza pars la guerra se han grangeado la subordinacion y obediencia de los demas."

(22) Geiger's translation of the words of Amoros (1950, p. 481) in this connection proved too inaccurate to use. A completely new translation was therefore made.

(23) contratan: Geiger translates this as "borrow". The word has no such meaning.

(24) "...y las guerras en que vivian era por el espiritu de venganza que nunca se les olvida la injurris que les hayah hecho." Geirge (Amoros, 1950, p. 483) translates this as follows: "Lasting feuds were due to a spirit of vindictiveness which did not permit forgiveness on an injury done them." However, Father Amoros' reference is clearly to his earlier statement (p. 468): ".. en el estado de Gentilidan ordinariaments vivían en guerra" ("in the gentile state they /the villages/ were usually in a state of war"), and not to personal feuds. Moreover, olvidar means to forget, not to forgive.

(25) "Calice: Quatre párties ovoïdes, de même grandeur que la corolle, inserees sous le fruit; il tombe avec la fleur;

Corolle polypétale: Quatre pétales, petits, entiers, ovales, insérés sur le receptacle;

Étamines: Huit, insérés sur le receptacle, de même grandeur que la corolle; filets charnus, sillonés ou concave d'un côté, et convexes de l'autre, ailes velues, anthere simple;

Pistil: Germe obrond, velu, quinquangulairs, divisé en cinq loges, rentermant une semence oblongue; les poila du péricarpe sont très-apparens, quoique tres-fins;

Port: J'ai jugé que ce devait être un arbrisseau, au plus, de moyenne grandeur; les tiges sont anguleuses, touffues, noueuses, et enduites d'un vernis

gluant, l'insertion des branches latérales alterne, et elles sont assez près les unes des autres; les feuilles petites, pétiolées, bilobées, opposées, lisses en-dessous; fleurs axillaires, quelquefois terminales, péduneulées, solitaires, et quelquefois géminées."

(26) "De bien apartados del barco los oimos cantar en en /sic/ el tono conocimos ser gentiles, pues usan el mismo canto que los de San Diego y Monterey."

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