POMO LANDS ON CLEAR LAKE

EDWARD WINSLOW GIFFORD

INTRODUCTION

The data here presented were recorded in 1919 in an attempt to gather specific information concerning land tenure in central California. The thoroughness of American colonization has all but eliminated native knowledge of the matter. The aboriginal groups examined were the Eastern and Southeastern Pomo, living on the shores of Clear lake, Lake county. A discussion of (a) land ownership, (b) privileges connected with the products of the land and its adjacent waters, and (c) inheritance of tracts is presented under "Ownership of Lands."

Wokox, or Tom,1 an aged shaman of Sulphur Bank and a native of the village of Elem, supplied the Southeastern Pomo data. Jim Pumpkin,2 also a shaman, residing at the village of Danobidau (Napocal), near the town of Upper Lake, Lake county, supplied the information concerning the Eastern Pomo village of Cigom, of which he was once a resident.

The reader is referred to Map 1 in S. A. Barrett’s paper on The Ethno-geography of the Porno and Neighboring Indians3 for the general geographic setting of the villages discussed in this paper—Cigom, Elem, Kamdot, and Koi. These villages seem to have been the principal ones on the eastern shore of Clear lake. All other sites on Barrett’s map, according to my informants, were subsidiary and temporary.

1 Called Toto by the Eastern Pomo. This man is suffering from a defacing disease and constantly wears a handkerchief over his nose, which is evidently much affected. He was fifteen years old at the time of the Bloody Island massacre in 1850, which would make his age eighty-five at the time of interview. He stated that the information concerning lands and boundaries was taught him by his father when they were hunting together. His father died about 1880.

2 Xehulum was the Pomo name given by this informant for himself. Xalilkunak was the Pomo name assigned to him by another Eastern Pomo informant named Charles Rakbone, or Caila. Jim Pumpkin was five years old at the time of the Bloody Island massacre, which would make his age seventy-five at the time of interview.

3 Present series, vi, 1908.
North of Cigom the next important seat of population was the Eastern Pomo village of Danoxa (see Barrett's map, also p. 188), on an eastern affluent of lower Scott creek some miles from the lake shore. On one occasion in the lifetime of my informant's father, hostilities against Danoxa were undertaken by Cigom, resulting in defeat for Cigom, whose war leader, Salki, was the only man slain in the encounter.

Nor were the relations of Cigom with the Southeastern Pomo of Elem always peaceful. During the informant's early youth the Cigomites made an unsuccessful land attack upon Elem or its mainland suburb. No Elemites were killed, but two Cigomites met untimely ends.

With the Long Valley Wintun, relations were always cordial so far as the informant knew. The same cordiality marked the relations of the Southeastern Pomo of Elem with the Long Valley Wintun. Between the three Southeastern Pomo villages of Elem, Koi, and Kamdot there was never war, so far as the informant knew.

### Status of the Lileek or Lake Wappo

Both the Eastern Pomo informant and the Southeastern Pomo informant stated that the territory assigned to the Lileek Wappo on Barrett's map was occupied only intermittently by them and was really Pomo territory. The Eastern Pomo informant assigns the name Lileek to the Wappo of the vicinity of Healdsburg and says that they were but one of a number of foreign groups (Wappo, Miwok, and Wintun) who visited the Kabenapo (Pomo of the vicinity of Kelseyville) region to fish. He stated that the name of the chief of the Lileek people, who came to Daladano (a village near the western base of Mt. Kanaktai) to fish, was Menaki. He had never heard the name Mimak quoted by Barrett. The Southeastern Pomo informant said that the Lileek did not own the land assigned to them on Barrett's map. The eastern slopes of Mt. Kanaktai were the property of the Southeastern Pomo of the village of Kamdot, while the western slopes were claimed by the Eastern Pomo of Kelsey creek. The statements of these two informants support certain of the statements obtained by Barrett as to the lateness of the arrival of the Lileek in the territory in question and as to the intermittent character of their early occupancy.

---

4 Present series, vi, 276, note 342, 1908.  
5 Present series, vi, 275, 1908.
The Lileek movement from the main Wappo area to the shore of Clear lake appears as a change of residence verging on permanence when the Americans appeared. It is perhaps illustrative of past movements which resulted in the separation of the Lake Miwok from the Coast Miwok, although in this case San Francisco bay may have exerted fully as magnetic an influence as Clear lake. Unquestionably the lake with its abundant fish and waterfowl was an attraction.

In the Cigom region the phenomenon which the Lileek present appears in a less advanced state. The Wintun of Long Valley were frequent and welcome visitors to the lake shore; moreover, they intermarried largely with the Cigomites. The stage seemed all set for the appearance of a Wintun colony on the lake shore. Then came the influx of Americans. It seems plausible, therefore, to regard the Lake Miwok, the Lileek Wappo, and the Long Valley Wintun as perhaps exemplifying the completed and antecedent stages of aboriginal colonization.
OWNERSHIP OF LANDS

The lands claimed by each village seem to have been definitely delimited. Our four villages shared between them all of the territory on the east side of the lake clear back to the Wintun boundary (see Barrett’s map 1, also map accompanying this paper).

EASTERN POMO (CIGOM)

All lands, oak trees, grass seed places, and fishing rights were communal. The Long Valley Wintun habitually visited the Cigom region in spring to fish, asking permission of neither chief nor people. This seems to typify the custom around the lake, its waters being regarded as international. Hunting was also without restraint of any sort.

On the other hand, when the Eastern Pomo of Danoxa, or the Long Valley Wintun, wished to gather acorns or grass seed on Cigom territory, they were careful first to get permission from the Cigom chiefs. This courtesy was reciprocated.

Owing to the indubitable evidence of family ownership of lands among the Southeastern Pomo, I doubt the statements as to exclusively communal ownership among the Eastern Pomo. It seems possible that their lands have been so long in American hands that memory of private ownership has been effaced.

SOUTHEASTERN POMO

The information I obtained concerning land ownership among the Southeastern Pomo refers especially to the village of Elem. The informant stated that Koi and Kamdot held land in the same way.

A source of obsidian for arrow points was at Big Borax lake in Elem territory. From this supply the Long Valley Wintun and the Coyote Valley Miwok took freely. When the Long Valley Wintun fished near Elem, however, they asked permission of the Elem chiefs. Before the birth of the informant two wars with bow and arrow were fought between the Elemites and the Cache Creek Wintun because the latter fished and gathered acorns and grass seed in the Elem preserves without permission. In the first, one Cache Creek man, and in the second, two, were killed. The Wintun carried away their dead.

6 Fide Mollie Gunther, Charles Rakibone, Jim Pumpkin.
The informant knew of no poaching on Elem lands by Koi or Kamdot people, and of no wars between these three Southeastern Pomo villages. The waters of the lake near Elem were open for fishing to all Elemites.

Rattlesnake island, on which was located the village of Elem, was communal property, and any villager might help himself to the acorns or other products of the island; not so the mainland, however, which to the north, east, and south was claimed by Elem, but was not communal property. It was divided into nearly ninety named tracts, owned by the various families of Elem.

An Elemite could hunt deer on a fellow-villager’s land, but could not take acorns. Hence, for deer-hunting the lands were communal, like the waters surrounding Elem. Nevertheless, deer-hunting labored under a decree of etiquette: it was unseemly to hunt deer on another’s land during the acorn season without permission. Disregard of this decree was likely to result in the suspicion that the hunter had taken acorns belonging to another. This restriction had added force when the people of another village were concerned, for example, Koi. There was therefore little or no deer-hunting off one’s own property during the acorn season. Thereafter, access to another’s land was permitted. Even the Wintun were free to hunt on Pomo land and the Pomo had a reciprocal privilege. Deer and fish are spoken of as “wild” (i.e., apparently, moving freely, and not stationary like plants), and hence free to all.

In case of flagrant poaching on another’s land the injured party, with the aid of fellow-villagers, fought the poachers, the chief of the outraged party looking on without participating, but ordering his people to stop when he considered that the fighting had proceeded far enough. However, as the valor of the Elemites was largely tempered by discretion, fighting was rare. If an Elem man discovered a fellow-villager stealing acorns, he told him to cease. He did not go to the chief about it. If the poacher were a Koi man, the owner, to avoid a fight, would shout from a distance: “That is not good. Stop that.”

Every Elem family possessed one or more tracts of land, invariably one with a lake frontage and sometimes one in the interior in addition. Rocks, creeks, trees, and other topographic features served as boundary marks. An example of such a boundary is High valley or Slubb’s creek (called Kapidai in Pomo) debouching on the north shore of East lake. It separates a tract named Kowa belonging to the informant and one named Bukapowi belonging to Gucibuk, the
informant's chief and mother's brother. Gucibuk's tract was to the west, the informant's to the east. The creek belonged to neither, being communal property in which all Elemites might fish; also people of other stocks.

The informant knew of no myth or tradition relative to the original allotment of tracts. The extent of the various family holdings was undoubtedly exaggerated by the informant, probably not intentionally, but through ignorance of the true length of an English mile. His own property on the east side of High valley creek, he said, had a width of one and one-half miles and ran back three or four miles into High valley. Many family tracts, he said, were a mile wide. But he lists twenty-two tracts, from High valley creek around to the present village of Behepkobel, all fronting on the lake in an aggregate shore line of four or five miles.

The owners of a single tract might range as high as fifteen, all of one family. The term for a tract is ko; my land is wiko. Tracts which became ownerless through all claimants dying were called ko kina, wild land, and were regarded as communal, all Elemites having the right to gather acorns on them.

The data regarding the ownership of tracts are not altogether clear, but it appears that they normally passed from father to offspring, which would mean that unless the tracts were subdivided they would be jointly owned by a man and his siblings, and later by the offspring of the group of siblings. The land of the informant's father was at the site of Jake Stubb's ranch. Only members of the informant's "family" might gather acorns there. At the present time, the informant has two parallel cousins whom he calls brothers. One, Jake or Dupesauwai, his father's brother's son, is joint owner in the various family tracts. The other, Frank Knight or Talakteauwai, his mother's younger sister's son by a Kamdot man, resides in Big valley (vicinity of Kelseyville). His paternity seems to eliminate him as a holder of Elem tracts.

More than once the informant made the statement that the land was joint property of all the heirs although it was subdivided. In other words, each tract was regarded as family property which the family as a whole defended against aggressors; but in harvesting vegetable products each heir considered a certain portion of the tract as his.
The statements as to inheritance of land were contradictory. On one occasion the informant said that inheritance was through the father, which I believe is correct. Later he said it was through both the father and the mother, which statement he fortified by declaring that all of the land which belonged to his parents he now considered his. The tracts Kowa and Kokopidai (Elem tracts 15 and 16) on the north shore of East lake were given to him by his father, although the latter tract, the informant stated, was really the property of his (the informant’s) paternal parallel cousin Jake, to whom it was given by the informant’s father; in other words, the informant and Jake are joint owners. The tract Kommo.i (Elem tract 71), which the informant inherited from his mother, was obtained by her from her father Wesli, because, as the informant stated, she was his only living child. Had there been a male child surviving, he would have inherited it.7 The informant seemed to regard his parallel cousin Jake as having equal rights with him in this tract.

An example of inheritance of land from the mother’s brother was obtained. The cause of this transmission was that the owner lacked offspring and brothers; hence he transmitted the tract to his sister’s offspring, three men and a woman. The tract was the hinterland tract Gegakat (see Elem tract 26); the owner was the chief Balakkak; his sister’s children who inherited it were the three brothers Wilbak (a chief), Notau, Tsetsuk, and their sister Kasebi. The tract Gegakat was divided between them. It seems doubtful if Kasebi derived much benefit from her inheritance, for she married a Cigom chief and dwelt only intermittently and for brief periods at Elem.

The informant also stated that men inherited land from their father’s and women from their mothers. Of this type of bilateral inheritance I obtained no evidence.

The interpretations that I put on the few and contradictory general statements of the informant coupled with the examples of transmission are as follows:

(1) Land was normally owned by males and transmitted to their male offspring. This conclusion is strengthened by certain exceptions and negative evidence: (a) the case of the informant’s mother who inherited a tract because she had no living brother; (b) land

---

7 The informant’s mother did have a brother, a chief named Gucibuk, who was doubtless dead when the informant’s mother inherited the tract, although this was not definitely ascertained.
transmitted by a man to his sister's sons because he himself lacked offspring and brothers; (c) the informant was joint owner of tracts with his paternal parallel male cousin but not with his maternal parallel male cousin; (d) the informant did not inherit land from his mother's brother.

(2) Land was not held by individuals, except when a family became depleted in numbers. The normal ownership was by a patrilineal family of males who inherited from their father or fathers. (See the case of the informant and his parallel cousin Jake, who would be today, were it not for American colonization, the joint owners of two paternally inherited tracts.)

(3) Wives and sisters naturally had the use of the family tracts even though they appear not normally to have inherited. Frequent marriage to men of other villages may have militated against ownership of land by women.

(4) The ownership of land by the patrilineal groups of male kin among the Southeastern Pomo is but one step removed from the related ownership of land by the patrilineal clans of the Cupéno of southern California. In the case of the Pomo a small group of patrilineal kinsmen held a small number of tracts. Among the Cupéno a small nuclear group of patrilineal kinsmen plus a number of more distant and fictitious patrilineal kinsmen held a considerable number of tracts. The phenomena are so similar that it is readily conceivable that the Pomo type might develop into the Cupéno or that, with decimation of numbers, the Cupéno type might disintegrate into the Pomo.

(5) In view of the positive data from the Southeastern Pomo as to family ownership of tracts, I discount the value of the contrary negative evidence from the Eastern Pomo of Cigom. It seems likely that their land ownership was formerly on the same basis as that of the Southeastern Pomo and that the social disintegration caused by the intrusion of the Americans is responsible for the ignorance of family ownership displayed by the informants, who were all considerably younger than the Southeastern Pomo informant. With a similar type of ownership in two widely separate and linguistically different groups, Southeastern Pomo and Cupéno, it is hard to believe that the related nextdoor neighbors of one of them entirely lacked ownership of land by kin groups and had only communal ownership.
EASTERN POMO LANDS

LANDS OF THE VILLAGE OF CIGOM

The Eastern Pomo village of Cigom, formerly situated near Morrison's Landing on the eastern shore of Clear Lake, was large as California villages run. A house by house census furnished by my principal informant, Jim Pumpkin, yielded twenty houses, mostly communal, and a population of 235 individuals. Fish and acorns were very abundant in the vicinity and the village was occupied the year round. On occasions, however, large parties went to Big Valley, on the western side of the lake, to attend ceremonies. In spite of its large population the informant insisted that there was but one dance house and one sweat-house at Cigom.

The Cigomites were driven from their village in 1870 or 1871 ("forty-eight years ago," said the informant) by the Americans. This was at the time of the introduction of the "dream religion," i.e., the earlier "ghost dance religion." Some of the exiled Cigomites went to Kakulkalewical (see Barrett's map) at the northern end of the lake. Others took up their residence in Big Valley.

Cigom territory extended to the top of the mountain ridge east of the lake. Beyond was Wintun territory.

The site called Halika (see Barrett's map) was used only temporarily by the Cigom people. In the informant's youth there were but two houses there, each occupied only in the winter by people from Cigom. The adjacent Bank Ranch site is of recent occupancy. Taawina, the southernmost Eastern Pomo site on the eastern side of the lake, was not occupied in the period with which the informant was familiar.

The lands belonging to the village of Cigom and fronting on the lake shore are, from north to south:

1. Kakulkalewical 7. Kombehel. Bank Ranch is on this tract
2. Mawip 8. Hawihabagum
3. Laxputsum 9. Halimacol
5. Kikabutuwina 11. Pududa
6. Basomdile

8 According to the informant the name Cigom analyses as ci (blanket), gom (standing), a name said to have been assigned by Marumda, the creator.
9 See Barrett's map, also page 189.
10 See Barrett's map.
Kakulkalewical, the northernmost Cigom tract, adjoins Matelnapoti, the southernmost Danoxa tract. The informant stated that the hinterland tracts bore different names, but he was unable to supply them.

SOUTHEASTERN POMO LANDS

The Southeastern Pomo villages of Elem, Kamdot, and Koi were in unique situations, being located on islands in the eastern and southern arms of Clear lake. Elem (see Barrett’s map, also page 208) was on Rattlesnake or Sulphur Bank island, Kamdot (see Barrett’s map, also page 206) on Buckingham island, and Koi (see Barrett’s map, also page 209) on Lower Lake island. These three villages were designated respectively by the Eastern Pomo as Xaukumaiina, Limakmaiina, and Kaubakulaiina. The name Xaukumaiina referred both to the village of Elem on Rattlesnake island and to the village of Behepkobel sometimes located on the adjacent mainland. The latter was apparently originally an overflow village from Elem, but since the abandonment of Elem has become the only village. The name Xunadai applied by Barrett (p. 205, also map) to the mainland village was said to be a mistake, the name really applying only to the boat landing there. The Southeastern Pomo informant also said that the Eastern Pomo name Xaukumaiina for the villages of Elem and Behepkobel applied in Southeastern Pomo only to the waters surrounding Rattlesnake island. He gave the name of Kamfô also for East lake (the eastern arm of Clear lake).

A second mainland overflow village, which was once contemporaneously inhabited with insular Elem and mainland Behepkobel, was Mucokol, on a high oak-covered point on the northern shore of East lake (see Barrett’s map, also page 209). Mucokol was inhabited in the youth of the informant. Although living in a different village the inhabitants of Mucokol were under the leadership of the Elem chiefs. It seems likely that blood relationship, not mere place of residence alone, is the factor that binds people to their chiefs. Such at least is apparently the case with the Eastern Pomo of Cigom, as will be demonstrated in a later paper.

---

11 See Barrett’s map, also page 190.
Elem owned all of the land back to the Wintun boundary, beginning about a mile east of Callahan’s ranch on the northern shore of East lake to the northwest of Elem and including, in the hinterland, the eastern half of High valley, the name of which is Kas. The western half belonged to Kamdot. The mainland shore on three sides of the island village of Elem was claimed by that village. The long peninsula that juts out to the west toward Mt. Kanaktai and forms the south side of East lake was not wholly Elem property, however, the western third belonging to Kamdot from ancient times. The land beyond this high peninsula was claimed by Elem as far south as Kuulbidai creek, which separated Elem territory from Koi territory. Embraced in this portion of the Elem holdings were Burns valley and Big Borax lake.

Kamdot owned the peninsula projecting north from Mt. Kanaktai and the west shore of Lower lake for a considerable distance south. The western portion of the north shore of East lake was Kamdot property, as was also the western third of the long peninsula forming the south side of East lake. Kamdot mainland holdings were thus on three widely separated areas of the lake shore, lying to the west, north, and east of the island village of Kamdot itself.

Kuulbidai creek, on the east shore of Lower lake, was the boundary between the territories of Elem and Koi. Not only was it international in the sense that both of these villages fished it, but in a much broader sense, since Miwok and Wintun also fished in it exactly as they did in the lake waters. On the other hand a slough to the northeast of Elem is strictly Elem property, certain families holding tracts on either side of it. I could not learn whether it was communal, like High Valley creek, or was considered private property.

LANDS OF THE VILLAGE OF ELEM

The following is a list of tracts beginning at the northwestern boundary of Elem territory, which terminates about a mile east of Callahan’s ranch. All of the tracts here listed front on the lake shore unless otherwise noted. The abutting hinterland tracts are mentioned in connection with the lake shore tracts. For convenience of reference, I have numbered the lake shore tracts, beginning at the northwest and proceeding around the head of East lake and down the east shore of Lower lake.
1. Bulko. A hill and the northwesternmost tract claimed by Elem singing shaman. The High valley portion of this property is called Xabeli
2. Behepsaukolol 18. Yotcisa
4. Bisonkan 20. Slapitu. Owned by Haita, a man who was aged when the informant was a boy
5. Kaalkmat
6. Subekyum
7. Lelutckak
8. Sadaktamo-i
9. Kiwi
10. Molokmo-i
11. Matemuteulu
12. Kamui
Tracts 1-12 are without hinterland extensions
13. Motcui. Property of a chief named Tsebik. The hinterland extensions of this property are tracts called Tcisadayowi and Xisopudai, located in High valley. An adjoining tract called Tcisadawamalda, in High valley, also belonged to Tsebik
14. Bukapowi. The property of the chief Gucibuk. The hinterland extension of this property in High valley was called Sumaono. It belonged to the same individual. The eastern boundary of Bukapowi was High valley creek
15. Kowa. First tract to the east of High Valley creek and property of Wokox, my Elem informant. The High valley extension of both this and the following tract is called Hakopda. It was also Wokox's property
16. Kokopidai. Property of Jake, the paternal parallel cousin of Wokox. The High valley extension is called Sosmamaia
17. Hotsompida. A tract belonging formerly to Cotboi, a chief and Tracts 18 to 25 have no hinterland extensions

The list now proceeds with the tracts along the lake shore to the south of the village and thence along the north shore of the peninsula that forms the southern side of East lake.

37. Nokboi
38. lakowit
39. Bakamtwkan
40. Nunsu
41. Tcapidai
42. Gensawakai
43. Duiku
44. Gegakat
45. Anauwu
46. Sokono
47. Habatimbituni
48. Fokatega. Said to mean "rough water"
49. Kûgakat
50. Makateciwi. A long tract extending into Burns' valley. Kebatiptun is the adjoining hinterland tract
51. Nomaskino
52. Hameknobidai
53. Xaida. A long tract extending (inland) nearly to Kuulbidai creek, its hinterland is Hatapdai
54. Keselmowin
55. Pitekaldai
56. Konopkan. Site of the Sulphur Bank hotel and of a soda spring
57. Ginahau
58. Kaskitcki
59. Pinodakatcia
60. Nobitelin
61. Kobahalkai
62. Kiyekelbi
63. Kiyewata
64. Waalkiliam
65. Bahalkai
66. Pikehalkabi
67. Pigetskoiya
68. Hawilinka. After this tract followed Kiyeuutsit (see Barrett's map, also page 208) which belonged to Kamdot. From this point west on the peninsula the land was owned by Kamdot
69. Kaucel. See Barrett's map, also page 208. A camp site here was occupied two or three days at a time by fishing parties from both Elem and Koi, the neighboring waters being open to all. The grass seed and acorn preserves on this tract were strictly Elem property and were not molested by visiting Koi people. Tsilam is the promontory west of Kaucel; it marks the westernmost extension of Elem territory on the south side of the peninsula.
70. Pudoni
71. Kommo · i. Property of Wokox. The inland boundary of this tract abuts on the inland boundary of Konopkan on the north side of the peninsula. In obtaining acorns from Kommo · i, Wokox employed a bost, thus traveling from Elem around the western end of the peninsula to this tract on its south side. He said that that was less laborious than transporting the acorns overland to Elem. Because of the abundance of grass seed and acorns and because of the ease of water transportation, he valued this tract more highly than his tracts Kowa (Elem tract 15) and Kokopdai (Elem tract 16) on the north shore of East lake, where the acorns had to be carried a considerable distance overland
72. Bakamlali
73. Loleklik
74. Kyekno
75. Kesa
76. Tsadai
77. Tsamoxai
78. Kotcate
79. Yokibelalik
80. Kaiana
81. Matsakakat
82. Kulai. See Barrett's map, also page 208. On the north bank of Kuulbidai creek, the boundary between Elem and Koi territories. Elemites camped here to fish in the adjacent Kuulbidai creek
83. Katsapdai. An inland tract in Burns's valley
84. Kaselwituni. An inland tract in Burns's valley
85. Kulkoi. An inland tract in Burns's valley. Property of a chief named Tseeptebei

Passing to the south side of the peninsula and proceeding east and south to Kuulbidai creek, the boundary between Elem and Koi territory, the tracts are:
LANDS OF THE VILLAGE OF KOI

The list of Koi tracts was supplied by the Elem informant Wokox, who thinks that his enumeration is incomplete. The list begins with the northernmost Koi tract on the east side of Lower lake and names the tracts in order southward to Yo (see Barrett’s map) at the southern end of the Lower lake. The tracts are as follows:

1. Kuulbidai. See Barrett’s map, also page 208. On the south side of the creek of the same name which formed the boundary between Elem and Koi territory
2. Lapitecilin
3. Nelpidai
4. Xube. See Barrett’s map, also page 207
5. Sitsakuma
6. Sokokan
7. Makai
8. Mulkoi
9. Gowandai
10. Sabeana
11. Kololknopudai
12. Kolim
13. Otomkenauadai
14. Yo. See Barrett’s map, also page 209. At the extreme southern end of Lower lake
15. Yotala
16. Lakan
17. Tewalbakani
18. Watbakani
19. Tosi
20. Yohabemoi
21. Kiyabidot
22. Haida
23. Kiyeko
24. Gatapondai
25. Abetalawin
26. Gaiui
27. Mukatega
28. Sintcoii
29. Soile
30. Bumat
31. Tcetax
32. Sokoi
33. Skenko
34. Tsabal. Camping place for Koi people only. See Barrett’s map, also page 209
35. Coyakno
36. Haiwidi
37. Kulai
38. Dakolda. Then follows the southernmost Kamdot tract, Kokatseo

LANDS OF THE VILLAGE OF KAMDOT

Kamdot held lands on three shores of the portions of Clear lake designated as East lake and Lower lake. The list of tracts fronting on the lake in these three regions was furnished by the Elem informant Wokox, who expressed doubt as to its completeness.
The tracts along the west side of Lower lake, beginning at the northern boundary of Koi territory and proceeding northward, are:

1. Kokatse. This tract adjoins the Koi tract of Dakolda
2. Behepkan
3. Tsawalkno
4. Putatskenak
5. Knel
6. Dakilam
7. Kaalkfai. See Barrett’s map, also page 209. This was a camping place visited not only by Kamdot people, but also by the peoples of Elem and other places, in order to fish
8. Mitukenahabekat
9. Kamekololoi
10. Tsilmoi
11. Liabambidik
12. Konokaikno. Eastern side of Mt. Kanaktai and the adjacent lake shore
13. Tsahowin

The western portion of the narrow peninsula that separates East lake from Lower lake will next be considered. The tracts on the peninsula run clear across it in a north and south direction and from west to east are:

31. Kili
32. Xaduyot
33. Petalwinseyo
34. Aititkno
35. Boduda
36. Teauteil
37. Hebebasem
38. Xewlinha
39. Kiyeutsit. See Barrett’s map, also page 208. The next tract to the east is Elem tract number 68, called Hawilinka

The western portion of the north shore of East lake was composed of the following lake shore tracts. The names of the hinterland tracts in High valley were unknown to the Elem informant, Wokox. Beginning, therefore, at the eastern boundary of Elem territory and proceeding westward, the Kamdot holdings are:

40. Kabebatem. The easternmost Kamdot tract, adjoining the Elem tract Bulko
41. Yutot. Now occupied by Callahan’s ranch
42. Sulka
43. Kitapudai
44. Behebidate
45. Kulbitcilin
46. Komesoswin
The idea suggests itself that possibly residence on islands instead of on the mainland led to family ownership of land among the Southeastern Pomo, as contrasted with the communal ownership of the Eastern Pomo mainland village of Cigom. In the case of the Southeastern Pomo, ease of access to neighboring shores by boat eliminated the obstacles of overland travel and made all tracts of practically equal value. Where travel to one's property was entirely overland, remoteness and geographic obstacles obtruded themselves and made certain distant tracts undesirable, and conversely made those tracts nearest the village the most desirable. With private ownership, this condition might tend to create undesirable social distinctions between the owners of near and of remote tracts. The unique insular situation of the Southeastern Pomo villages, each centrally located in reference to its mainland holdings, would appear to eliminate largely such possibilities in private ownership.

NOTES CONCERNING THE MAP

1. The interstock boundaries are after Barrett's map (present series, vi, map 1), except that the Lake Wappo area has been omitted.

2. The inter-Pomo boundaries (rows of crosses) are after Barrett except that the Eastern Pomo-Southeastern Pomo boundary runs through territory treated by Barrett as Wappo.

3. The boundaries between the territories of the villages of Kamdot, Elem, and Koi are probably approximately correct and are based on information from an Elem informant.

4. The boundary between Cigom and Danoxa territories is purely hypothetical except at the lake shore, where it is reasonably certain.

5. The scale of the map is half the scale of Barrett's map, namely, one centimeter to four miles.