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# Salt Pomo: An Ethnogeography

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**A**n ethnogeography is far more than simply a random list of names and places pertaining to a given region; rather, it consists of those places a particular community chooses to identify across its landscape, those critical locations that provide value and meaning for that community. Names are bestowed upon them, imparting cultural and human significance and imbuing the land with the life force of the group. Thus, the ethnogeography represents a window into that culture, a window that potentially allows a view of the desirable variables and resources involved in the basic functioning of that community, and sometimes also of the dangers, tangible or mythological, that may lie hidden in the area. Collection and analysis of such data can, then, contribute to the construction of a framework of the subsistence/settlement system as well as to an understanding of the relationships between the components of the system, and between the people and their territory.

Recent research in Salt Pomo territory<sup>1</sup> has produced new ethnogeographic data to add to the named villages identified in much earlier studies (Barrett 1904, 1908; Merriam MS, 1966, 1977). This new information is of particular interest because it significantly increases our general knowledge of the Salt Pomo, about whom little is otherwise known, and because it contributes to an understanding of their settlement pattern as well as to broader, regional land-use analyses. In addition, the study allows for comparison between the old and new data and thus a fuller evaluation of both is possible. The research also illustrates methodological problems and limitations encountered in attempt-

ing to elicit these kind of data, but it also emphasizes that valuable, new ethnographic information still exists and should be sought in every possible circumstance.

The Salt Pomo or *Tceefoka* 'salt people', in reference to their valuable salt deposit (McLendon and Oswalt 1978:286), represented a single tribelet of an estimated 350 persons (Kroeber 1932, 1962; Cook 1956:119) who occupied a small territory in the foothills of the North Coast Range on the western flank of the Sacramento Valley. These lands encompass the Big Stony Creek drainage, including a portion of the valley around Stonyford, as well as the mountainous headwaters of Big Stony Creek on and around St. John Mountain. This ethnolinguistic group was not identified by Powers (1877) in his pioneering California ethnographic effort in the 1870s, when he assigned this territory to the Wintun. It was not, in fact, until 1904 that Samuel Barrett (1904, 1908), carrying out research on the Pomo peoples and their neighbors, identified them as Pomo in contrast to their Patwin and Wintun neighbors. C. Hart Merriam also undertook sporadic field visits during this period, beginning in 1907 and lasting through the 1920s. His investigations are mainly represented in numerous but largely unanalyzed fieldnotes (Merriam MS, 1966, 1977, 1979; Merriam and Talbot 1974), containing village names and plant and animal identifications.

Little other material exists on Salt Pomo, as the group never was the focus of a single, intensive ethnographic effort. Some relevant data do appear, however, in more comprehensive works such as Barrett (1908),

Kroeber (1925, 1932), and Gifford and Kroeber (1937). Unfortunately, Gifford judged his information gathered for the Culture Element Distribution Study (Gifford and Kroeber 1937), the fullest and most systematic collection of data pertaining to this group, to be inconsistent and unreliable.

This ethnogeography of Salt Pomo territory has been compiled from three major sources, two from the materials of early ethnographers Samuel Barrett (1908) and C. Hart Merriam (MS, 1966, 1977), who both, fortunately, presented fairly detailed locational data for villages, although there is some disagreement between them. Mr. Lawrence "Sharkey" Moore provided the third and most detailed source.<sup>2</sup> Born in Stonyford in 1902, Moore is descended from Salt Pomo on his father's side and an early, White settler family on his mother's side. A rancher, he has spent his entire life in the Stonyford area, and is intimately familiar with the landscape, both in the valley and in the mountains. Moore has ridden the mountains all his life, has an excellent memory for topographical detail, and is expert with maps. (Legend states that fire fighters in the Mendocino National Forest always sought his advice on the terrain in the fire area and where the fire could best be checked.) He has taken a keen interest in the history of the area, both of Indians and settlers, and has made a point of talking to "old timers" since he was a boy. In addition to his grandmother and father, from whom he learned a great deal, he identified the following persons as particularly important in his search for information: "Old Jeff" (Harry Jeff's father), an aged Indian who lived along Moore's way to school; Santiago (San Diego), last chief of the Salt Pomo; Oscar McDaniel, Santiago's son and Moore's contemporary; and Mrs. Ferris, an early settler who lived just upstream from the main

Salt Pomo village during the nineteenth century when it was still inhabited.

I structured interviews with Moore specifically so that his data could be compared with both Barrett's and Merriam's locational materials. Additionally, the possibility had to be ruled out, especially since it was known from initial contact with Moore that his and Barrett's data were in significant agreement, that Moore's information was not based on his reading of Barrett (1908), a copy of which he proudly displays. This frequently is a problem for ethnographers, since well-informed consultants concerned with the past often seek literature of pertinent interest, and it becomes critical for the investigator to determine the source of such knowledge. It quickly became clear, however, that Moore commands significantly more detail than provided by Barrett, thus definitely indicating an independent source. Further, he remembers in many cases who told him about particular places and events. It is probable that he and Barrett shared some of the same sources.

Moore's sister, Beulah van Landringham, who also is very knowledgeable about the Stonyford area, was present during an important portion of one interview. Her comments and the discussion between the two enhanced and clarified many issues. For instance, several names that in part had been forgotten could be recalled as the two reminisced and reminded one another of various places.

A total of 42 locations were identified from these sources, 38 of them with sufficient confidence to allow mapping (Fig. 1). Four categories of data were established for purposes of analysis: territorial boundaries; villages; seasonal camps; and placenames. Each of these categories is examined in the following discussion.

Barrett's and Moore's descriptions of Salt

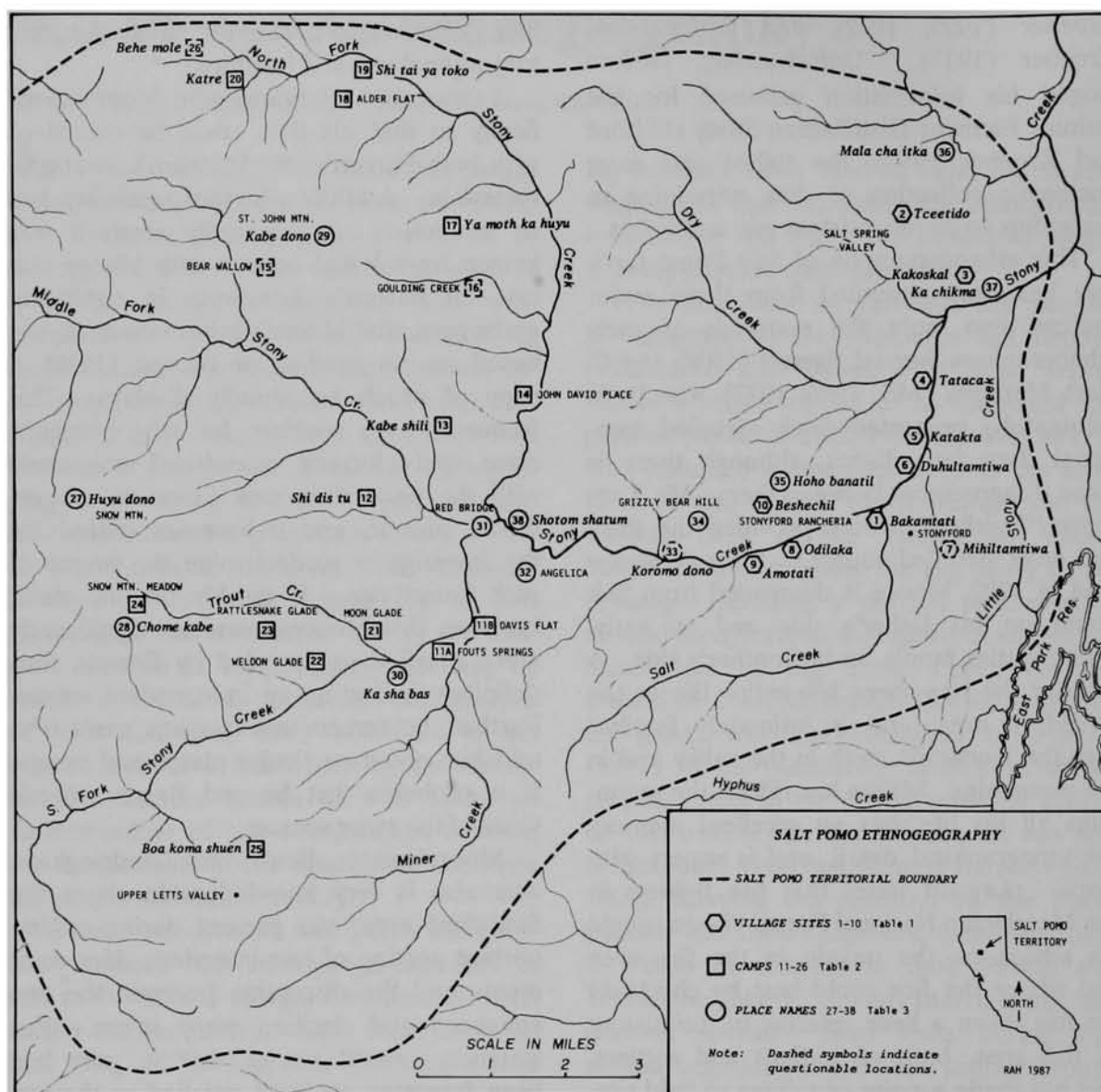


Fig. 1. Salt Pomo ethnogeography.

Pomo boundaries are in close agreement, and together they form the basis boundaries delineated on Figure 1. According to Moore, the western boundary was formed by the crest of the North Coast Range in the vicinity of Sheetiron, Snow, and Goat mountains. The northern boundary line ran from Sheetiron Mountain down Open Ridge to reach Stony Creek just downstream from its

confluence with Little Stony Creek; this line crossed the county road above the old site of Rockville. Little Stony formed the eastern boundary, but all the neighboring peoples in the area used the territory between Big and Little Stony creeks in the vicinity of the confluence. The southern boundary then ran from a point about four and a half miles upstream (south) on Little Stony Creek,

which is now under East Park Reservoir, and up the ridge dividing the Stony Creek and Little Stony Creek drainages, i.e., along Smelt Road Ridge, through Trough Springs and up Trough Springs Ridge to Goat Mountain, on the crest of the range.

Moore and Barrett disagree only in one section, the northeastern corner of the territory where Barrett placed the line across Big Stony Creek upstream (south) from the confluence. His eastern boundary then ran slightly to the west of Moore's on a low ridge between Big and Little Stony creeks (Barrett 1908:239-240), rather than on Little Stony Creek proper. Barrett stated that the boundary was not clearly defined in this region, and both agree that the area between Big and Little Stony creeks was used by both Salt Pomo and Hill Patwin (Barrett 1908:239, footnote). There are no suggestions, however, of any conflict over this territory.

Evidence from neighboring groups, the Hill Wintun to the north and the Hill Patwin to the south, supports the placement of these respective boundaries. For instance, *Caipetel*, usually recognized as a Hill Wintun village (Barrett 1908:290), is less than a mile north of Rockville, and Hyphus Creek, just south of Smelt Road Ridge, is said to be in Hill Patwin territory. In addition, several Hill Patwin villages are located along Little Stony Creek just south of the boundary as identified here (Barrett 1908:297; Kroeber 1932:351).

Merriam's data, on the other hand, agree with Barrett and Moore only in regard to the western and eastern boundaries (Merriam MS; Merriam and Talbot 1974:21). Merriam placed both the northern and southern boundaries farther to the north. For example, he drew the southern boundary through Fouts Springs, essentially the heart of the territory. There is no other support for this

placement. Kroeber's (1932:364-366) brief discussion of Salt Pomo boundaries very clearly corroborates Barrett's and Moore's placement.

On the north, Merriam set the boundary near the south bend of Brisco Creek, somewhat beyond the Moore/Barrett placement, but did not identify where it hit Stony Creek to swing southward to form the eastern boundary (Merriam and Talbot 1974:21). Placement this far north undoubtedly would have to include *Caipetel*, which Merriam listed elsewhere (1977:179) as *Shi'-pet-tel*, a Hill Wintun (*Dah'-chin-chin'-ne*) village. Kroeber lent some credibility to this possibility suggesting that the northern boundary may have been farther downstream (north) on Stony Creek than Barrett indicated and that *Caipetel* may indeed formerly have been Salt Pomo (Kroeber 1932:364-366). This kind of evidence implies the possibility of a region in transition with one group expanding into one another's territory, in this case the Hill Wintun at the expense of the Salt Pomo, as proposed elsewhere (McCarthy et al. 1985:31).

In light of this discussion it may be concluded that Merriam's boundaries are not as convincing as those defined by Moore and Barrett, particularly regarding the southern line. Moore's description of the northeastern corner is the most precise and so may be the most accurate. Given the nature of the disagreement between all the reports concerning this section, however, and of the shared use between groups, it must be considered that "ownership" and "rights" were not defined in such a manner that a clear and definite boundary could be drawn here in terms of our modern political standards.

This relatively small territory contained ten recorded villages that could be mapped (Fig. 1; Table 1). A "village" is defined as a permanent winter residence, occupied year

Table 1  
Salt Pomo Villages

Name	Barrett	Merriam	Moore	Hill Patwin Name
<b>Main Village</b>				
1. <i>Bakamtati</i> 'Big Chaparral'	X	X	X	<i>Torodilabe</i>
<b>Secondary Villages</b>				
2. <i>Tceetido</i> 'Salt Valley'	X	PNO	X	
3. <i>Kakoskal</i>	X	PNO	X	<i>Tcoklabe</i>
4. <i>Tataca</i>	X	X	0	
5. <i>Katakta</i> 'Spring Place'	X	x <sup>a</sup>	X	
6. <i>Duhultamiwa</i> 'north [of <i>Bakamtati</i> ]'	x	PNO	x	<i>Nominlabe</i>
7. <i>Milhultamiwa</i> 'south [of <i>Bakamtati</i> ]'	x <sup>b</sup>	PNO	x <sup>b</sup>	
8. <i>Odilaka</i> (refers to an owl)	X	X	X	
9. <i>Amotati</i> 'Big Dirt House'	X	X	x <sup>c</sup>	
<b>Modern Village</b>				
10. <i>Beshechil</i>	X	X	X	<i>Nopnokewi</i>
<b>Unmapped</b>				
<i>Turururaibida</i>	X	PNO	?	
<i>Dunnotedo</i>	0	X	0	

X = full agreement; x = partial agreement; 0 = no information; PNO = placename only; x<sup>a</sup> = CHM places this location at No. 6; x<sup>b</sup> = broad disagreement as to this location; x<sup>c</sup> = B and CHM place this ca. 1 mile further upstream than Moore.

after year, probably by the same families, who returned from the mountain gathering sites in late fall with stores of food to last through the winter months. *Bakamtati*, the principal Salt Pomo village, had multiple and equal chiefs, three according to Kroeber (1932:366). Each chief represented a lineage within the settlement and inherited his role patrilineally, ideally on the basis of primogeniture (Gifford and Kroeber 1937:154). The Salt Pomo lineage was an extended kin grouping, probably formed around both male and female ties, and village exogamy was practiced so that marriage with neighboring groups, the Hill Patwin and Hill Wintun, was frequent (Gifford and Kroeber 1937:149).

The main village contained several kinds of structures, including individual family dwellings which were round to oval, formed by a pole framework covered with thatch; a large earth-covered dance house, owned by a chief, and with a tunnel entrance plus a rear door; an earth-covered sweat house, similar to but smaller than the dance house; and granaries for winter stores of acorns, seeds,

etc. (Gifford and Kroeber 1937:143-144). A satellite village contained family dwellings, granaries, and possibly a sweat house.

There is basically good agreement between Moore, Barrett, and Merriam regarding placement of the villages. Barrett's orthography is preferred and has been used here except for two cases in which only Merriam recorded the Salt Pomo name. The several translations for the names (Table 1) are all Moore's, since neither Barrett nor Merriam provided this important information with their identifications. Also, the actual map placement of specific sites was determined with Moore, as Barrett's and Merriam's descriptions are of a general nature, e.g., "\_\_\_\_\_ is 3½ miles downstream from Stonyford on the east bank." (This level of locational information is quite adequate and satisfactory, nonetheless, especially when it is used to support more specific data such as Moore's.)

For the most part, the discrepancies that exist in the combined data are minimal. First, Merriam (1977:82-85) characterized

four mapped locations as "placename only" (designated PNO on Table 1), while Barrett and Moore agree that these were villages. There is good external evidence supporting identification of two of the four as, in fact, villages: Hill Patwin names are recorded for four villages, and two of these are in Merriam's "placename only" category - *Tcoklabe* (*Kakoskal*, Table 1, No. 3) and *Nominlabe* (*Duhultamtiwa*, Table 1, No. 6). The suffix *-labe* in Patwin is regularly used for settlements or residences (Kroeber 1932:262, footnote 23). In addition, Merriam identified his consultant as San Diego, who was judged by other ethnographers to be unreliable and secretive (Gifford and Kroeber 1937:123-124; DuBois 1939:143). (While San Diego also was one of Moore's mentors, there is no reason to believe that he would deliberately mislead a young Salt Pomo man as he might an ethnographer, and Moore had plenty of opportunity to verify his information.) It is suggested, then, that Merriam's data are weaker than Barrett's and Moore's, which are in agreement.

There is definitely a problem with the placement of *Mihiltamtiwa* (Table 1, No. 7). Barrett placed it near the foothills east of Big Stony, 3/4 mile northeast of Stonyford (Barrett 1908:245), while Moore placed it southeast of Stonyford. Moore translated the name as meaning "south" [of *Bakamtati*] so his placement is consistent with the name. McLendon's information confirms Moore's translation of *mihil* (McLendon 1973:95), as, in fact, does Barrett's (Barrett 1908: 65). Barrett indicated there was a question about the name of the village he located, so there may possibly be two different villages involved here. Merriam identified it as a "placename only" (Merriam 1977:83). Only Moore's location has been mapped.

A third discrepancy exists which concerns

the location of *Amotati* (Table 1, No. 9). Barrett and Merriam placed it upstream, apparently in the vicinity of the diversion dam on Big Stony Creek, while Moore's placement is about a mile downstream from the latter. Since Moore is so familiar with the territory, and it is uncertain whether or not either Barrett or Merriam visited the site, Moore's placement is preferred even though the majority opinion rests with Barrett and Merriam. Finally, Merriam placed *Katakta* (Table 1, No. 5) at the location of *Duhultamtiwa* (Table 1, No. 6), and did not consider the latter to be a village at all. With no other evidence for this, the decision again rests with the majority opinion of Barrett and Moore.

Two additional "villages" were recorded but not mapped: *Turururaibida* and *Dunno-tedo* (Table 1). The former is listed by both Barrett and Merriam. Barrett placed it on the "south bank of the middle fork of Big Stony Creek," about a mile beyond the confluence of the Middle and South forks (Barrett 1908:245). No very likely spot exists immediately adjacent to the creek, but it may suggest the Happy Camp area (where a seasonal camp is indicated). Merriam listed *Too'-roo-roo-ri-be-aa* as a creek on the north side of Fouts Springs and not a village (Merriam 1977:85). While again his source for this is San Diego, translation of *-bida* as "creek" lends support to this interpretation (Barrett 1908:60; McLendon 1973:71). Moore had heard the name but was not sure of its location, "somewhere north of Fouts Springs," and was uncertain as to just what kind of location it referred. Additionally, if a named residence existed at this elevation, it probably was not used year-round and thus would be a seasonal camp rather than a village.

Merriam alone listed the village of *Dun-no-te-do* (Merriam 1977:83), but he ap-

parently placed it on the same site as the principal village of *Bakamtati*, the latter which has been definitively located in the field. The name possibly may refer to some part of the latter village but more probably refers to the area surrounding *Bakamtati* since the ending *-tedo* means "valley." If Merriam's *dun-no* is his rendition of *dono*, "mountain," then the name "mountain valley" is indeed a suitable description for the setting of *Bakamtati*.

The number and types of villages and the relationships between them seem appropriate for a single tribelet. A large, major village, *Bakamtati*, served as the permanent winter residence for a fairly large number of families and as the main organizational and ceremonial center of the tribelet with three chiefs and a dance house (Kroeber 1932:364). Actually, there are the remains of two dance houses on this village site. They may have been used successively since a new chief might have built a new and larger dance house of his own, or they may have been used contemporaneously, each belonging to a rival chief.

Eight satellite or subsidiary villages are recorded for the vicinity. These served as the permanent winter residences for smaller groups of people, such as several related families. One of them, *Tceetido*, had particular importance as it was located adjacent to the fine salt deposit in Salt Spring Valley. This deposit is created by a seep of salty water from the northern hillsides onto the valley floor. The salt crystallizes during the dry summer months, when it was gathered. The crude salt was refined by a simple washing process that produced a palatable, fine white salt. It was the flourishing trade of this refined product to a variety of neighboring peoples that gave the Salt Pomo their name. While neither the value of the salt nor the full extent of its trade is doc-

umented, it must have had substantial value since a number of conflicts with neighbors over access to it are recorded. It also is not understood how control of the resource was distributed within the Salt Pomo. The well-established trails that connected the area with Clear Lake/Potter Valley, Round Valley, and Sacramento Valley facilitated trade of this commodity (Barrett 1908:240-244).

The number of satellite villages documented here probably are representative of the settlement system, but this may not be an exhaustive list. For instance, it may be suspected that another village existed at Barrett's more northerly placement of *Mihiltamtiwa* or that the placename *Mala cha itka* (Table 3, No. 36) may have been residential. Nevertheless, an eight-to-one ratio of satellite to major villages seems reasonable, considering the probable tribelet population figures. The following hypothetical population distribution is illustrative: one major village, 150-200 persons (30-40 families); four medium-sized satellites, 30 persons each (6 families), for total of 120; and four small satellites, 20 persons each (3-4 families), for a total of 80; thus producing a tribelet total of 350-400 persons.

It is also clear that the villages are strategically distributed across the landscape, apparently occupying the most suitable locations in the territory, again enforcing the notion that this is a complete or nearly complete list of permanent residences. For the most part, these villages are located along Big Stony Creek at an elevation of approximately 1,200 feet, at a mean distance of 0.93 miles apart (range 0.6 to 1.65 miles). Only two are not close to the main drainage (Big Stony): *Tceetido* (Table 1, No. 2), which is in Salt Spring Valley, and *Mihiltamtiwa* (Table 1, No. 7), which is out on the plain by a dry creek bed. The location of



**Table 2**  
Salt Pomo Seasonal Camps

Location	Salt Pomo Name	Translation
11a/b. Fouts Springs/Davis Flat	(name not recalled)	
12. Bonnie View/Happy Camp	<i>Shi dis tu</i>	(refers to dogwood)
13. Brittan Ranch	<i>Kabe shili</i>	Base of the rock
14. John David Place		
15. Bear Wallow		
16. Goulding Creek		
17. Twin Springs	<i>Ya moth ka huyu</i>	Panther in the snow
18. Alder Flat		
19. Pole Bars	<i>Shi tai ya toko</i>	Tarweed to grind up
20. The Pocket	<i>Katre</i>	?
21. Moon Glade		
22. Weldon Glade		
23. Rattlesnake Glade		
24. Snow Mountain Meadow (a main summer camp)		
25. Lower Letts Valley	<i>Boa koma shuen</i>	Elk roast
26. Morris Camp	<i>Behé mole</i>	Pepperwood camp
??	<i>Pakatcahuya</i>	— snow
??	<i>Waimun</i>	??

**Table 3**  
Salt Pomo Placenames

Place	Name	Translation
27. Snow Mountain	<i>Huyu dono</i>	Snow Mountain
28. High Rock	<i>Chome kabe</i>	Wolf Rock
29. St. John Mt.	<i>Kabe dono</i>	Rock Mountain
30. Red Eye Springs	<i>Ka sha bas</i>	Red Water
31. Red Bridge	(name not recalled)	
32. Angelica collection	(name not recalled)	
33. Angelica collection	<i>Koromo dono</i>	Angelica Mountain
34. Grizzly Bear Hill	(name not recalled)	
35. Signal Hill	<i>Hoho banatil</i>	(refers to fire)
36. Moore's Ranch	<i>Mala cha itka</i>	Black Jay
37. Spot along Stony Creek (near village of <i>Kakoskal</i> , No. 3)	<i>Ka chikma</i>	Bad Water
38. Devil's Gate	<i>Shotom shatum</i>	Devil's Gate

the former, in a lush valley near an extremely valuable tribelet resource, seems reasonable, but on the face of it, the location of the latter does not seem desirable. It is not protected, nor apparently is there a reliable source of water. This provides another basis on which to question placement of this village (as previously discussed) but Barrett's location puts it in a similarly undesirable environment in the dry hills. Further examination of the site, however, may reveal heretofore unseen residential

advantages. For instance, the dry creek may provide adequate water during the winter months of residence.

This settlement pattern was disrupted during the contact period. Californios raided Indian settlements for slave labor for the increasing number of ranchos. *Bakamtati* was attacked, apparently repeatedly, in the 1840s, forcing the people to seek refuge in more secluded, mountain campsites such as the Fouts Springs area. Moore described such an event in which his grandmother was

kidnapped and taken south to a rancho, probably on the southeast side of San Francisco Bay. After a few years, she and several other Salt Pomo people were able to escape and find their way home.

In spite of the pressures on the Indians to move away from the encroaching White settlement, they continued to live at *Bakamtati* and *Tceetido* for some time (and possibly at some of the other sites too). The Stonyford school house was built in the 1860s just to the east of *Bakamtati*. By approximately 1900, however, the center of Salt Pomo activities had moved up to the dry hillside site of the "modern rancheria," *Beshechil* (Table 1, No. 10), which apparently was not inhabited until the historic period. Ownership of this rancheria was not established for the Salt Pomo by the federal government as were most of the rancherias of this era. Rather it was homesteaded by a White settler who had married into the Salt Pomo, and was inherited by his Indian descendants.

The permanent winter villages were complemented in the Salt Pomo settlement pattern by a series of seasonal camps. The locations, names, and accompanying translations of these camps are all new data contributed by Moore. These sites served as the residential bases for the summer and fall gathering activities when the people moved from the villages in the valley area around Stonyford into the mountain camps. Family groups moved from site to site as the gathering season advanced in June and July with the maturity of target vegetal resources such as manzanita, tubers, berries, pine nuts, and later the crucial acorn crop in the fall.

Eighteen of these seasonal camps (Table 2) have been identified within Salt Pomo territory on the flanks of St. John and Snow mountains. Thirteen (72.2%) have been confidently located with Moore on Figure 1;

three more with less confidence (one of these related to ethnographic error), and two, both identified by Barrett (1908), could not be placed at all due to excessively vague description.

Of the 16 seasonal camps identified by Moore, seven (43.8%) have Salt Pomo names, six of which are accompanied by full or partial translations; an eighth (bringing the total to 50%) has a name that could not be recalled. Since these camps have Salt Pomo designations, they can be considered definite elements of the ethnographic pattern. The status of the remaining eight (50%) is somewhat less clear. Some locations may have been identified by Moore on the basis of archaeological remains rather than ethnographic information. The possibility exists that some of them were not used contemporaneously in the late ethnographic period with those that bear names.

Nevertheless, 18 is not an excessive number of seasonal camps for a tribelet, and indeed, this is probably not an exhaustive list. The Indian peoples in this area (Hill Patwin, Salt Pomo, and Hill Wintun), followed similar subsistence cycles wherein a tribelet would break into smaller, summer camping/gathering units and move through several camp sites, according to the availability and location of targeted resources. Previous examination of a Hill Wintun group numbering 225 produced a possible range of 38 to 75 summer camp sites (McCarthy et al. 1985:47-48), and it is likely that the range is similar for the Salt Pomo. Thus, the 18 camps identified here may only be the most important ones used by the historic Salt Pomo, who were, by then, much reduced in number.

These summer camps range in elevation from 1,600 to 6,250 feet above sea level, with the Davis Flat/Fouts Springs area falling at the lowest end of this range. It

is unclear just how many camps existed in this fairly large area which certainly is suitable for several contemporaneously occupied camps. A name that could not be recalled applied to a particular site also known archaeologically. This region is only approximately six miles from the main village of *Bakamtati*. In addition to offering a variety of resources, Fouts Springs/Davis Flat seems to hold a central position in the settlement pattern as the first likely stop on the move from the winter villages into the mountains. It appears to have been a staging area for further movement to the higher elevation destinations and as a stopover area for the return trips to bring the gathered foods back to the villages for winter storage. The transmontane trail between the Stonyford area and Potter Valley passed through Fouts Springs, over Snow Mountain, across the Rice Fork of the South Eel River, and to Big Horse Mountain, thus establishing an important link between the Salt Pomo and the Potter Valley/Clear Lake Pomo peoples (Barrett 1908:244; Kroeber 1925:356, Plate 36).

It also is possible that the location was used for winter residence, but Moore said that the cold tends "to sink in there during the winter" and that *Kabe shili* (Table 2, No. 13, Brittan Ranch) is warmer and therefore a more suitable wintering location. A number of these seasonal sites, Fouts Springs/Davis Flat in particular, served the important function of refuge camps during the contact period (1840s-50s for the Stonyford area). The Californio raids on the Indian villages for slave labor forced the Salt Pomo into new, more protective strategies. After the raid in which Moore's grandmother was captured, the remaining people in *Bakamtati* fled to the Fouts Springs/Davis Flat camps. These areas were more hidden and sheltered than the main

villages, and the people could not be surprised so easily by the dawn attacks of the slavers.

The other seasonal camps range on the flanks of St. John and Snow mountains, basically in expectable locations, i.e., in meadows and glades or on benches proximate to water. Two-thirds of them fall between 2,000 and 4,000 feet, and only one is above 5,000 feet (at 6,250). Moore reported that this high elevation site (Table 2, No. 24) on Snow Mountain was the main summer camp, where everyone stayed for awhile. The six translatable names that have survived are descriptive, and several imply the gathering or hunting strategies that may have occurred on site: *Shi tai ya toko* 'tarweed to grind up' (Table 2, No. 19); *Behe mole* 'pepperwood camp' (Table 2, No. 26); and *Boa koma shuen* 'elk roast' (Table 2, No. 25).

The Bonnie View/Happy Camp area, *Shi dis tu* (Table 2, No. 12), presents a problem similar to the Fouts Springs/Davis Flat area. It is relatively large, spans a noticeable elevational difference and potentially presents sufficient space for at least two camp sites, but just what does the name reference? Names potentially can refer to any of several levels; for instance, in this case, the name could apply to the whole area, to just one of several camps, or even to a single cluster of family hearths within a camp. Unfortunately, the names and references that survive into the present do not usually include this degree of referential detail.

In addition to the villages and seasonal camps, 11 placenames or places (not living sites) within Salt Pomo territory were collected. Again, these are all new data from Moore. This list (Table 3) must be considered only partial and suggestive of the kinds of places that might have been named by the Salt Pomo people. Predictably, several of them are important landmarks such as

Snow Mountain (*Huyu dono* 'Snow Mountain'), High Rock (*Chome kabe* 'Wolf Rock'), and St. John Mountain (*Kabe dono* 'rock mountain') (Table 3, Nos. 27, 28, 29). An interesting question arises over the name for Snow Mountain; specifically whose nomenclature has historical precedence? In other words, did the settlers call it Snow Mountain as a translation of the Salt Pomo name, or did the Indians change a previous name to the translation of the settlers' term? Or, since the name is highly descriptive (the mountain keeping significantly more snow than others in the area) is this a case of coincidental convergence?

Other places had sacred or mythological connotations. *Ka sha bas* 'red water' (Table 3, No. 30) was a sacred spring that old Salt Pomo visited before they died. Red Bridge and Devil's Gate (*Shotom shatum*, literally 'devil's gate', Table 3, No. 38) are places along Stony Creek on the trail to Fout's Springs. Devil's Gate used to be a large rock formation in the narrow gorge below Red Bridge, but it was washed away during a heavy storm in 1937. Apparently there was a myth attached to it, and it seems to have been a dangerous place where evil water spirits probably dwelled. It was particularly important to identify such danger spots as water spirits were extremely powerful and special precautions had to be taken to avoid or ward off the potential dangers posed in passing by such a place.

Several places are named after special activities conducted at them. Two *Angelica* gathering locations (Table 3, Nos. 32 and 33) were identified (although the name given for No. 33, *Koromo dono* 'angelica mountain', may actually apply to a third and unidentified angelica gathering site). Angelica is a powerful sacred and medicinal plant used as protection against rattlesnakes and as "blood" medicine. Its use continues today

among both Indian and Whites, the latter who learned of its powers from their Salt Pomo neighbors. Grizzly Bear Hill (Table 3, No. 34) was used as a site for initiation rites, and the name probably is connected in some way to that ceremony. Signal Hill, *Hoho banatil* (refers to fire, Table 3, No. 35), is the promontory above the valley that could be seen from all the villages. It was here that a signal fire was built to warn the people whenever the Californio raiders were approaching.

Finally, a place with bad water (literally, *Ka chikma* 'bad water', Table 3, No. 37) is marked so that people will be warned, and another somewhat ambiguous location is named (*Mala cha itka* 'black jay', Table 3, No. 36). This may have been a small winter village or rancheria, but since it is the site of Moore's ranch, possibly he made a special point of learning the name even though it was not a location of particular importance. Again, it must be reiterated that these designations are only a small sample of the Salt Pomo names for noteworthy places within their territory, but the list does give some indication of the kinds of places that the Salt Pomo not only originally chose to mark, but also were sufficiently important to remember: landmarks, medicine gathering areas, sacred and ceremonial sites, and dangerous places.

Several conclusions can be drawn from these findings. First, comparison of the new and old data illuminates the value of each, and allows a new evaluation of the work and results of previous, early investigators, in this case two very important figures in California ethnography, Samuel Barrett and C. Hart Merriam. For the most part, the evidence indicates that they were quite good at what they did; the data collected on boundaries and villages largely agree, both with one another and with Moore's data. One of

the most important contributions Moore's data makes in these categories is validation of the old data and, additionally, some refinements. Consequently, considerable confidence can be given these locations. The areas of discrepancy lie mainly with Merriam's information, and it is clear in working with his voluminous materials that he was not as discriminating or analytical as Barrett. He did record an enormous amount of data, without which we would be greatly impoverished, but more analysis on his part would have been extremely useful.

Interestingly enough, neither Barrett nor Merriam offered translations of the names collected in this territory, although surely the information was available at the time. Moore's translations are a welcome and valuable contribution, for the Salt Pomo territory takes on new meaning and life when we know that a village name denotes "Big Chaparral" or "Spring Place."

Moore's most important contribution, however, is his data regarding the seasonal camps in the higher elevations, information that is almost entirely missing in the earlier accounts. Apparently neither Barrett nor Merriam went into the hills with their Salt Pomo consultants (although both did so in some other areas). Unfortunately, what little they did record concerning these sites cannot be confirmed because the locations are simply too vague. On the other hand, Moore's data are based on a lifetime of intimacy with the mountains, and thus we have locations associated with colorful names such as "Panther in the Snow," "Tarweed to Grind up," and "Elk Roast," signifying rich and varied Salt Pomo experiences. Additionally, a more complete picture of the Salt Pomo settlement system has emerged, not only of the relationships between the principal winter village and the permanent satellite villages, but also between the

winter villages and the higher elevation seasonal camps. This information potentially contributes to broader, regionally based analyses of prehistoric and contact period land use.

Finally, a number of placenames fill the landscape with additional meanings associated with myth, ceremony, medicine, danger -- the meaning of Salt Pomo life. These names have persisted because of their value to the past Salt Pomo culture as well as to the present. It is critical to realize that this kind of previously unrecorded information still exists in many areas of California.

#### NOTES

1. This research was conducted by the author for California Archaeological Consultants, Inc., under two separate contracts with the Mendocino National Forest. Most of the investigation was carried out under Contract No. 53-9JHA-2-220, and a version of this article appeared as a chapter in "The Archaeological Test Excavation of Sites CA-COL-81 and CA-COL-76 at Fouts Springs, Mendocino National Forest, California," by Charles Slaymaker (1983). Some of the data also were collected under a prior contract, No. 53-9A28-0-3325. Appreciation for support for this research is given to Robert I. Orlins of California Archaeological Consultants, to Charles Slaymaker, and to Michael Boynton, Forest Service, Mendocino National Forest.

2. My thanks, with the deepest respect, go to Sharkey Moore for sharing with me his extraordinary knowledge and special insights into the Salt Pomo area. I take full responsibility for any errors that may have occurred in reporting his information.

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