

University of Nevada Reno

**Naming, Remembering, and Experiencing We' Imelt' i? [northern Washoe]  
Cultural Spaces in Wa she shu It Deh [Washoe Land]**

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the  
Requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in  
Anthropology.

by

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## Abstract

Few anthropological investigations have involved or characterized the northern Washoe area, and Washoe families residing in these places experienced effects of European settlement and development first, and they moved or were nudged out by the first part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This study highlights and maps landscapes of the northern Washoe, or We' Imelt' i?, and explores some of the ways Washoe individuals and communities are intertwined with landscapes in their homeland. Washoe engagement was pieced together from first-hand Washoe sources ranging from the 1920s to this study in 2019.

Results show the activities of naming, remembering, and experiencing places in their homeland are significant factors in fostering a sense of place among contemporary Washoe individuals and communities. As a result, Washoe toponyms became a large component of the study. The naming conventions and the names show fundamental understanding of the land, and certain topographic features were consistently named. Washoe place names not only characterize places literally, but they prompt visualization of the place in a larger landscape context. We' Imelt' i? toponyms are highly water-centric and emphasize the abundance of named water features.

A GIS ethno-map of northern Washoe landscapes was produced to depict a Washoe understanding, taxonomy, and naming of the topographic features in their homeland. The ethno-map not only serves to (re)present Washoe perspectives of the land, but it is also part of the process of (re)claiming Washoe spaces, (re)invigorating cultural memory of places, (re)vitalizing the Washoe language and names, and (re)storing a sense of place (Smith 1999). It was not just about the places, what happened there, and to whom it happened. Engaging with the landscape is essential to maintaining Washoe language and culture, because landscapes are contexts where Washoe people are speaking and actively learning Washoe language while simultaneously taking part in traditional activities—all helping to reinforce cultural experience, and research findings indicate contemporary knowledge (and memory) of landscapes in this region is waning, and there are few elders with knowledge of places.

Table of Contents	
Chapters	
1. Introduction	1
Outline of Chapters	4
2. Research Methodologies and Background	10
Community Participant Observation	10
Washoe Cultural Events and Activities	10
WCRAC Meetings	16
Washoe Language Classes	28
Archival Research	42
Oral Histories	44
Anthropological Research Collections	45
Cultural Resource Publications	48
Dissertations	48
Ethnographic Reports	51
Cultural Resource Reports	54
Historic Photographs	56
Identifying Landscape Locations	60
Discussion	68
3. Washoe Ethnohistory	74
Situating the Study	79
Washoe Creation Stories and Engagement with the Land	82
Early Encounters with Europeans	85

Increased Pressure to Assimilate	92
Early Anthropologists in the Washoe Homelands	98
Experiences of Washoe Individuals and Families During the Mid-Late 20 <sup>th</sup> Century	104
Further Research and Oral Histories of the Late 20th Century	109
Washoe Compensation Arrives	112
Anthropological and Archaeological Research from the 1980s to the Present	114
Historic and Contemporary Practices on the Landscape	119
Stewarding and Claiming the Land	121
Owning Property, Personal Property, and Permission for Access	124
Rules and Proscriptions for Land Access	130
Identifying and Marking Spaces and Property	134
Spiritual Stewardship of the Landscape	135
The Employment of Fire	138
Concluding Thoughts	140
Chapter 4. Northern Washoe Places, Spaces, and Landscapes	146
Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Landscape Connections	146
Cultural Memory of Northern Washoe Places	151
Experiencing Washoe Spaces	156
Stewardship of Resource Areas	158
The Northern Washoe Landscape Study	160
Theoretical Frameworks	160
Remembering and Memories of Places	163
The Ethno-survey and Ethno-map of Northern Washoe Landscapes	165

Ethno-survey Recruitment Challenges	167
Outcome of the Ethno-Survey	169
Washoe Physical and Symbolic Landscapes	172
Named Places on the We' Imelt' i? Landscape	176
Washoe Spatial Orientation on the Land	181
Mythic Landscapes	185
Discussion About Northern Washoe Landscapes	186
5. Naming Places	193
Places Named by the Washoe	193
Lakes	194
Creeks and Rivers	194
Hot and Fresh Water Springs	196
Confluences and Tributaries	198
Mountains	199
Classes of Toponyms	199
Place Names that Reference Specific Flora	199
Toponyms Identifying Wildlife	201
Places Memorializing Historic and Mythic Events	202
Landscape Neighborhoods	204
Settlements and Camps	206
Places With Multiple Names	209
Forgotten, Unnamed, and Undisclosed Places	212
Undisclosed Names and Esoteric Knowledge	216

Names and the Social Nature of the Landscape	217
Discussion	219
6. Ethno-mapping	221
Mapping Indigenous Lands	222
Indigenous Classification Systems and Taxonomies	227
Indigenous Knowledge Systems	235
Considerations for Mapping Washoe Lands	238
Acknowledgement and Validation of Washoe Property Customs	240
Conflict and Shared Landscapes	245
Different Concepts of Property	247
Dynamic Boundaries	248
Translation and Identification Discrepancies	250
Building a Northern Washoe Ethno-map	251
Themes that Emerged from Archival Research	259
Reworking Historic Maps and Archival Data	260
Conclusion	265
7. Northern Washoe (We' Imelt' i?) Landscapes	270
Landscapes of the We' Imelt' i?	270
Lake Tahoe (1)	270
Ward Creek and Stanford Rock (2-3)	276
Blackwood Creek (4-6)	277
Daugaiaca (7-8)	279
Madden Creek and Homewood Canyon (9-10)	279



McKinney Creek and Georgetown to Lake Bigler Indian Trail (11-12)	280
Tahoma (13)	284
Sugar Pine Point and General Creek (14-16)	285
Rubicon Point and Park, Lonely Gulch Creek, Rubicon Springs, Rubicon River (17-22)	287
Glenbrook and Glenbrook Creek (23-26)	289
Spooner Summit, Spooner Lake, and Secret Harbor Creek (27-30)	290
Marlette Creek and Marlette Lake (31-33)	291
Sand Harbor and Memorial Point (34-35)	292
Incline Village, Incline Creek, Mill Creek, and Third Creek (36-40)	293
Stateline Point and Brockway Spring (41)	294
Brockway Hot Springs and Mot lum watah (42-43)	294
Griff Creek in Kings Beach (44)	295
The Creeks, Muda' • l bayó • dok and Maha' • ku wa't'a (45-46)	296
Watson Creek (47-48)	297
Dollar Creek (49)	298
Burton Creek (50)	299
Tahoe City (51)	300
Truckee River Outlet (52-54)	302
Truckee River (55)	303
Bear Creek and Five Lakes Creek (56-57)	305
Olympic Valley and Squaw Creek (58-59)	306
Truckee (60)	307

Donner Lake (61, 65)	309
McGlashon Hot Springs (62)	313
Donner Creek (63)	314
Trout Creek in Truckee (66)	315
Martis Valley and Martis Creek (67-68)	315
Emigrant Trail Cutoff (69)	316
Prosser Creek and Little Truckee River near Boca (70-71)	316
Verdi and Dog Valley (72-73)	317
Sierra Valley, Sierraville, and Webber Lake (74-75, 64)	318
Loyalton (76)	320
Honey Lake Valley, Honey Lake, and Amedee Hot Springs (77-79)	321
Beckwourth and Beckwourth Peak (80-81)	324
Long Valley and Long Valley Creek (82-83)	326
Truckee Meadows and Peavine Mountain (84-85)	327
Pyramid Lake, Pyramid Peak, and the Virginia Mountains (86-89)	328
Steamboat Springs, Galena Creek, Tahoe Meadows, Hawk Pond (90-94)	329
8. Conclusion	332
References Cited	339
Appendices	361
Appendix A. Recruitment and Data Collection Tools	362
Document 1. Recruitment Flyer	
Document 2. Recruitment and Posting Locations for Flyer	
Document 3. Ethno-survey	

Document 4. Consent Form	
Document 5. Photo/Video/Audio Release Form	
Appendix B. Handout from Washoe Language Class	372
Handout 1. Washoe Introduction	
Appendix C. Washoe Landscape Indices	374
Index 4. Historic and Contemporary Washoe Landscape Photographs	
Index 6. Master Index of Northern Washoe Landscapes	

## List of Tables

Table 2.1. Ethno-historic Maps and Figures Depicting Washoe Landscapes	262
Table 2.2. Historic Maps Contained in Cultural Resource Reports Depicting Washoe Landscapes	264
Table 3. Washoe Fishing Based Terminology	118
Table 4. Washoe Water Based Place Names from Creation Story, “The Weasel Brothers, Part II”	86
Table 5. Northern Washoe Toponyms for Permanent Settlements	208
Table 6. Northern Washoe Toponyms for Camp Areas	210

## List of Figures

Figure 1. List of Categories for Washoe Landscape Type, Use, and Significance	177
Figure 2. List of Codes for Washoe Landscape Type, Use, and Significance	178
Figure 3. Subject Matter Coding for Historic and Contemporary Photographs of Washoe Landscapes	57
Figure 4. Image of Message Written in Washoe for Health Month	144
Figure 5. Image of Washoe Valentine	145
Figure 6. Image of Donner Creek in Truckee	182
Figure 7. Image of Galis Dungal in Sugar Pine Point State Park	188
Figure 8. Ethno-map of Northern Washoe Landscapes	271
Figure 8.1 Ethno-map of Northern Washoe Landscapes Labeled with Washoe Toponyms	272

## Chapter 1. Introduction

The name, Washoe, is a derivative of the word, Washiu, or person (Lekisch 1988, 148; Swanton 1952, 383). Northern Washoe elder and Washoe Tribal Historian Joanne Nevers (1976, 1) explains, “[t]raditionally, the people referred to the whole tribe with the phrase, ‘Wa She Shu.’ The word ‘Washo,’ which originally meant ‘one person,’ is often used today to describe the whole tribe.” The Wa She Shu homeland was divided among five regional Washoe groups: wel-mel-ti (northern Washoe), hung-na-lell-ti (southern Washoe), pau-wau-lu (valley Washoe), pel-lell-ti (eastern Washoe), and tong-lell-shi (western Washoe), however the majority of published matter only mentions the northern, central, and southern Washoe groups. This study highlights landscapes and places of the northern Washoe, or We’ Imelt’ i?.<sup>1</sup> The 94 landscapes in the northern Washoe region provided a more manageable research option, compared to 269 landscapes dispersed throughout the entire Washoe homeland that were compiled in the course of this project. Northern Washoe landscapes have not been discussed as much as other Washoe areas, so this project capitalized on the opportunity to highlight this less-investigated region. I use the two terms interchangeably throughout this paper. With a focus on northern Washoe spaces, this study explores some of the ways Washoe individuals and communities are intertwined with landscapes throughout their homeland. Historically Washoe family groups visited and tended designated landscapes, but the drastic reduction of their homeland since pre-contact times resulted in repurposing the remaining and healthy landscapes of cultural significance as communal spaces.

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<sup>1</sup> The spelling employed by Penny Rucks, We’ Imelt’ i?, is the spelling used throughout this paper, with the exception of quotations (2005).

The findings of this study of northern Washoe landscapes shows the activities of naming, remembering, and experiencing places in their homeland are significant factors in fostering a sense of place among contemporary Washoe individuals and communities. Washoe toponyms and their English translations became a large component of the study. To illustrate a Washoe perspective and orientation to the land a GIS ethno-map of northern Washoe landscapes, that privileges Washoe toponyms and their sense of orientation on the land, was created to visually illustrate Washoe landscapes, and to literally put them on the map. As in the Indigenous-Kamchatka Digital Atlas Project, the current project objective was to “show how indigenous practices are anchored to the land,” by “showcasing and translating” (Thom, Colombi, and Degai 2016, 7) We’ Imelt’ i? place names, permanent settlements, seasonal camps, trek routes, resource procurement areas, water sources, and geographic landmarks. In addition, the current study of We’ Imelt’ i? landscapes acknowledged their use and significance. A guiding theoretical slant of this study involved deconstructing colonial perspectives of land, maps and mapping, and property protocol to better illustrate the kinds of relationships We’ Imelt’ i? families have with landscapes. Employing the toponyms and their English translations to help reflect a Washoe orientation to the land as an ethno-map, is an effort to (re)present Washoe perspectives of the land, (re)claim Washoe spaces, (re)invigorate cultural memory of places, (re)vitalize the Washoe language, and naming practices, and (re)store a sense of place (Smith 1999). Thom, Colombi, and Degai (2016, 7) point out, “it is well established that emplaced language practices can serve an important mnemonic function in reinvigorating and revitalizing indigenous language and cultural practice (Afable and Beeler 1997; Moore and Tlen 2007).” For the duration of the project I collaborated with

We' Imelt' i? elders who contributed to project design, edited research documents, verified places and toponyms for the ethno-map, clarified many points of confusion, and answered endless questions.

Participant-observation endeavors of this study showed Washoe peoples' memories about places were stimulated when they interacted with one another in comfortable, informal social contexts, such as Washoe language classes. Therefore it might make sense to engage elders, especially, from all tribal entities with Washoe members for the shared goal of remembering and reclaiming spaces and their names. As a result of the participant-observation experiences of attending Washoe language classes and cultural events I also learned the cultural value and significance of the physical landscape context. It was not just about the places, what happened there and to whom it happened. As Basso explains (Basso 1996), it is about being in places, experiencing them in person, and engaging in cultural activities there. Places can be thought of, remembered, and visualized, but there is another dimension of place that involves a sort of transference of person-place or place-person qualities and serves to tether the two in a social relationship.

An examination of Washoe landscapes and place names was important to do, and especially in the northern Washoe region, because few anthropological investigations have involved or characterized this area, and Washoe families residing there experienced effects of European settlement and development first, and they moved or were nudged out by the first part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Northern Washoe landscapes, such as those along the Truckee River, near Pyramid Lake, in Long and Honey Lake Valleys, were also settings where resource areas were shared (not always amicably) with several other



Indigenous neighboring communities. The influx of European settlers and the repurposing of the landscape contributed to escalating intra-group tensions, raiding, and eventual retreat of We' Imelt' i? families from entire areas.

An examination of Washoe naming conventions revealed certain geographic features were consistently named while others were not. The analysis of northern Washoe toponyms highlighted an abundance of named water features, habitation areas, and places referencing narrative events. Washoe place names are highly water-centric; several of the water based toponyms referenced particular species of fish, while others emphasized characteristics of the water and how it flowed over the landscape or merged with other bodies of water. As indicated by preliminary research, contemporary knowledge (and memory) of landscapes in the northern Washoe area may be waning, as there are few elders with knowledge of places in the We' Imelt' i? region; I also think this because Washoe individuals and families with ties to We' Imelt' i? country have the option of affiliating with one of three different tribal entities, two of which do not currently acknowledge or have support programs catering to the Washoe members.

### **Outline of Chapters**

Project background with a description of the research methodologies I employed is presented in Chapter Two; this included participant-observation at cultural events, activities, meetings of the Washoe Cultural Resource Advisory Council, and attending weekly Washoe language classes. Reviewing the various archival materials was another component of the project; these materials are discussed next and include oral history interviews, fieldwork collections of former anthropological research with Washoe

communities, cultural resource publications (dissertations, ethnographic reports, and cultural resource reports), and historic photographs. Archival data that informed this study of We' Imelt' i? landscapes is presented at the end of this paper in the appendices.<sup>2</sup>

Chapter Three presents Washoe ethnohistory chronologically to provide historical background of the Washoe experience. The chapter title incorporates the prefix ethno- because throughout the chapter I weave in voices, memories, and testimonials by ancestors of contemporary Washoe people as well as by contemporary Washoes about the spaces and places discussed in an ethnographic way and in an ethnoscience as native perspective way. To set the scene, creation stories exemplify Washoe engagement with the land. This section is followed by documentation of early interactions with European settlers, assimilationist pressures and struggles for compensation. I describe anthropologists' involvement and their research contributions in recording details of Washoe culture, examples presented include stewarding and claiming spaces, inheritance and family access to landscapes, and the practices of marking and tending habitation and activity spaces.

Washoe notions of space are characterized and presented in Chapter Four, particularly how Washoe people think about the landscape as a whole and how they orient themselves on the land. The chapter starts with general discussion of Indigenous knowledge systems and attachment to the land. In this section I talk about cultural memory of We' Imelt' i? places, the importance of experiencing these places in person,

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<sup>2</sup> Index 5. Master Index of Northern Washoe Landscapes (Appendix C) includes all data about We' Imelt' i? landscapes. However, due to their cumbersome sizes, some indices of archival data are not included in this report.

the ways resource zones are tended, and the kinds of activities they engage in when they visit certain places. In the next chapter section the theoretical model employed in this landscape study is introduced, explaining the particular emphasis on remembering and memories pertaining to places. A definition and operationalization of the terms ethno-survey and ethno-mapping, two project methodologies, follows and discussion of recruitment challenges, as well as the outcome of the ethno-survey are evaluated. There is an overview of project findings that pertains to both physical and symbolic Washoe landscapes at the end of the chapter. The study revealed which landscapes are named, as well as which are symbolic, mythic, habitation or subsistence-oriented. Washoe individuals orient themselves to the landscape differently than Europeans do, and water features and other natural landmarks are fundamental components of this process. The chapter closes with focused commentary of the topic of this study, the We' Imelt' i or northern Washoe spaces.

Washoe toponyms became a focus of this study, and Chapter 5 unveils the realm of Washoe naming by showing which geographic landscape features they name—the lakes, creeks, rivers, springs, confluences, and mountains, how the features are classified or categorized, and some of the naming conventions employed. For example, the names indicate Washoe perceive creeks and rivers as a single topographic feature (wa't'a), and they think about smaller landscape areas (d'áwa)—which roughly translate as landscape neighborhoods.<sup>3</sup> Names for the topographic features situated within, and understood as

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<sup>3</sup> Garey-Sage 2003 uses wata, while Nevers (1976) uses watah, and d'Azevedo uses wa't'a (d'Azevedo 1956). The different orthographies are used alternately throughout this paper in accordance with the authors' whose works are referenced.

being part of a d'áwa, exhibit the same identifier prefix.<sup>4</sup> Project fieldwork revealed eight classes of toponyms, and they identify flora, fauna, historic and narrative events, habitation areas (residential and camping areas), and landscape neighborhoods (a landscape class revealed in analysis), among other classes of names. The Washoe place names not only serve as physical descriptions of places, but names also tell the histories of places, the reasons for their significance, and names remind us why certain places were named in the first place. Commentary about the sociality of the natural landscape and Washoe people concludes Chapter Five.

Chapter Six, Ethno-mapping, is split into three parts. I begin with general orientation to indigenous mapping projects that highlight indigenous knowledge systems and taxonomies. Next I go over the considerations involved in making the ethno-map of northern Washoe landscapes. This section includes points of cultural distinctness, such as notions of property, boundaries, disputed lands, mapping, and data discrepancies. The last section of Chapter Six presents the themes encountered during archival research, and explains how archival data and maps were reworked as part of the project ethno-map to depict culturally significant landscapes in the northern Washoe range.

Ninety-four We' Imelt' i? landscapes were identified in this study and they are presented in Chapter Seven and accompany the Ethno-map of Northern Washoe Landscapes (Figure 8). In the text of this paper, the Washoe landscapes are numbered sequentially and correspond to numbers on the Ethno-map. Descriptions of landscapes interweave Washoe and English toponyms, the English translations, and narrative and

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<sup>4</sup> This term translates as “place or area name” (d'Azevedo 1956, 44/#103).

testimonial data from contemporary Washoe elders. Also woven into descriptions of northern Washoe spaces is pertinent information relayed by their ancestors that were extracted from accounts published in oral history and ethnographic interviews. For contrast in the descriptions, each landscape is dually situated within Euro-centric temporal and spatial contexts by including pertinent archaeological and historical data, such as dates, records, and accounts of Washoe families and individuals; information often corroborated Washoe accounts.

Beginning with the largest feature in Washoe territory, Lake Tahoe, the reader tours Washoe landscapes of the Lake Tahoe Basin in a counter clockwise direction around the Lake, beginning and ending at the outlet in Tahoe City. Mirroring the flow of water from Lake Tahoe into the Truckee River, the reader visits significant cultural spaces along the same course. At Verdi, the tour of We' Imelt' i? landscapes shifts course and loops through Sierra, Honey Lake, and Long Valleys past Pyramid Lake and back to the Truckee Meadows in Reno. The final stretch of the landscape tour takes the reader southeast back toward Lake Tahoe, via Steamboat Hot Springs and following Galena Creek to Tahoe Meadows on Mt. Rose.

Ninety-four landscapes in the Washoe homeland with cultural significance to northern Washoe individuals were identified in the study. The most intriguing part of these places, were the Washoe toponyms themselves, the variations in orthography, and the English translations, which provided literal descriptions of the landscapes. Organizing the toponym data spatially, allowed visualization of these places, and I anticipated organizing the data this way while learning about the places would facilitate better understanding of how Washoe think about the landscape and orient themselves on

the land. In essence, I organized the data spatially in an Excel spreadsheet to help build my own cognitive (mental) map of Washoe spaces. I realized I was inadvertently recalling Washoe place names in my head, but struggling with pronunciation (and the orthographies), so I decided to attend a Washoe language class for basic pointers. In part and parcel of this undertaking, I also stumbled upon a culturally rich and unstructured environment for learning about Washoe landscapes and toponyms– Washoe language classes. This stood in stark contrast to the very structured ethno-survey I had planned and which was mostly unproductive.

## **Chapter 2. Research Methodologies and Background**

### **Community Participant Observation**

#### Washoe Cultural Events and Activities

Throughout the year various cultural events and activities are hosted throughout the Washoe communities for all generations to take part in; a few events are open to the public, but the majority are private events for Washoe individuals and families, and some are excluded for elders only. To acquire first-hand data pertaining to Washoe lineages and generational groups, I attended public community events and gatherings, where I observed, interacted, and talked to Washoe families and individuals. The community events I attended from 2014 to 2018 provided ideal opportunities to observe, take notes, ask questions, and interact with Washoe families, in a relaxed environment. I attended as many Washoe community events as possible over a two-year period, from 2016 to 2018, but the first Washoe community events I attended were in 2014 and 2015 as part of my employment responsibilities with California State Parks. The events I attended in 2014 and 2015 communicated unique details about Washoe culture not covered in the ethnographic literature. For example, the Empty Museum Party at Donner Visitor Center (Truckee, California) in June 2014 featured two Washoe elders, both women, who blessed the space with a Washoe prayer, which they translated to English for several hundred attendees. Both women spoke (in English) of their personal ties to and recollections of visiting the Donner Lake area as children, which was documented in Dixon, Schablitzsky, and Novak (2011). One Washoe elder directed the audience's attention by gesturing to nearby places where they used to camp and fish, then pointed to another location where a relative may still be buried. These places will be discussed in

the Truckee and Donner Lake sections of Chapter Seven. The ethnographic literature does not contain any mention of a Washoe custom of offering prayers in association with landscapes.

One year later (June 4, 2015) the Washoe Tribe was invited to participate in the grand opening ceremony for the new Donner Visitor Center, the same location as in 2014. This time, a male elder dedicated a prayer in Washoe. The audience, comprised of local residents and politicians, sat transfixed listening to the Washoe man speak a language spoken in the Lake Tahoe region for 9,000 years, but a language they did not comprehend. From 2011 to 2015 I had the pleasure of working with Washoe elders in the legislated consultation process, which guided the visitor center exhibit and design. Although I did not interview the elders in person about their collective and cultural memories of the Donner Lake and Truckee area for this study, I was able to stitch together pieces of Washoe landscape knowledge presented in other documents, such as place names, personal memories, genealogies, photos, and narratives.

In June of 2016 and 2017 I attended the Father's Day Powwow at Stewart, Nevada. The three-day, inter-tribal powwow takes place annually on the campus of the former Stewart Indian School. I attended the powwow to observe families and lineages interacting and participating in traditional activities in this particular place, as part of the larger effort to understand the significance of the place for contemporary Washoe people. Northern Washoe landscapes identified during fieldwork included locations for annual gatherings, and some of these locations have retained this significance for hosting traditional gatherings. Inter-tribal powwows, such as the one held annually at Stewart,



are representative of contemporary Washoe gatherings (invites neighboring communities, redistribution of goods, food sharing, dancing, competitions, storytelling).

At the powwow I chatted informally with Washoe, Northern Paiute, and Shoshone individuals selling beaded jewelry, leatherwork, and other works of art, as it was too noisy for conversation nearer the dance area, due to the continuous drumming. As an outsider, the demarcation of cultural spaces was initially unclear to me; I asked from where I could observe the dancing, whether it was appropriate to bring chairs, and whether hats were permitted.<sup>5</sup> Washoe families were seated beneath shade tents situated around the center of the quad where the dancing competitions took place. I later learned the largest tents in the center area were reserved seating for elders and families of the dancers. Other spectators were seated in the outlying area beyond the tent. Native food and craft vendors set up their shade covers and tables around the perimeter of the former campus quad, and there were fry bread taco vendors with 45-minute wait lines. The two days I attended the powwow, dancers of all ages were in the center of the quad dressed in full regalia decorated with colorful feathers and bird motifs; some dancers also wore headdresses. The dancing occurred in shifts, with several musical accompanists seated to the side near the speakers and microphone; there were five to seven drummers sitting and drumming on one large drum at once, with one person singing.

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<sup>5</sup>At a Hopi kachina dance I attended in the 1990s, a friend of mine was publically scolded and hit with an orange thrown by Ogre Kachina. A young boy immediately ran over and told my friend to remove her baseball cap, because she was making Ogre Kachina angry; the boy explained how observers had to suffer in the heat like the kachinas and kachina dancers.

Seeking more opportunities to engage with Washoe individuals I explored opportunities to volunteer at environmental rehabilitation workdays cooperatively organized by the Washoe Tribe Environmental Department, Alpine Watershed Group, and Carson Water Sub-Conservancy District, but I did not participate. I had envisioned engaging in habitat restoration activities and gaining landscape experience alongside Washoe people, where I could ask about landscape significance, stewardship, and spiritual management, but unfortunately that was not that case; I learned Washoe individuals did not participate and only provided direction to others in advance of the activity. Thus, the volunteer activities were not the productive research settings I had anticipated.

In addition to the events already mentioned, Washoe individuals and families also engage in other cultural events and activities throughout the year; these events are exclusive to Washoe people and communities and are not advertised to the broader public. April and May feature Washoe hand game and basket classes for children, a Round Dance, making plant presses for Earth Day, and storytelling. Water quality testing occurs in June and July at Wata'sheamu (Carson) River and Lom Watah (Edgewood, Nevada), as well as Invasive Species Awareness Day at Grover Hot Springs (Markleeville, California). There are Washoe basket classes for adults during June and July (Dresslerville Senior Center, Dresslerville, Nevada), as well as Washoe doll skirt classes for children (Washoe Cultural Resource Department, Minden, Nevada), a petroglyph visit, and cultural activities at Mayala Wat'a (Meeks Creek, California). Each July, the Washoe Tribe hosts the Wa She Shu It Deh Festival at Camp Richardson (near South Lake Tahoe, Nevada). Youth berry picking takes place in August, in addition to

Traditional Wasiw Pastimes Olympic Day at Stewart Community, Nevada. Gumsabay (the Pine Nut Festival) and pine nut harvesting occur in September. Making traditional fish traps and the annual fishing trip both take place in October (Hung A Lel Ti 2017).

I was aware of the activities just described, because my Washoe language classmates talked about them and shared personal photographs. Afterward, I explored the Washoe Tribe's website and websites of the individual Washoe communities for more information about cultural activities, the generational audience they were designed for, frequency and seasonality of activity, context, and content, because the data could provide answers to my research question about whether Washoe customs are being passed on to younger generations of Washoe, which places they visit to engage in cultural activities, the frequency with which they visit the places, whether Washoe language was integrated into the activity, with whom they visit places, and the different experiences among generations who participate.

I found most cultural activities were coordinated by the Washoe Tribe's Cultural Department, and typically led by an elder or expert in the activity and in the region where the activity was to take place. Washoe activity coordinators, Hermann Fillmore, and Darrel Cruz, are two Washoe elders who lead cultural activities; Hermann Fillmore is also a Washoe language instructor. Most of the cultural activities were designed for children or young adults, but there were activities for adults and seniors, as well. The cultural activities included annual and seasonally appropriate events. The array of cultural activities reflect the different types of concern contemporary Washoe people have with regard to maintaining the health of the environment and significant landscapes perceived as their homeland. Activities emphasized teaching and passing on traditional

Washoe skills, crafts, and games to youth and adult generations, alike, by elder or expert Washoe. I had hypothesized access to traditional landscapes could be affecting transmission of cultural knowledge to younger generations of Washoe in cases where families no longer retained access rights to former family landscapes, but that is not the case; a very concerted effort is being made to transmit Washoe cultural knowledge throughout the year. The knowledge is being transmitted among a relatively exclusive Washoe (insider) community network, and the desirable landscapes maintained by individual families and lineages are being shared with others for the sake of teaching, practicing, and maintaining Washoe customs.

Washoe gatherings open to the public include: the aforementioned annual Father's Day Powwow at Stewart Indian School in June, the Wa She Shu It Deh Festival at Camp Richardson in July, Goom sa Bye (Pine Nut Festival), which takes place each fall, and select Washoe language classes.<sup>6</sup> The individual Washoe communities also host non-traditional seasonal events, such as Washoe Earth Day, Fall Fest, and the Christmas Fair.<sup>7</sup> Celebrating Washoe culture, language, and personal and environmental health were primary themes repeated in the gatherings I attended and heard about including Washoe language classes. Activities at many of these gatherings (ie, raffles, bingo, craft tables, food and craft vendors, walk-runs, traditional dance and dress contests) were participated in by all generations. Periodically there are Washoe basket-weaving classes available to

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<sup>6</sup> Note the variation in spelling of this word a few sentences ago – Gumsabay. I encountered a third variation in spelling – tah-gum goomsabay ([www.washoeoffrez.com/calendar/87<sup>th</sup>-annual-pinenut-festival/](http://www.washoeoffrez.com/calendar/87<sup>th</sup>-annual-pinenut-festival/)).

<sup>7</sup> Washoe Earth Day is celebrated a different date than the national Earth Day holiday.

the public, like the pine needle basket-weaving class I attended in 2006 on the banks of the outlet in Tahoe City.

### WCRAC Meetings

I was invited to attend monthly meetings of the Washoe Cultural Resources Advisory Council (WCRAC), which took place at the Washoe Tribe of California and Nevada Headquarters on the outskirts of Gardnerville, Nevada. I attended seven meetings between March and November 2017 and one more in April 2019. I was not present for the duration of each meeting but was given a consistent time slot toward the end of the meetings. The WCRAC meetings took place around a large conference table at the back of the Washoe tribal headquarters building. I would arrive, sign the guest log, then sit and wait to be invited back to the conference room where the WCRAC members were meeting.

When I walked into the first WCRAC meeting on March 7, 2017 there were four Washoe individuals seated around a large three-by-five foot map that covered half the conference table, and they were adding Washoe place names to the map with colored stickers. The group was deliberating amongst themselves and working from a three-ring binder of names, as they were placing stickers. I asked sometime later whether they were recreating d'Azevedo's missing map from his list of 249 Washo Place Names (d'Azevedo 1956), but found this was not the case; they were working on a different map—not d'Azevedo's map—and they were correcting locations of places they had visited and verified themselves utilizing the stickers.

The Tribal Historic Preservation Officer (THPO), John, selected four Washoe elders to serve as my project sponsors. My project sponsors were women; there were three northern Washoe elders, and one western Washoe elder. These four Washoe women were the appropriate elders to provide guidance and answer questions pertaining to northern Washoe landscapes, and this is the group with whom I met monthly. Angie, Cheryl, Ruby, and Linda, my sponsors, are residents of the Carson Valley area; they are all married, or were formerly married, they all have children, and Linda and Ruby have grandchildren.<sup>8</sup> Angie is an alumnus of Stewart Indian School. Although this paper presents them as elders, Angie, Ruby, and Linda are all employed; Angie works part-time, Ruby and Linda both work full-time, and Cheryl is retired. All four women speak Washoe, possessing different levels of Washoe language fluency, and each of them is actively involved in the Washoe communities. We exchanged contact information, so I could ask them questions between meetings if the need arose. Per the John's request, I had prepared a brief description of my study to present to the group. However, I was unable to complete the presentation within the allotted time, due to getting lost and arriving late. It was apparent my sponsors were genuinely interested in my research, and they were especially curious about the three recent dissertations (Magee 2015; Keliiaa 2012; Thompson 2013) I had shared with them, so I promised to bring copies to our May meeting. Additionally, I knew two Washoe elders had co-authored a book I was re-reading, so in case they were unfamiliar with it I brought a copy to the meeting. The

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<sup>8</sup> To maintain anonymity, I use the pseudonyms Angie, Cheryl, Ruby, and Linda, in place of the actual names of my four Washoe sponsors, and John is the pseudonym I use for the Washoe Tribal Historic Preservation Officer. Pseudonyms are employed throughout the paper.

book was a hit, as the women had not seen the published version yet, so I was able to purchase copies for them. They would not let me purchase the books for them as gifts, so we compromised, and I treated them to my employee discount at the Donner Visitor Center, and they reimbursed me the expense.

I returned to the Washoe Tribal Headquarters on the outskirts of Gardnerville on April 4, 2017 ready to present the rest of my study to the WCRAC group and distribute copies of the book, An Archaeology of Desperation: Exploring the Donner Party's Alder Creek Camp (Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011), and three dissertations (Magee 2015; Keliiaa 2012; Thompson 2013), as I had promised. I followed John's advice and created a bulleted outline of my project, so Angie, Cheryl, Ruby, and Linda (my northern Washoe sponsors) could follow along, ask questions, and make suggestions. After presenting my project, Cheryl, Ruby, and Angie jointly brought up Grace Dangberg's (1968) Washo Tales: Three Original Washo Indian Legends. Since I was researching archival material, they asked whether I knew where the stories went; not the book, but the original notes. I knew anthropologist John Price had typed Dangberg's field notes and they were either part of his (Price n.d.) or d'Azevedo's collection (d'Azevedo n.d.a, n.d.b) in the UNR Special Collections Library; but I was unsure of the whereabouts of the original Dangberg notes for Washo Tales (1968). I later learned upon reading Grace Dangberg's oral history (King 1984d) that she had shared parts of her research data with Don Handelman, who was researching Washoe shamanism at the same time (Handelman 1967a; 1967b); both of them had been interviewing some of the same Washoe individuals. At the close of the meeting I asked Angie, Cheryl, Ruby, and Linda if they

would review and edit ethno-survey questions I was planning to utilize, and they agreed to assist at a future meeting.

When I arrived at our meeting May 2, 2017 the four Washoe elders were working on their large map with stickers again, but they were stuck on a detail, so they stopped until they could ask John, the THPO, a question. While we waited, I received a brief Washoe language lesson from Ruby and Cheryl (with input from Mark, another elder in the room), who explained they and other elders do not write in Washoe, because it is a spoken language learned by listening.<sup>9</sup> According to my Washoe language instructor Kate, also an elder, approaching the Washoe language from a linguistic perspective is awkward and wrong-headed; it doesn't sound correct, because the learned "connective" sounds are missing.<sup>10</sup> Washoe language is "sing-songy" with lots of variation in tone and inflection; when these connective sounds are left out, it can change the meaning of the word (Kate personal communication, May 2017). The example was given of a Washoe word meaning "to crawl out of" or "to fall," and the only difference between the two words is the connective sound, which was very subtle to discern. Kate explained to me Jacobsen's words and spellings leave out the connective sounds, because he used the phonetic alphabet; she insisted one has to close one's eyes and listen carefully in order to hear the difference. We talked in detail about writing in Washoe; Ruby explained she does not write using phonetic symbols as linguists do, because of a promise made to her

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<sup>9</sup> The pseudonym, Mark, was given to a Washoe elder who was not one of my assigned sponsors, but an individual who occasionally offered project input at meetings of the Washoe Cultural Resource Advisory Council.

<sup>10</sup> Kate is the pseudonym given to my Washoe language instructor and used throughout the paper.



grandmother not to do this. Ruby feels that by sounding out the words and writing them as syllables, she is not really writing in Washoe. I also noticed the syllabic spellings my Washoe language teacher Kate, used continually varied, so there was never a set spelling. Specifically, I observed classmates each jotting down words or phrases, syllabically, and as they heard them. After our Washoe language lesson, we commenced with revising my ethno-survey questions as a group (Document 3). My sponsors agreed to assist with more editing during our next meeting.

I did not attend the June WCRAC meeting (June 1, 2017), as I was involved in re-submitting my ethno-survey to the Internal Review Board (IRB) for additional evaluation and approval. I did attend in July (July 7, 2017), and we completed the edits to my recruitment script and consent form as planned. However, this turned out to be an awkward experience due to misunderstandings, comments, and questions posed by a Washoe graduate student invited to observe the WCRAC meeting. The student observer raised questions that prompted a side conversation about past research and researchers. The Washoe people's main contention is they do not want to be excluded and restricted from their own cultural information once it has been extracted from them, as has happened to them multiple times in the past. Ruby explained how they paid over \$200.00 for copies of Washoe songs and narrative recordings collected by d'Azevedo and owned by UNR. John, the Tribal Historic Preservation Officer, added that d'Azevedo sold Washoe data in his possession, the Washoe peyote songs, now available on CD where anyone could purchase them.<sup>11</sup> The WCRAC group jointly explained to me how the

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<sup>11</sup> I was able to confirm this on three websites: [www.discogs.com/Washo-Washo-Peyote-Songs-Songs-Of-The-American-Indian-Native-Church-Peyotist/master/988648](http://www.discogs.com/Washo-Washo-Peyote-Songs-Songs-Of-The-American-Indian-Native-Church-Peyotist/master/988648);

Washoe people had been denied access to their own cultural material, because it was either restricted or held as property of a university or a researcher, as in d'Azevedo's case. The elders felt the Washoe Tribe should be the owners of their own cultural information and should determine discretionary access to prevent being excluded from any research data concerning or collected from Washoe people.

During the meeting the Washoe student observer accused Washoe elders in general of being irresponsible in how they previously shared traditional knowledge with researchers and outsiders, and that this behavior jeopardized future generations of Washoe. The elders fell silent, a reaction I was cautioned about by a colleague who had previous experience working with the Washoe elders (Denise Jaffke personal communication, March 2015); this silence signaled they were uncomfortable or offended. Shortly after, John re-joined the group after driving one of the elders home. The meeting was adjourned, and John accompanied me to my car and wanted to know what happened. I explained in the process of editing my recruitment script and consent forms, that the Washoe student observer had raised several interesting questions regarding who would have ownership of my dissertation, who would have ownership of the data collected and control over whether it was used, and whether UNR would have the rights to do what they pleased with my dissertation data once completed. John appeared outwardly upset at

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[www.amazon.com/Washo-Peyote-Songs-American-Indian-Peyotist/dp/B003UPV65U/ref=sr\\_1\\_61?s=music&ie=UTF8&qid=1540356751&sr=1-61&keywords=peyote+songs](http://www.amazon.com/Washo-Peyote-Songs-American-Indian-Peyotist/dp/B003UPV65U/ref=sr_1_61?s=music&ie=UTF8&qid=1540356751&sr=1-61&keywords=peyote+songs); and [www.dada-records.de/records-vinyl-records/vinyl-lp-world-music/0washoe-recorded-by-warren-dazevedo-washoe-peyote-songs-songs-of-the-american-indian-native-church-peyotist-44341/](http://www.dada-records.de/records-vinyl-records/vinyl-lp-world-music/0washoe-recorded-by-warren-dazevedo-washoe-peyote-songs-songs-of-the-american-indian-native-church-peyotist-44341/)).

what had occurred, but agreed some of the student's points were legitimate, especially in the issue of the ownership of data after collection.

After the July 11th meeting, I had phone conversations with two individuals at UNR trying to address questions and concerns of the WCRAC group. First, I spoke with Nancy Moody in the Research Integrity Office, who instantly helped me adjust verbiage on the consent form where it discussed participant benefit from the study. We discussed ownership of and access to my dissertation data by Research Integrity Office staff now and in the future. Moody confirmed the Research Integrity Office staff did not and would not have access to researcher data, with the exception of participant names. As I would be coding participant names, access to them would not be a concern. I also spoke with Jacquelyn Sundstrand, a UNR Special Collections librarian and archival documents specialist. My main question for Ms. Sundstrand was whether UNR had the rights to do whatever they liked with the dissertation, and her answer was, no. The university retains a copy of the published dissertation, but they do not have special privilege to re-publish or use data contained in the dissertation. Ms. Sundstrand and I had more than one telephone discussion about d'Azevedo's collections on at least two occasions. I shared with her the WCRAC group's concerns and what they confided to me regarding access and having to pay for copies containing their cultural information. I was assured Washoe individuals have the same access as anyone else; all the collections are there for them to access, too. We talked about the UNR Oral History Program, and she explained how those tapes and transcripts were processed into the Special Collections Library and available publically. Ms. Sundstrand mentioned additional parts of d'Azevedo's

collection from his home were in their possession since his passing in 2014, but the university did not yet have funds to begin processing the materials.

Given the WCRAC group's concerns, I was considering designating the Washoe Tribe as a repository for my dissertation data and we discussed this option. She advised me to think about a few more considerations when planning data management. Would the Washoe Tribe have staff trained to maintain and preserve the data? As one key ethic of archivists is to make archival material known and available to everyone, I should also consider whether the Washoe Tribe had appropriate facilities to provide access to others. Furthermore, would my data include private information that shouldn't be shared with other Washoe people? And would there be issues with Washoe staff in care of the collections having access to data concerning other Washoe people? If so, it could be advantageous to designate a neutral entity as the repository, but I needed to pose these points of consideration to the WCRAC group and see how they felt. As Ms. Sundstrand suggested, I shared these considerations with the WCRAC group, and they confirmed these were concerns of theirs. John stated, "we just want access to our own cultural information." He suggested any dissertation materials go to his office, the Washoe Tribe's Office of Cultural Preservation.

I returned to meet with my Washoe sponsors the end of summer (August 1, 2017). When I arrived, Angie, Cheryl, Linda, and Ruby were working on the large map and continuing to correctly position place names they wrote on stickers onto the map. I watched them patiently until they came to a stopping point, and then we began our meeting. The primary objective of this meeting was to present answers and solutions to questions and concerns brought up at the July 11, 2017 meeting. I spent the month of

July revising the Consent Form (Document 3, Appendix A), the Photo/Video/Audio Release Form photo/video/audio release form (Document 5, Appendix A), the recruitment script (Document 2, Appendix A), and modifying part of the application for the university's Research Integrity Office (RIO). I was able to share my revised recruitment script and consent form, which included our last meeting's edits, and I was re-assured by John, the Washoe student at the last WCRAC meeting had been invited as an observer, and that this individual did not represent the interests or sentiments of the Washoe Tribe or the WCRAC group. I was encouraged to proceed, and John emphasized to me that my study was important.

By the September WCRAC meeting (September 5, 2017), my second round of research documents were approved by the RIO, so I shared them with the group. I reviewed each change I made, referencing their suggestions and requests explaining to them the revisions I made. I spent considerable time and effort revamping the Photo/Video/Audio Release Form (Document 5, Appendix A), a template, because I felt it did not allow for people to sign and say no, documenting this response, nor did it allow people to approve some uses while not others. I asked the four Washoe sponsors (Linda, Ruby, Angie, and Cheryl) directly whether the revisions I made to the release form were acceptable to them, and they responded affirmatively. John made one comment on the recruitment script where it specifies no payment for participating in the study, and he suggested I word it differently, using a phrase such as "Sorry, but there is no funding for this project," which sounded friendlier. I made the change, and then asked my sponsors and John, the Tribal Historic Preservation Officer (THPO), permission to begin recruiting participants for the ethno-survey; they all agreed.

During the months of August and September 2017, I was reviewing fourteen archived oral histories, and I was coming across references to a particular historical detail involving Euro-American ranchers and Washoe individuals – the Minden six o’clock bell – so I decided to ask my Washoe sponsors about it. According to the oral histories of three Washoe men and a fourth of non-Washoe descent (King 1984e; Glass 1972; King 1984c), a bell (or siren) on top of the telephone building sounded at six o’clock each evening in the town of Minden, Nevada, to warn the Native Americans (Indians) it was time to leave town.<sup>12</sup> It was a town ordinance that Indians were not permitted in town after sundown, or they would be jailed. When the six o’clock bell sounded in Minden, and you were of Native American descent, you had better be headed out of town. Cheryl, Angie, and Linda, the three sponsors present, confirmed this detail.<sup>13</sup>

The conversation shifted to the repeated discriminatory conduct of an anonymous local charitable organization. Cheryl relayed a story detailing a recent experience they had at a cultural event in Gardnerville, Nevada. Cheryl had set up her tent for vending a food at the event when she was approached, verbally harassed, threatened, and forced to

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<sup>12</sup> I have not personally been in the town of Minden at 6:00pm to confirm or deny the existence of the six o’clock bell.

<sup>13</sup> I inquired as to how loud the bell was, and how far away it could be heard, and the sponsors confirmed it could be heard for miles. One of the Washoe sponsors asked if they had heard me correctly say this happened historically. Before I could answer yes, Cheryl announced, “It still sounds!” Joining our conversation from next door, the THPO confirmed the six o’clock bell had finally ceased to sound a few years back, but it was back again. Shortly after the bell stopped, a local newspaper reporter went to the Washoe Senior Center in Dresslerville and asked a couple of the Washoe elders how they felt about the six o’clock bell no longer ringing –and were they glad it was gone? An elder at the senior center responded they missed the bell, because that’s how they knew it was time for dinner! Whether this actually took place, was stated in jest, or stated sarcastically, the detail was reported in the local newspaper, and shortly thereafter, the six o’clock bell resumed, in acknowledgement of the Washoe elder’s response.

pack up and leave the event by a uniformed representative of the anonymous community organization. The individual bullied and intimidated the Washoe elder using profanity and racial epithets. John asked Cheryl where this interaction took place and at which cultural event; he told her they should have let him or someone else at the tribe know about it sooner.

The last WCRAC meeting I attended during the fieldwork period was November 11, 2017.<sup>14</sup> John, the THPO, invited my dissertation advisor, Dr. Louis Forline, to attend, so I arranged for him to join us. We thought an appropriate gesture was to provide a current anthropology faculty alliance. Since previous WCRAC meeting discussions highlighted research of former anthropologists from University of Nevada, Reno who worked among Washoe communities, Dr. Forline made a brief introduction and shared details of his anthropological research in the Brazilian Amazon during the last few decades; he described how the Awá community he was working with was currently struggling with encroachment similar to what the Washoe experienced. This prompted many questions about the Amazon and the Awá from the Washoe elders, because they were genuinely interested in the experiences of an Indigenous community residing in another part of the continent. Mark, a Washoe elder who sometimes attended WCRAC meetings, but was not an official project sponsor, was particularly inquisitive. Unfortunately, our meeting ended early, as a result of pending tribal administrative matters, and the meeting was adjourned. From this point forward, I transitioned my focus

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<sup>14</sup> I attended additional WCRAC meetings in spring of 2019 following fieldwork to provide the Washoe elders with an update of my research findings, and to ask clarification or follow-up questions. The details of the later WCRAC meetings I attended are woven into other chapters where appropriate.

to attending Washoe language classes, where I hoped to recruit participants for the ethno-survey component of my study.

I attended another WCRAC meeting in April 2019, because I felt it was important to provide my four Washoe sponsors with a status report of my research. At this meeting I provided a quick project update, which highlighted the reality that I received no respondents for the ethno-survey, and I had instead delved into the archival data seeking answers to my research questions. I described the annotated Washoe landscape index (Index 5. Master Index of Washoe Landscapes) I produced in the course of fieldwork to Angie, Cheryl, Ruby, and Linda, my project sponsors, explaining that in addition to place names in Washoe and English, the index included any reference pertaining to the significance or use of the place I found. Another column noted historic images of the location, if any were located, in addition to where the image was available, and the image number.<sup>15</sup> An alpha numeric coding system (Figure 2. List of Codes for Washoe Landscape Type, Use, and Significance) helped me to mentally and physically organize and sort data about Washoe places, so I could tabulate and illustrate the research findings later in an ethno-map. To better identify places, primary codes identify the type of geographic feature that best characterize the place, such as river, mountain, or spring. The secondary codes denote Washoe use and significance of the places; coding identifies if locations were used for fishing, harvesting medicine, or as a campsite. Other secondary codes mark places for social gatherings, ceremonial activities, permanent settlements, or known family associations, among others.

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<sup>15</sup> Image captions, date, and photographer are included with Index 4 - Historic and Contemporary Washoe Landscape Photographs index, if known.



I presented Linda, Ruby, Cheryl, and Angie each with copies of two items I needed their input on; the first was the list of 94 northern Washoe places I proposed to map using GIS. The list included Washoe and English place names if known, and I included all versions I encountered of the Washoe names, with citations included for their convenience. The second document I brought to the April WCRAC meeting was a list of nine questions pertaining to the 94 landscapes. Both documents contained brief notes asking each of my Washoe sponsors to please review the proposed list of places for the northern Washoe ethno-map I was in the process of drafting. After my brief project update, I reminded the group that the GIS ethno-map and the Washoe Landscape Index were products of my research I intended to share with them.<sup>16</sup>

### Washoe Language Classes

Washoe language is a rare and threatened language currently understood by linguists as remnant of the segmented and ancient Hokan linguistic branch. It is worth noting that not all Washoe language experts agree with this assertion (Kate, Angie, Ruby, and Linda personal communication, 2019). Today there are, at most, twelve fluent speakers of the Washoe language out of an approximate total population of 1,550. The small number of Washoe speakers left was a limiting factor throughout the research project, combined with my limited linguistic training.<sup>17</sup> The number of Washoe individuals I talked with

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<sup>16</sup> A research objective was to share products and results of my study with the Washoe Tribe's Office of Historic Preservation, the same office that provided my four Washoe project sponsors, Angie, Cheryl, Ruby, and Linda.

<sup>17</sup> The project was not designed to be a linguistic study, however, the language-based research findings about northern Washoe landscapes do warrant broader linguistic discussions in future research.

consistently during the study ranged between four and ten people, constituting a small sample of the total Washoe population. In Washoe language class we learned that not all fluent speakers possess the same level of language mastery with regard to spoken or understood Washoe, so the understanding of fluency has become a point of flexibility out of necessity. For this study I was aware of a single Washoe individual, with whom I interacted and whose first language was Washoe, and Ruby. Angie told a story about how this youngster used to run around speaking Washoe to everyone, and Angie admitted she was unable to understand most of what the toddler was expressing. The toddler who learned Washoe as their first language may be one of the last living We' Imelt' i? to possess this experience, and if one needs to speak Washoe language to fully understand Washoe culture, this individual possesses that understanding.

Even though Washoe individuals have direct connections to and memories of places from their childhoods, I was surprised to find contemporary Washoe elders learning their language at this stage in their lives. Many of the elders were also raised after the time when certain cultural practices were prohibited by the Reno (Indian) Agency, including the girls' puberty dance, practicing Washoe medicine, traditional fishing methods, and speaking Washoe language –many of today's Washoe elders attended Stewart Indian School where speaking Washoe language and practicing Washoe customs were strictly prohibited and punishable (Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California 2009, 37). Stewart was an Indian boarding school, and the children were forcibly removed from their families with the objective of assimilating them in a Euro-American educational setting. It is not surprising, then, that today's elders are learning Washoe language for the first time or re-learning their language and customs together.

Throughout the research process, I shared ethnographic and linguistic publications and manuscripts with my Washoe sponsors, the elders at WCRAC meetings I was invited to, and classmates from Washoe language class. At the first WCRAC meeting I was attended where I was introduced to Angie, Cheryl, Ruby, and Linda (my Washoe sponsors), I brought a hardcopy of Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak's An Archaeology of Desperation (2011) about the Donner Party ordeal, because it contained a chapter co-authored by two Washoe elders they knew. The book aroused such a positive response, as well as conversation, everyone wanting a copy, that I continued with this approach of sharing articles and details from archival sources. I initially began sharing documentary information with Washoe classmates for several reasons, and after hearing the frustrations Ruby had experienced hunting down and retrieving copies of their own relatives' personal songs that had been sold outright by the anthropologist whom they had trusted: (1) I wanted to show them physical evidence that ethnohistoric information about their families was readily available and accessible to them at local libraries and online, free, as members of the public; (2) I was also curious if they were familiar with the studies and what was recorded or told by their relatives about Washoe culture; (3) upon examination, was the information accurate; and (4) what was their reaction to these materials?

Considering the dwindling state of Washoe language literacy, I participated in as many language-training opportunities as possible. Washoe language lessons were available on the tribal website in text format, but the lessons lacked an audio component

to assist with pronunciation.<sup>18</sup> University of Chicago linguist, Dr. Alan Yu, was collaborating with the Washoe community to document Washoe language; the project website includes a lexicon of Washoe vocabulary searchable in English and Washoe, as well as an audio feature to assist users with pronunciation.<sup>19</sup> Unfortunately the feature is not consistently available for each word, as the lexicon is a collaborative work in progress. Washoe language classes offered throughout Washoe territory are sparse and contingent upon funding and attendance.

I attended Washoe language classes one to two times per month from January through May 2018, as winter travel permitted and again from April 2019 to the present. I attended language classes in Carson City, Nevada, because I received an invitation from a Washoe elder in the class. As described later in this chapter, attending classes in Carson City also gave me an opportunity to familiarize myself with northern Washoe landscapes I was less familiar with, by driving through them repeatedly. The route I took led me along the Truckee River to the outlet in Tahoe City, then around the north shore of Lake Tahoe, through Carnelian Bay, Tahoe Vista, Kings Beach, Incline Village, Sand Harbor, over Spooner Summit, down into Carson City, and to Carson Colony, where Washoe language classes were held one evening a week for two hours at the Washoe Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) building.

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<sup>18</sup> Language lessons were removed from the Washoe tribal website ([www.washoetribe.us/contents/culture/washoe-language/washoe-language-lessons](http://www.washoetribe.us/contents/culture/washoe-language/washoe-language-lessons)), at an unknown date and noted by other classmates in 2019 when I mentioned it; not even our language instructor, Kate, knew who had removed the material or why. They were visibly agitated that they did not know who was responsible for maintaining the website or the material.

<sup>19</sup> The Washoe Language Project website is <https://lucian.uchicago.edu/blogs/washo>.

Washoe language classes I attended were unique in my experience of language learning, because there was no weekly homework due, no exams, no grades, and no fees. The class makeup fluctuated on a weekly basis, as people attended when they were able to, including myself. Some class meetings were limited to five or six students, while at other class meetings there were nearly twenty. Class composition included a mix of Washoe and non-Washoe students, predominantly women. At times, there were two or three generations of the same family represented in class. Several Washoe families attended class; one family consisted of a teenager, their parent, and grandparent. Another Washoe family, the daughter and both parents, also attended, as did another mother-daughter family group. On occasion a particular elder Washoe man would attend with his wife and sometimes their daughter. There was a young Washoe man who attended regularly with his grandma and a friend, who was also of Washoe descent.

Classes began with informal sharing or questions about any number of the following categories of information while we waited for everyone to arrive: upcoming Washoe cultural events or events recently attended; family photos; questions about pronunciation, Washoe words, and stories they had been told by relatives; and status reports of Washoe individuals, families, and their well-being. Each class incorporated grammatical and cultural lessons without the standard, structured format encountered in conventional schools. Students received handouts on grammar, a map of Lake Tahoe with Washoe place names (an enlarged copy of Grace Dangberg's 1968 "Carson Valley and Lake Tahoe Area" map), and a binder for class materials. Although weekly language classes I attended took place in Carson City, Lake Tahoe was often the focal point of cultural learning (Dangberg 1968, 25). The map of Lake Tahoe with Washoe place

names provided a constant visual and political reminder that the lake and other named places in the vicinity were not only spaces and landscapes previously claimed by Washoe people, but also that these places have retained prominence in the cultural memory of contemporary Washoe people. We listened to narratives Kate, our instructor, told us in Washoe, and afterward she translated the story in English. Each class ended with the eldest class member saying the Washoe prayer for food, which was followed by a potluck style dinner where everyone brought a type of food or drink to share.

The first Washoe language class I attended was January 17, 2018. During class, the Dangberg 1968 map of Lake Tahoe was displayed with Washoe and English place names, and we learned the four cardinal directions in Washoe: *wel-mell* (north), *hungna-lell* (south), *pe-lell* (east), and *tong-lell* (west).<sup>20</sup> Each time a narrative or personal anecdote involving a particular place was mentioned in class, we could reference the place, place name, and location on the map handout; this was followed by a pronunciation drill and translation of the place name, narrative, or significant characters. We also learned names for the different sub-regional groups of Washoe people. The direction-based names for the sub-regional groups highlight an individual's familiar associations with particular areas of the Washoe homeland: *wel-mel-ti* (northern Washoe), *hung-na-lell-ti* (southern Washoe), *pau-wau-lu* (valley Washoe), *pel-lell-ti* (eastern Washoe), and *tong-lell-shi* (western Washoe).<sup>21</sup> Washoe people and families

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<sup>20</sup> Washoe names for cardinal directions are spelled out syllabically, because that is how they were presented in class; they were sounded out, but no written form was supplied.

<sup>21</sup> The syllabic spelling style is the orthography adopted by my Washoe language instructor, Kate. Some Washoe prefer this style because it is easier to read and write than orthographies employing linguistic symbols (the international phonetic alphabet).

identify themselves with regions, and they also associate with particular communities where they were born, were raised, or resided a long time, all of which reinforces the literature I examined in the course of this study. An individual or family's relationship with a regional or community was also exemplified in the way Washoe people introduce themselves to one another and we practiced this in class. A Washoe person properly introduces oneself in Washoe by referencing their mother and father's lineages and with which community or regional group they associate; first the great-grandparents, then grandparents, and parents. A Washoe individual maintains their relationship with particular places their entire lives regardless of where they move or reside; sometimes there is an association with two or more places, depending on whether they were raised or spent significant time in more than one place. At the close of class, we followed along on a handout, while the eldest person recited the Washoe prayer for food aloud; then, of course, we shared our potluck dinner. We learned when a prayer was offered at a specific place, like was done in Truckee at the Donner Memorial Visitor Center in 2016; two elders with family associations with the place were selected to recite the prayer, which demonstrated Washoe families' personal connection to the landscape.

From January through April 2018 I continued to attend Washoe language class, but I did not take notes in several classes, due to the personal and family nature of discussions taking place, and because the discussions did not directly pertain to Washoe language. There were class periods where the discussion was intense, and it would have been disrespectful for me to put my head down and take notes, while the rest of the class was attentive and focused on the speaker. It took one or two class periods for me to realize the family-oriented discussions were relevant to my other research questions, like

those pertaining to Washoe lineages, cultural memory, and identity; I then began recording these details in the class meetings that followed, and I wrote notes from memory outside of class.

On April 25, 2018 we began learning basic vocabulary, including words for men and women in all stages of life from child, to young adult, adult, and elder. Along with these words, we learned what our Washoe instructor called “connector words,” so we could form and practice speaking short phrases (Kate personal communication, 2018). Kate quizzed our retention utilizing magazine images or photographs of known Washoe people at cultural events as flashcards. We worked with the same material, learning and adding plural forms through the beginning of May 2018.

In May (I attended the 10<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup>), class attendance grew by an estimated fifty percent. My interpretation of this phenomenon was that many people, including myself, had been less inclined or able to travel during the winter months. Class meetings took place from 6:30pm to almost 9:00pm some evenings, and there were individuals, such as myself, who commuted over an hour each way to class. During winter weather my normal commute time of just over three hours was increased to four or more hours, which made attending class almost a full day event, when one included the three hours of class time, and the additional time for preparation of a potluck item to share. Although it took a lot of time and energy, attending the Washoe language classes were extremely enjoyable, relaxing, and therapeutic. I looked forward to attending these family-like classes; it was a warm and inviting place to learn. Instead of a place for recruitment, language classes became a place where I could learn the language along with Washoe people and ask questions pertaining to my research. Each class meeting a sign-in roster



migrated around the table, and people signed in as they arrived; this provided me the opportunity to glimpse at last names, many of which I recognized from the archival material I reviewed. I looked forward to the drive to and from language classes as a time to reflect on class discussions, or send myself voice-recorded notes. Several times the trip to class doubled as an opportunity to stop and photograph Washoe landscapes along my route (Index 4. Historic and Contemporary Washoe Landscape Photographs).

Class discussions increased as a result of more attendees in May. As a class, we discussed Washoe child-rearing strategies and philosophies, whether or not roundhouses were traditional to Washoe culture or borrowed from the Maidu, and which religions best resemble Washoe religion, among other cultural topics. One class meeting in May we discussed the 1936 film, Rose Marie, featuring Nelson Eddy and Jeannette MacDonald. The movie was filmed in Emerald Bay of Lake Tahoe, and we learned from our instructor, Kate, and other elders in the class that over thirty Washoe individuals were cast in the musical as the Native Americans.<sup>22</sup> The fanciful musical set in Emerald Bay featured a pirate ship among teepees, totem poles, and Native Americans in Ojibwa-style buckskin, fringed clothing, and Plains Indian-style headdresses on the shore and in canoes creating a visual conglomerate of entertainment drawing upon several points of false history.

During language class on May 10, 2018 several students expressed the need for audio practice in between class meetings, so we began searching for and sharing resources we found online. There are so few recordings of Washoe language, and when

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<sup>22</sup> The Washoe Tribe's Cultural Resource department has information on file about the Washoe performers.

one was found and shared, someone in the class usually knew the context and Washoe individuals recorded or were related to them. In response to student requests for audio practice, the instructor began sharing recorded songs in Washoe. These were not traditional Washoe songs, but rather traditional Euro-American children's songs translated and sung with Washoe lyrics, such as Twinkle Twinkle Little Star, and Farmer in the Dell.

The last Washoe language class I attended during my fieldwork period was May 30, 2018, and we had just started to learn the Washoe narrative about Pitwana and Gewe (The People-Eater and Coyote).<sup>23</sup> The story took place in Hope Valley, California on Monitor Pass, according to Kate (personal communication, 2018). To demonstrate the lilting quality of spoken Washoe, the language instructor first had us listen as she recited the story to us; afterward, she translated it aloud in English.

I continued to attend Washoe language classes on occasion while I was writing this research report. The occasional interaction with classmates, some of who were my project sponsors (e.g. Linda, Angie, and Ruby), provided opportunities to ask individualized and group clarification questions pertaining to my research in an informal yet appropriate setting. The first class meeting I joined after almost ten months away, was April 24, 2019. During class there were many mini lessons prompted by students' questions, such as: the words for water and to drink, ime and díme' (d'Azevedo 1956, 14, 26), respectively; Washoe is spoken softly and there is no yelling; Washoe men Roy

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<sup>23</sup> Following an injury the summer of 2018 that restricted my ability to drive to and from class for nine months, I resumed attendance at Washoe language classes again. After nine months of writing and distance from my Washoe sponsors and classmates, I had several questions.

James and Hank Pete knew words for male and female species of fish, not just the generic fish name, like mat tash hu, mountain whitefish (*Prosopium williamsoni*) (Lindström 1992a, 22); and there are words for numbers one through ten in Washoe, but there was originally no word in Washoe for the number nine, but they made one up in order to negotiate commerce with Euro-Americans.<sup>24</sup>

In May 2019 I noted the same phenomenon of increased attendance at classes as noted in May the previous year. There were so many students there was hardly space for everyone to sit around the table comfortably. In class we were still practicing with flashcards and personal pronouns in attempts to conjugate the verb “to leave,” and the instructor, Kate, commented we were not remembering the material. Her assessment was we were not attending consistently enough, class meetings were not frequent enough, and she felt we needed a Washoe immersion experience to truly learn the language. In future classes Kate announced we would try an alternate approach and speak to us only in Washoe.

During class on May 8, 2019 I asked why there were three different names for the outlet in Tahoe City, which I had brought with me for reference. One response I received (with some laughter) was “there is a name for every little place all the way down.” Another response was that all three names for the outlet basically described the same phenomenon –water “flowing down through from here or from there.” This was the first time I had seen Angie in person for ten months, and I had been awaiting feedback from

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<sup>24</sup> Imgi is the name for cutthroat trout, but Dah bah tha ge, specifically refers to the male cutthroat trout; and Washoe only caught the males, so females could spawn (Nevers 1976, 6).

all the sponsors on a list of northern Washoe places I proposed to include in the GIS ethno-map I was producing with their guidance. Angie had misplaced the copy I had provided for her at the WCRAC meeting a month earlier copy, but immediately began to talk about three places on the list: Donner Creek, Spooner Lake, and Tahoe City. Angie's grandfather had relayed stories to her about Donner Creek and fishing there, and she mentioned a specific place on the creek right behind the McDonald's in Truckee, called "the bends" where she knew he fished. Angie thought he might have been part of the permanent settlement group at Datsásit mál'im detdéyi? (Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 257) located a short distance away at the confluence of Donner Creek and the Truckee River. With regard to Spooner Lake and Point, Angie commented, "we still go there and camp there." She mentioned her family was having a reunion there this summer in either July or August, and added that she will invite me to come if she remembers. A unique comment about the Tahoe City and outlet vicinity Angie made, was that she was told Washoe people used to camp on "islands" in the Truckee River. I could tell she wasn't sure there were islands on the Truckee River, so I told her that there were two or three large sandbars where the river channels split and rejoined a short distance from Tahoe City that someone might refer to as islands. From Hwy 89 dozens of Truckee River rafters can be observed stopping and resting on the sandbars, some of which are thick with willows and other bushy vegetation but spacious enough for a campsite or two.

Our Washoe language instructor, Kate, began the new teaching strategy on May 29, 2019 as she had advised us, which involved speaking mostly in Washoe for the duration of the class meeting. Referencing a point made in class a year prior in 2018

about the melodic character of spoken Washoe, Kate instructed us to close our eyes and listen to the spoken Washoe. She commented how Jacobsen's Washoe was shorter, and by this she meant he was leaving out or missing the connective sounds in his Washoe orthography. This helped me understand the Washoe sounds better, because I could compare various versions of the same place name that I had collected and see the differences, the missing sounds, the instructor was referring to.

During the next two classes (May 29 and June 5, 2019) we practiced conjugating the verbs, "to leave" and "to arrive," (e-bee-ih or ebi·i) and used them in sentences with personal pronouns; we also listened to spoken sentences with the two verb forms and translated them, such as in the example, Leh keh leh-bee-ih, or "I am arriving." Next we learned Washoe vocabulary for the different age categories, and only for binary genders, which included: gnow-gnung (infant), schow-lem-who (girl), deh-moem-muh tesh-loo-tih (young woman with no children), deh-moem-muh (woman), and nent-too-shoe (old woman); and gnow-gnung (infant), maa-who (boy), deh-ee-we-wih (young man), teh-lih-iw-who (adult man), and maa-loo (old man).<sup>25</sup> The plural forms were provided afterward.

During this class meeting we took turns practicing our Washoe introductions (Handout 1. Washoe Introductions, Appendix B), which was challenging to do on the first attempt; in previous class meetings only a few students had been selected to practice

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<sup>25</sup> As I explain elsewhere in this report, Ruby wrote out Washoe words syllabically; this was her own style resulting from a promise to her grandmother that she would never write in Washoe. She maintains the promise to her grandmother by sounding out the words and writing them that way. I also noted an effort on her part to vary the syllabized spellings, so nobody got into the habit of spelling out a word a particular way; the spelling system she devised was clever, yet also frustrating at times for the student.

this exercise, so opportunities to listen to pronunciation had been limited to this point. I admit I had not practiced this lesson, as I did not anticipate having to master this skill, per my non-Washoe descent; and I had to adjust my thinking on the spot. As I closed my eyes and listened to classmates introduce themselves I began to hear and recognize familiar names; the names of their Washoe ancestors were some of the same I had encountered while researching archival materials, including members of the Snooks, Bender, Moore, Fillmore, Cornbread, Bennett, Pitts, and Nevers lineages, as well as other individuals of historic note, such as the Washoe spokesman Gumalaña (d'Azevedo 1956, 27/#73) and notable Washoe basket-weavers, Enie Cornbread and Annie Pitts.

At Washoe language classes we received instruction on pronunciation, orthographies, and fundamental Washoe vocabulary, which was beneficial to my research and also interesting from the perspectives of an anthropologist and a foreign language instructor. These primary skills assisted my understanding of maps, reports, and narratives with Washoe place names, and enabled me to track basic details of stories, songs, and conversations among family members and acquaintances before, during, and after class periods, and also during archival research. Moreover, attending Washoe language classes enabled me to recognize place names in their various orthographic forms and facilitated the building of a Washoe landscape index (Index 5. Master Index of Washoe Landscapes). Unfortunately, participating in Washoe language classes did not yield ethno-survey participants, as I had anticipated, but it did assist in developing friendships and building rapport among Washoe individuals and families. Regular, informal chats with individuals and families during weekly Washoe language class, coupled with regular interactions with my elder-sponsors at monthly WCRAC meetings

proved very informative, even though the data I was able to collect was not in a quantifiable or structured format, like the ethno-survey I had anticipated administering and analyzing. Attending language class and WCRAC meetings were socially appropriate spaces where I could learn more about the ways and extent to which Washoe people and families relate to landscapes and places within their homeland.

### **Archival Research**

The following archival materials were reviewed for this study: 1) oral histories of Washoe individuals; 2) collections of anthropologists who researched Washoe communities; 3) cultural resource publications and reports referencing Washoe landscapes or individuals; and 4) historic photographs of Washoe individuals and landscapes.<sup>26</sup> Archival research was conducted in two phases; the first phase provided preliminary background to design the ethno-survey, and the second phase provided the opportunity to conduct in-depth review of materials pertaining to specific landscapes identified in the ethno-surveys. The recruitment process yielded a single respondent for the ethno-survey, which prevented anonymous presentation of the individual's ethno-survey responses in this report as guaranteed in the participant consent form. Moving forward with the next component of my study, I focused my attention on the archival materials a second time. I re-sifted through oral history interview transcripts,

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<sup>26</sup> Selected oral histories of non-Washoe individuals were also reviewed for the study, because they contained extensive, detailed descriptions and recollections of Washoe individuals and families.

anthropological collections, agency reports, and historic landscape photos for specific details about Washoe landscapes and references to Washoe individuals or families.

First, I generated two lists with supporting notations for each Washoe oral history interview; a list of landscapes (places) they referenced, and a list of people they recalled, Washoe and non-Washoe. I did the same with data I gathered from the anthropological research documents and agency reports. I compiled two annotated lists for each document referenced; a list of Washoe landscapes recalled, and a list of individuals remembered. In each case, I transferred listed data into Excel spreadsheets, creating indices to facilitate searching, cross checking, tabulating, coding, ethno-mapping, and analysis. The spreadsheet contains the annotated indices arranged by archival category; a total of four indices: Washoe oral histories; anthropological research documents and agency reports pertaining to Washoe communities; anthropologists' research collections referencing Washoe communities, and historic and contemporary northern Washoe landscape photographs (Indices 1-4).<sup>27</sup> Each index contained one tab listing Washoe landscapes referenced, and a second tab listing Washoe individuals referenced. The final step was combining the four indices into one master (fifth) annotated index of Washoe landscape data, the Master Index of Washoe Landscapes (Index 5), which includes data about 269 places. The spreadsheet indices I compiled function as searchable references of Washoe landscapes.

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<sup>27</sup> Titles of the four indices are as follows: Washoe Landscapes Referenced in Oral Histories; Washoe Landscapes Referenced in Anthropologists' Research Materials; Washoe Landscapes Referenced in Cultural Resource Publications; and Historic and Contemporary Washoe Landscape Photographs. The separate indices were too cumbersome to include in this report, but the details about northern Washoe landscapes is in Index 6 (Appendix C).



### Oral Histories

Oral history interview transcripts were accessible through UNR Special Collections.

Eight Washoe individuals were represented among the fourteen oral histories I reviewed, including: Leonard Lowry (Blue 1999), John Dressler (Glass 1972), Bernice Auchoberry (King 1984a), Marvin Dressler (King 1984e), Ted Sallee (King 1984e), Winona James (King 1984f), Alida Nevers (McBride 2017a), and Ruth Abbie (McBride 2017b). Oral histories of four Euro-American individuals were also reviewed for this study, including Harry Hawkins (Glass 1967), Fred Dressler (King 1984c), Frank Yparraguirre (King 1984b), and Grace Dangberg (King 1984d). These particular individuals grew up in ranching contexts with close ties to Washoe families and individuals, and it was recorded that at least one of the individuals, Fred Dressler (King 1984c) spoke Washoe fluently. I scoured the oral history transcriptions looking for references to northern Washoe individuals, families, or landscapes (places) in the northern Washoe area. Two lists were produced for each of the fourteen oral histories; a list of the places referenced, and a list of individuals recalled; the data was transferred to Excel spreadsheets to create an index of Washoe landscape data as reflected in oral history data (Index 1. Washoe Landscapes Referenced in Oral Histories).

Ethnographic interviews by Rucks (2002) pertaining to the Tahoma and Sugar Pine Point area of Lake Tahoe's west shore were also consulted. Marie Kizer was a Washoe elder who was born and raised in Tahoma, California (Rucks 2002, 25-27). Bill (Soll) Dewhurst, a non-Washoe, is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Soll, the former caretakers of the Hellman-Ehrman mansion (Rucks 2002, 21-25) located just south of

Tahoma where she grew up.<sup>28</sup> Both women were interviewed about their memories of Sugar Pine Point and General Creek as part of a Washoe land use and history project. An older, amateur interview undertaken in 1936 by Tahoe City schoolchildren (Tarwater, Prusso, and Pyle, 1936) featured northern Washoe elders Captain Pete and his wife, Agnes who camped next to the Watson's cabin above the Commons, now called Commons Beach. Although the interview is short, it is in the spirit of an oral history interview and contains valuable genealogical data, and a narrative description of places they visited seasonally. The oral histories and ethnographic interviews became important sources of data for my study, because they constituted first-hand data from, and about, Washoe people I was unable to obtain with the ethno-survey I designed.

#### Anthropological Research Collections

Several boxed collections of research material from anthropologists who studied among the Washoe in the past are housed within UNR Special Collections, including material belonging to Warren d'Azevedo (n.d.), Edgar Siskin (n.d.), John Price (n.d.), and Anita Spring (1965), for example. Several boxed research collections pertaining to the Washoe were not exclusively anthropological in nature, such as material utilized by the Washoe Tribe in the Indian Claims Commission (ICC) claims case (n.d.), the legal records contained in the George F. Wright Papers (n.d.), photographs of Indian Service Agent,

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<sup>28</sup> Mrs. Dewhurst was born in 1924 and is of Danish-German descent. Bill's parents were caretakers of the Hellman-Ehrman estate, where she was raised. In 1942, when she was eighteen years old, she married Dewey Dewhurst; they lived in a house in Ward Canyon. Bill is the name her father selected for the son he was anticipating and did not receive; Mrs. Dewhurst still resides in north Lake Tahoe (Rucks 2002, 21-25).

Lorenzo D. Creel (n.d.), and the El Dorado Wood and Flume Company records (n.d.), to name a sample. There were some manuscripts referenced in the UNR Special Collections catalog, which were not physically present in the collections, but actually housed elsewhere; typically these were item retained by the author, and others were flagged missing, such as the d'Azevedo maps (1956). It was frustrating to travel to the archives after considerable planning and not find the resources I had anticipated examining.

The individual research collections were diverse and consisted of the following types of data resulting from anthropological fieldwork: ethnographic field notes, historic photographs, published maps with notations, sketch maps, audio-recordings, field trip notes, linguistic data (Washoe vocabulary lists), genealogical information, census data, personal correspondence, and copies of pertinent anthropological publications (journal articles). George F. Wright was the attorney who represented the Washoe in the ICC hearings. His collection contained many of the same exhibit materials as the Washoe Tribe's ICC collection (Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California, n.d.), but researcher access was not restricted, as the Washoe Tribal materials were. Lorenzo Creel worked for the Indian Service in multiple capacities from 1902 to 1922, during which time he amassed a personal collection of nearly 4,500 images of Native American customs and daily life; seventeen of Creel's historic images are presented later in this chapter because they depict Washoe people or landscapes during a confirmed date in the past. The El Dorado Wood and Flume Co. operated from 1875 to 1880 in multiple places, including Lake Valley, Hope Valley Ranch on Monitor Pass, and Woodfords Ranch in California, among others. Although this collection primarily encapsulates the southern Washoe region, it was investigated because it contained hand-drawn company property maps of

areas recalled by northern Washoe individuals, or because recordation of the place indicates northern Washoe use or presence.

Although the materials I consulted constitute and are maintained as archival materials, not all of them are technically historic. One of the contemporary, archived studies I accessed was Darla Garey-Sage's (2003) dissertation involving Washoe women's ethno-botanical knowledge; this particular ethnographic document was housed in UNR Special Collections, because it contained sensitive information and was protected in accordance with researcher ethics, since names of Washoe individuals and their family members, personal or private information, and family knowledge were included.

The d'Azevedo archival materials housed at the UNR Special Collections library indicate he collaborated with at least seventeen Washoe individuals of the course of his research, and he also tape recorded their songs, narratives, and life histories of three Washoe men. Recorded songs included five tapes with hand game songs Hand game songs (d'Azevedo 99-39, 7/S16 1, 8/S16 10, 8/S16 11, 7/S16 12, 12/S16, 43), six tapes containing peyote songs (d'Azevedo 99-39, 7/S16 4, 7/S16 5, 7/S16 6, 7/S16 7, 7/S16 8, 8/S16 14), and ten tapes with traditional Washoe songs (d'Azevedo 99-39, 7/S16 1, 7/S16 2, 7/S16 3, 8/S16 9, 8/S16 15 13/S16 46, 13/S16 47, 13/S16 48, 13/S16 49, 13/S16 50).<sup>29</sup> Tape recorded stories primarily included different parts of the Washoe creation story, which take place in mythic time throughout the Washoe landscape, such as: "Coyote and the Two Bears" (d'Azevedo 99-39, Tape 11/S16 37), "End of the World," and "Lizard and Coyote," told by George Snooks; the "Origin of the Washoe" by Leonard Moore

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<sup>29</sup> Tape 8/S16 15, featuring traditional Washoe songs was noted as missing from the university's collection, but in possession of the author (d'Azevedo, 99-39).

(d'Azevedo 99-39, Tape 11/S16 35); and "Mr. Coyote and Kingfish," by Roy James (d'Azevedo 99-39, Tape 11/S16 35).

### Cultural Resource Publications

The reports and documents I consulted in this category consisted of archived dissertations, ethnographic, archaeological, and cultural resource planning reports from development projects in the northern Washoe region (Bloomer et al. 1997; Rucks 2002; Nesbitt, Hood, and Kelly 1991; Toll and Elston 1980; Jaffke and Bloomer 2009; EDAW, Inc. 2004; Hammett, Garey-Sage, and Walsh 2004; Dangberg 1968; d'Azevedo 1984; Freed 1966; Lowie 1939; Fowler et al. 1981; Lindström et al. 1996; Lindström et al. n.d.). In consulting these reports, my focus was the ethnographic and ethno-historic content: the separate chapters and appendices describing results from interviews or consultations with Washoe individuals.

**Dissertations.** The archived dissertations I reviewed included those by the following authors: Dangberg 1927; Lindström 1992a; and Garey-Sage 2003. Dangberg's (1968) focus was Washoe narratives, Lindström's (1992a) emphasis was the significance of fishing, and Garey-Sage (2003) highlighted Washoe women's ethno-botanical knowledge. Even though each of the dissertations listed are topically distinct, they each contributed relevant information about northern Washoe landscapes and the families associated with them, whether an anecdote, a place name, translation, or identification of a place; they are all places within Washoe cultural memory. Archived ethnographic documents provided a dearth of information pertaining to northern Washoe landscapes

and families. I sifted through this material, compiled, and transferred it to a more user friendly, searchable index format (Index 5. Master Index of Washoe Landscapes).

In her oral history interview, Dangberg (King 1984d) details her upbringing on what was one of the larger Carson Valley ranches near Minden, where Washoe families lived and worked for her parents. The interview provides a personal overview of her anthropological career. After studying at UC Berkeley under Kroeber and Lowie, and at Columbia under Boas and Lowie a second time, she decided to conduct a culture and language study with Washoe families she knew well from her family's ranch (King 1984d, 1). The main source for Dangberg's fieldwork and dissertation was Susie Dick, a Washoe woman who came regularly to the ranch house to help with laundry. Susie Dick was known across the Carson Valley for being a bit of a character, gossiping, and telling humorous stories (King 1984d, 8-9). On laundry and ironing days, Dangberg would seek out Susie Dick and spend hours listening and documenting her stories. Other Washoe individuals who collaborated with Dangberg included: Henry Rupert; Bill Fillmore; Blind Mike; Sara Mayo; Mabel Fillmore; Manta Smokey; Hank Pete' and Hank's wife (King 1984d, 8-9). Henry Rupert was the illustrator for Dangberg 1968 (1969, 393), and he also assisted her translation of Washoe myth. In her oral history, Dangberg confesses she did not know Mr. Rupert was a Washoe shaman until later in life; when she worked with him, he was young and had not acquired this title yet. Henry Rupert is known as the last Washoe shaman; his life history was recorded and published by Don Handelman (1967a; 1967b). Bill Fillmore and Blind Mike narrated the Washoe legends contained in Dangberg's 1968 publication, Washo Texts; Bill Fillmore relayed the story of the "Creation," and the "Women Who Married the Stars," and Blind Mike narrated the story

of the “Weasel Brothers, Pewetseli and Damalali” (Dangberg 1968). Dangberg’s (1968) Washo Tales was based on her earlier research and 1927 dissertation, entitled Washo Texts.

Susan Lindström, a colleague of d’Azevedo, expanded upon his assertion that the significance of fishing in Washoe culture was under-reported. Her 1992 dissertation details Washoe and Paiute fishing practices and fishing gear, and she identifies landscapes associated with fishing in the archaeological and ethnographic record, and she also inserts ethno-historic tidbits to reinforce or clarify points of detail. Lindström relies upon a combination of Washoe and Paiute resources, because of the frequent inability to pinpoint Native American or other cultural affiliation from the material cultural record. Lindström’s dissertation includes data pertaining to locally available species of fish, their spawning cycles, and nutritional content in assessing the overall contribution of fish to the Washoe diet (1992a). Washoe place names, details pertaining to fishing landscapes, and the particularities of these places which dictate the best fishing strategies are the highlights of Susan Lindström’s dissertation (1992a) that are interspersed throughout this report.

Darla Garey-Sage (2003) presents her research data on Washoe ethno-botanical knowledge as an index at the end of her report. I consulted her index numerous times and appreciated the user-friendly organization, particularly the ease of searching for Washoe plant names alphabetically, and being able to view all the spellings and species names with corresponding citations in one centralized place. Other students of the Washoe will understand this point, as information concerning Washoe culture is spread across multiple disciplines and in various formats, making it especially challenging to synthesize data.

The linguistic data, combined with references about plants, their uses, and locations, are frequently referenced throughout this report, because many Washoe places are named for plants that grow there. The Garey-Sage ethno-botanical index was what inspired me to produce a similarly formatted style of index to the present data about northern Washoe landscapes I collected for this study. Initially, I created the searchable index to assist in organizing data for my own use then quickly realized with the amount of time and effort it was taking, it would be a worthy accomplishment to follow in Garey-Sage's steps and produce an index of landscape data with my report, as well. However the index resulting from my study is slightly different in that it includes oral histories, landscape photographs, places coded for landscape type and usage, and the index is accompanied by a GIS ethno-map.

**Ethnographic Reports.** Lowie's 1939 ethnographic notes from his time researching the Washoe are extensive, and the latter half of the document is comprised of nineteen stories. Lowie's principle collaborators included Jack Pitts and Bill Cornbread of Coleville, and Dave Cheney of Minden. Lowie provided the only record of this name for Lake Tahoe, *ti'yeli ta' au* (Lowie 1939, 301). He also produced a list of 38 Washoe kinship terms (Lowie 1939, 311-312) that assisted my understanding of which relatives were being recognized in the introductions we were practicing in Washoe language class. He provides a name for the seasonal football games, like those held at McKinney's in summer, as well as names for the two opposing teams; paternal descent determined which team a player joined and red and white paint identified the teams. According to Lowie the paternal divisions were also recognized at other large gatherings, such as dances or



ball games (Lowie 1939, 304, 315). The only researcher of the Washoe, to my knowledge, to record names and recollections pertaining to the Washoe football game is Lowie. He lays out rules for the game, dimensions for the playing field, and provides dynamic description of the game in action. Based on Lowie's account, the players were athletic young men who were adept runners, and they had stripped down to their "gee strings" to play Washoe football, relaying to the reader how physical a game this was (Lowie 1939, 315). He makes comparisons with the Miwok moiety system and comments the Washoe may have borrowed parts of this system from them (Lowie 1939, 304).

D'Azevedo's manuscript of entitled, "The Washoe" (1984), is a second unpublished work detailing all areas of Washoe culture. It is possible this is an initial and unedited draft of what would become the Washoe chapter he authored in the Handbook of North American Indians, but it contains substantial details not contained in the published chapter bearing the same title, as if it were a pouring out of everything he learned in his years of collaboration with Washoe communities, which spanned the 1950s through the early 2000s. He discusses "Washoeness" and explains there are "degrees of fluency in speaking the language, involving command of a body of cultural knowledge in the form of ritual procedures, myths, legends and recollection of the old way of life," which he states "were primary criteria for determining Washoeness" (d'Azevedo 1984, 7). The aforementioned assessment of "Washoeness" based on language fluency started becoming outmoded in the 1980s, as the bases for identity shifted to blood quantum and "genealogical validation" (d'Azevedo 1984, 8). According to d'Azevedo, the concept of a territory and mapping were problematic, because these realities shifted from season to

season or year to year, as individuals and family groups travelled among permanent residences and camping areas living with friends, relatives, or neighboring groups (d'Azevedo 1984, 22). This is an important consideration with regard to producing maps of Washoe territory or tethering individuals to defined spaces or landscapes; the notion of territory and residence was very dynamic, flexible, and in constant flux. The 1984 manuscript makes it clear that Washoe tribal identity, particularly in shared use areas on the periphery of the Washoe core area, was often "ambiguous" or "shifting;" joint use or shared landscapes are also characterized by frequent intermarrying and multilingualism (d'Azevedo 1984, 43).

Joint use spaces were discussed frequently in the d'Azevedo 1984 manuscript, and the point is made that a large portion of the Washoe landscape was traversed and also utilized seasonally by others, in lieu of an area exclusively used by Washoe groups. He explains, "much of the Washoe range, including the core area, was jointly used by adjacent non-Washoe peoples or provided a corridor of trade and travel (d'Azevedo 1984, 23). Washoe communities did have tenure in the area, but they also permitted neighboring groups to have seasonal access to desirable landscapes; and in other areas it was the reverse, and the Washoe were given use privileges by neighboring groups; this courtesy arrangement existed mainly between the Washoe and Northern Paiute or Maidu groups. According to d'Azevedo's collaborators, a policy of good neighbor relations involved maintaining "conditions of mutual courtesy (1984, 24). This policy was paramount, as Washoe landscapes can be described as having several "corridors of ventilated access" (1984, 24) by which neighboring groups travelled. Maintaining good relations with neighboring groups was essential, as a policy of joint use is "...subject to

traditionalized understandings of priority or affected by the current state of relations between groups” (1984, 24).

Stanley Freed recorded, mapped, and presented 35 Washoe habitation and campsites at Lake Tahoe in his 1966 work. Freed’s mapped locations in the northern Washoe region, totaling twenty, are referenced throughout this report. References to Freed’s mapped places include his map numbers in the citations after the page number. The Washoe orthography Freed utilized is visibly different from the others, because of his use of capital letters to differentiate between short and long vowel sounds; a capitalized vowel symbolizes the short vowel sound (Freed 1966, 83). For this study of significant cultural landscapes, the maps depicting recorded Washoe places were extremely valuable, especially the maps produced by Freed (1966) and Dangberg (1968), who also included Washoe names for places. Even though d’Azevedo had produced similar style maps of Washoe places a decade earlier, they have not been widely viewed, because all the maps were misplaced by d’Azevedo presumably before the 1960s.

**Cultural Resource Reports.** Access to cultural resource planning reports was sometimes restricted, or contingent upon written permission by the Washoe Tribal chairperson, if it was deemed sensitive material. Several of the reports and dissertations I accessed contained sensitive (private) information about Washoe people and their families, and were housed separately in UNR Special Collections, where access to the material is restricted to in-library viewing. As mentioned previously, confidentiality and restricted access to sensitive portions of cultural resource reports was known and anticipated. Several cultural resource reports were obtained through the network of

Washoe ethnographers and archaeologists with whom I worked and consulted and included: Penny Rucks' (2002) Washoe ethnography of Sugar Pine Point, Lake Tahoe; Bloomer and Jaffke's (2009) report of archaeological investigations at CA-ELD-2611/H at Sugar Pine Point, Lake Tahoe; an ethno-archaeological study of basalt quarrying at Watson Creek, Lake Tahoe (Bloomer et al. 1997); Bloomer and Lindström's 2006 report of excavations at Olympic Valley; an archaeological survey for the Alpine Meadows ski area water pipeline (Lindström 1992a); archaeological investigations at Donner Memorial State Park (Bloomer and Jaffke 2011); an archaeological survey and testing project at the Truckee River outlet (Lindström et al. 2002); a Truckee River Drainage cultural resource evaluation prepared for California State Parks (Nesbitt, Hood, and Kelly 1991); an archaeological, ethno-historic, and historic report for the proposed Truckee River Legacy Trail near downtown Truckee (Lindström et al. 2007); "A Cultural Resource Overview of Prehistoric and Historic Sites Located on Private Lands in the Lake Tahoe Basin," prepared for the US Forest Service (Toll and Elston 1980); a heritage resource inventory of the north shore of Lake Tahoe (Lindström et al. 1996) which includes a separate and confidential ethnographic component prepared by Penny Rucks (1996); and an assessment report of the Lake Tahoe watershed (Lindström, Rucks, and Wigand n.d.).

Of these twelve reports concerning Washoe landscapes, six pertain to specific landscape areas in the northern Washoe region, such as: Tahoma-Sugar Pine Point area (Bloomer and Jaffke 2009; Rucks 2002); Alpine Meadows (Lindström 1992b); Olympic Valley (Bloomer and Lindström 2006); Donner Lake (Bloomer and Jaffke 2011); Watson Creek (Bloomer et al. 1997); and the outlet (Lindström et al. 2002). Six other cultural resource publications report on larger landscape areas, including: the Lake Tahoe Basin

(Toll and Elston 1980); the Truckee River drainage (Nesbitt, Hood, and Kelly 1991); the north shore of Lake Tahoe Tahoe (Lindström et al. 1996; Rucks 1996); and the Lake Tahoe watershed (Lindström, Rucks, and Wigand n.d.), which are all situated partially or completely within the northern Washoe range.<sup>30</sup> Material pertaining to northern Washoe landscapes from these twelve reports, the three dissertations, and the anthropologists' research collections are included in the Master Index of Washoe Landscapes (Index 5).<sup>31</sup>

### Historic Photographs

As part of my study, I researched historic photograph collections housed at UNR Special Collections. I selected and compiled an index of historic photographs of Washoe people and images depicting Washoe landscapes ranging in date from 1865 to 1981 (Index of Historic and Contemporary Washoe Landscape Photographs, Index 4). I gathered 298 historic photographs depicting Washoe individuals and Washoe landscapes during the archival research phase of fieldwork. In addition to the images, I also recorded the following details which each photograph: date; photographer name; publisher; caption; and the names of Washoe individuals identified. Photographs were coded using a different and less elaborate system than the one devised for coding landscape locations in the master index. The historic and contemporary images were coded according to general subject matter. Photos depicting people were coded with the abbreviation, "PPL." If an image showed buildings or structures, the code "BLDG" was applied. The code, "OBJ"

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<sup>30</sup> The present study references locations depicted in Toll and Elston's (1980) map; their H- and P- designators for historic and prehistoric sites are noted in the text citation.

<sup>31</sup> The index contained details of 269 Washoe landscapes and was too cumbersome to include in the dissertation.

was selected when specific objects, including boats, trains, highways, cars, et cetera were captured in the image. The codes and descriptions are listed in Figure 3.

Among the images I gathered and indexed, approximately 93 Washoe landscapes are represented at UNR Special Collections, seven in the California State Parks collections, one in the Online Archive of California (OAC), eight in relevant cultural resource reports, and seven in the contemporary photos I produced. Landscapes that are specific to the northern Washoe are represented accordingly: approximately 94 landscapes are depicted in the historic photographs at UNR Special Collections; seven landscapes in the California State Parks collections; one in the OAC; seven in cultural resource reports I consulted; and three in the modern images produced during fieldwork.

**Figure 3. Subject Matter Coding for Historic and Contemporary Photographs of Washoe Landscapes<sup>32</sup>**

<b><u>Codes</u></b>	<b><u>Photograph Subject Matter Description</u></b>
LAND	image depicts landscape features (e.g. forest, meadow, water feature, mountain, town, ranch, or other landscape)
PPL	image includes people
BLDG	image contains buildings or structures
OBJ	image contains objects (boats, train trestles, animals, cars, trails)
MAP	image is a map

The index of historic photographs includes the entire Washoe range, and not just the northern Washoe landscapes. Image captions were helpful in identifying landscapes, and providing dates and names of Washoe people, when available. Some of the historic

<sup>32</sup> Codes correspond to Index 4. Historic and Contemporary Washoe Landscape Photographs. Images may have multiple codes.

photographs were extracted from the anthropological and other research collections discussed in the previous paragraph (e.g. Lorenzo D. Creel, n.d.; Edgar Siskin, n.d.; Anita Spring, 1965), while several other Washoe landscape photographs were actual, historic exhibits presented in the ICC (Indian Claims Commission) hearings for the Washoe.

In addition to the Special Collections at UNR, other photographic collections were examined, including Donner Memorial State Park, and the Online Archive of California (OAC) (<https://oac.cdlib.org>). I reviewed the entire photographic collection at Donner Memorial State Park; this effort resulted in eighteen historic images dating from 1898 to 1905. The OAC yielded four historic photographs depicting Washoe people in 1905 and 1912; the two identified individuals include Datsolalee and Poker Charlie. Three unnamed Washoe women are depicted in a summer camp setting, and another image is of a Washoe woman washing clothes next to a river. Locations of the named individuals are unknown, but the image record states the four Washoe ladies were photographed near Sparks, Nevada.<sup>33</sup> Sixteen copies of images for reference spanning the dates 1910 through 1997 were gathered from cultural resource publications consulted for this project. In sum, examination of archived historic photos resulted in a reference index of 298 historic photographs from four main sources (UNR Special Collections, California State Parks, and Online Archive of California), including sixteen images from

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<sup>33</sup> Images include: 1) "Datsolalee Washoe Weaver." Grace Nicholson Collection, Album B, p. 99 of 101; 2) "Poker Charlie Washoe Indian, Jan. 1, 1905." Grace Nicholson Collection, Album A, p. 65; 3) "Washoe summer camp scene near Sparks, Nevada, 1912." George W. Ingalls Collection, photCL275. Huntington Library Photo Archives; and 4) "Washoe woman washing clothes in a river near Sparks, Nevada, 1912." George W. Ingalls Collection, photCL275. Huntington Library Photo Archives.

cultural resource publications, and an additional 35 contemporary landscape images taken during fieldwork for this study (Index of Historic and Contemporary Washoe Landscape Photographs); a total of 333 historic and contemporary photographs of Washoe landscapes are represented in the index. Other locations housed historic photograph collections with Washoe content, such as the Nevada Historical Society, North Lake Tahoe Historical Society, and archives of the RSIC (Reno-Sparks Indian Colony). However, I found sufficient photographic data in the collections from UNR Special Collections, California State Parks, and the Online Archive of California, to illustrate the northern Washoe landscapes highlighted in this study, and also produce a visual index of images that could be embedded in the GIS ethno-map now or in the future as a separate layer. The objective of my research was not to compile an exhaustive index of images of Washoe individuals or landscapes, but rather to identify northern Washoe landscapes, families and cultural memories associated with them, including locations and Washoe names for the landscapes, if possible. Photographic research assisted the effort of identifying northern Washoe landscapes presented later in this chapter and provided visual accompaniment to the landscape descriptions I present in Chapter Seven.

In addition to the historic photographs of Washoe individuals and landscapes, I took my own photographs adding 35 contemporary images of Washoe landscapes to the Index of Historic and Contemporary Washoe Landscape Photographs (Index 4, Appendix C). Photography of Washoe landscapes was prompted by two factors; 1) there were some landscapes for which historic photos were completely lacking (e.g. General Creek), and 2) some landscapes had several historic photographs through time, but no modern depictions; I anticipated that photographs of the same Washoe landscapes over time,



where possible, might reveal significant landscape changes that could inform Washoe associations, or lack thereof, with places over time. The modern images gathered for this study are included in the historic photos index as well as the master Washoe landscape index.

Photographs of the following landscapes in the northern Washoe (We' Imelt' i?) homeland showed change through time: the outlet in Tahoe City, Incline Creek in Incline Village, Griff Creek in Kings Beach, the hot springs at Brockway, Swallows Cave in Tahoe City, McKinney Creek in Homewood, Donner, Trout, and Martis Creeks in Truckee, and the Little Truckee River at Boca. In these ten instances, landscape changes were caused by 1) the construction of dams which raised lake levels and affected stream flow on creeks and rivers (the outlet, Truckee River, Donner Lake), and submerged caves along the lakeshore (Swallows Cave); and 2) industrial, commercial or real estate developments (Trout Creek, Donner Creek, and Incline Village) that resulted in diverted, dredged, and destroyed stream channels (Incline Creek, Truckee River), in addition to privatized residential and public recreational areas (Brockway, Kings Beach State Recreation Area, Griff Creek, and Moon Dunes Beach) that were once accessible to Washoe families who frequented and maintained these key seasonal resource procurement and camping spaces.

### **Identifying Landscape Locations**

The process of identifying landscape locations was time-consuming, and at times adventurous, because I wanted to personally visit the landscapes I was encountering in my research. The identification process consisted of comparing locations on historic and

contemporary maps. A magnifying lens was utilized to examine historic, paper maps, and the zoom feature was activated frequently to examine online maps and satellite imagery.<sup>34</sup> The task required continuous comparison of two- and three-dimensional maps, followed by driving or hiking through areas trying to identify the named places, repeatedly reviewing source verbiage, and potentially repeating any number of these steps along the way.

Fortunately, my drives to and from WCRAC meetings and Washoe language classes provided multiple opportunities to help identify and familiarize myself with landscapes repeatedly referenced by Washoe individuals in the archival data, at WCRAC meetings, and Washoe language class. It was fortunate my employment responsibilities for California State Parks provided many field excursions through Washoe landscapes, where I could stop for a quick break or photograph while driving to and from work sites. Most field trips to and through Washoe landscapes ended back at the maps and reference material. Toward the end of the twelve-month fieldwork period (March and April 2018), I was able to recall by memory approximately two-thirds of the Washoe names for places (e.g. permanent settlements, camps, and fishing streams) by or through which I was passing. There were routes I navigated repeatedly throughout the course of research and fieldwork, as I travelled to and from three primary destinations: 1) Sugar Pine Point State Park in Tahoma, California – my permanent work location and source of project funding (Route A); 2) Gardnerville, Nevada, to the monthly WCRAC meetings with Washoe elders (Route B); and 3) Carson City, to weekly Washoe language classes held at Carson

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<sup>34</sup> The two websites I accessed were <https://google.com/maps> and <https://google.com/earth>.

Colony (Route C).<sup>35</sup> All three routes began and ended at my place of residence in North Lake Tahoe, California. The three routes are described in the following paragraphs and include both Washoe and English place names where known.

Route A took me to and from work at Sugar Pine Point State Park in Tahoma, California. I drove along Bear Creek, passed Alpine Springs (formerly Deer Park Springs), and followed the Truckee River, Balnacan wata (Garey-Sage 2003, 195), to Tahoe City and the Truckee River outlet – Dabayorddawsi (Nevers 1976, 4) or Dabayó·duwe? (Dangberg 1968, 101).<sup>36</sup> At the outlet, I headed south down the west shore of Lake Tahoe passing Ward Creek – Dagásli? (Dangberg 1968, 101), Blackwood Creek – Čá:ćubi? wát’a (Rucks 2002, 6), Madden Creek – Dúku dawát’a (Dangberg 1968, 102), and McKinney Creek – Šu?wétik wát’a (Rucks 2002, 6), to General Creek, also known as DukhmE’EmwO’tha (Freed 1966, 80), which flows through Sugar Pine Point

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<sup>35</sup> Dissertation research and fieldwork were not funded by California State Parks and were not conducted on State Parks time or using its resources. My daily drive to and from work, was however, conveniently situated within the northern Washoe region. After fieldwork was completed, I was provided funding support to complete the GIS ethno-mapping component of this study using existing California State Parks map layers. The GIS ethno-map is presented in Chapter Seven.

<sup>36</sup> According to d’Azevedo, this place is called, Dawbayódok, but only “if you are on the down side” (1956, 51) of the outlet.

State Park, my destination.<sup>37</sup> The Washoe name for Sugar Pine Point,

Dew'kiláyawga?mam means “black point into lake” (Rucks 2002, 6).<sup>38</sup>

I took Route B when I was driving to and from Washoe language classes in Carson City (Carson Colony), Nevada. Similar to Route A, this course followed Bear Creek, passed Alpine Springs (Deer Park Springs), then followed the Truckee River – Balnacan wata (Garey-Sage 2003, 195) upstream to Tahoe City and the Truckee River outlet. There were two names recorded for the Truckee River outlet based on a person's position on either side of it: Dabayorddawsí (Nevers 1976, 4) and Dabayó·duwe? (Dangberg 1968, 101).<sup>39</sup> From the outlet, I headed west through Tahoe City and around the north shore of Lake Tahoe passing over Burton Creek – WO'thañamIñ (Freed 1966, 81; Toll and Elston 1980, 11) and Watson Creek – MasuñdawwO'tha (Freed 1966, 81).<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Dangberg (1968, 102) recorded another Washoe place name, Dawmá?lim t'í·yel, meaning “large confluence,” for the Blackwood Creek area. Rucks (2002, 6) documented the same name, Dawmá?limtíyel, spelled as one word. Šu?wétik is the name Dangberg (1968,102) recorded for McKinney Creek, and it is the Washoe name for “service berries.” The names, Cu'wE'thUkhWO'tha and Su?wetik wata, were recorded as names for McKinney Creek by Freed (1966, 80), Nevers (1976), and Garey-Sage (2003, 237).

<sup>38</sup> The author does not think this is a literal translation in Washoe, as “ga?mam” is a bedrock mortar. There are several bedrock mortars within the vicinity of General Creek and Sugar Pine Point. Moreover, the name Dew'kiláyawga?mam, or “black point into lake,” does not include the Washoe word for lake, Da ow (Nevers 1976:4).

<sup>39</sup> According to d'Azevedo, this place is called Dawbayódok, but this name is only used “if you are on the down side” (1956, 51). Dabayó·duwe? means, “flowing away over the edge” (Dangberg 1968, 101). Alternate forms of this Washoe place name are Dabayord dawet (Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 257 from Nevers 1976, 4), DaubayOdu'E (Freed 1966, 81), and Dawbayóduwe' (d'Azevedo 1956, 51). D'Azevedo recorded the same name for a location on the north side of the mouth, “if you are on the up side” (d'Azevedo 1956, 51) of the outlet.

<sup>40</sup> Bloomer (et al. 1997) provided the alternate forms, MasuñdawwO'tha and Ma'·sun wa' t'a, meaning “slow water,” as Washoe names for the mouth of Watson Creek (Bloomer et al. 1997, III-13).

Continuing to Kings Beach, I drove over Griff Creek; and Freed recorded the Washoe name, ‘GumlE’phel wO’tha, for this creek (Freed 1966, 82; Toll and Elston 1980, 12; Lindström 1992a, 94; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-13).<sup>41</sup> Nearing Crystal Bay, Nevada (the California-Nevada state line), I passed by ?Ló?om, otherwise known as Brockway Hot Springs (Dangberg 1968, 101).<sup>42</sup> From Crystal Bay, I continued around the north shore of Lake Tahoe through Incline Village passing by a place recorded as Magóyot by d’Azevedo (1956, 51; Toll and Elston 1980, 17). Joanne Nevers (1976, 6; Bloomer et al. 1997) called Ma?góyot’a a Washoe camp near Incline.<sup>43</sup> Freed (1966, 82) recorded Ma’goiyatwO’tha as a creek near Incline (Toll and Elston 1980, 17). Another creek located “next to” Incline was named Wa?abá?am, which means “plunging in to water” in Washoe (Dangberg 1968, 101); this could be the name for Mill Creek; maybe it is an abbreviated version of Wa bam ma lo om, “put your foot into something” hot spring (Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 287). After Incline Village, I drove south along the east shore of Lake Tahoe and passed Sand Harbor as I headed toward Spooner Summit, down into Carson City (Carson Valley), and north to Carson Colony for Washoe language class.

When I attended monthly WCRAC meetings in Gardnerville, Nevada, I took Route C; this route was nearly identical to Route B; at least all the way to Carson City.

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<sup>41</sup> Griff Creek runs adjacent to Secline Street in Kings Beach, California. Barefoot beachgoers walking along the shore cross the icy creek that bisects the beach before flowing into Lake Tahoe.

<sup>42</sup> ?Ló?om (Dangberg 1968, 101), Lo om (Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 287), and Lom um (Nevers 1976, 4), all reference the same hot springs at Brockway Point, or Stateline.

<sup>43</sup> Dangberg (1968, 101) noted the name Ma?góyot’a as a place near Incline, as well.

Heading south from Carson City I took Route C along the Carson River, Watah she mu (Nevers 1976, 4), and through Carson Valley – Wá·šiw ʔitpá·w, which means “Washo's Valley” (Dangberg 1968, 103).<sup>44</sup> I passed Genoa and Dresslerville, drove through the communities of Minden and Gardnerville, and passed the Washoe Ranches before arriving at the Washoe tribal headquarters, where monthly WCRAC meetings occurred.

During February and March 2018, I began identifying multiple written forms of the same Washoe landscape term across sources, as presented in previous paragraphs and footnotes. For example, I came across three forms of the word for McKinney Creek on the west shore of Lake Tahoe; the Washoe name translates, “service berry creek,” and orthographic variations include: Šuʔwétik wát'a (Rucks 2002, 6); CuʔwE'thUkhWO'tha and Suʔwetik wata (Garey-Sage 2003, 237; Nevers 1976; Freed 1966, 80); and Šuʔwétik (Dangberg 1968, 102). Similarly, I encountered three versions of the place name for Incline Village, Nevada: Magóyot (d'Azevedo 1956, 51; Toll and Elston 1980, 17), Maʔgóyot'a (Dangberg 1968, 101; Nevers 1976, 6; Bloomer et al. 1997), and Ma'goiyatwO'tha (Freed 1966, 82; Toll and Elston 1980, 17). There were instances where I could associate references to what seemed like different locations, after I recognized they were written variations of the same place name.

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<sup>44</sup> Wát'ashému – “the real river” was provided as the Washoe name for the Carson River (Hammett, Garey-Sage, and Walsh 2004, 12 from Nevers 1976, 4). Carson Valley is sometimes referred to by the Washoe regional group living there, the Pá·walu' (King 1984a), or Pá'wa detdéʔyiʔ, the name of a permanent Washoe settlement there meaning “the place where valley dwellers live” (d'Azevedo 1984, 468). The Washoe word, pá (King 1984a) and pá' (d'Azevedo 1984, 468) may mean valley, as in Pá·walu' (King 1984a).

In at least two instances I spatially correlated Washoe place names with larger landscape settings, based on recognition of word roots and suffixes in the Washoe names for surrounding geographical features, such as streams, meadows, and camps. I began correlating place names and landscape settings before I was cognizant of the fact I was doing it in accord with a naming convention I was observing in the course of my fieldwork. Davis (1992, 3) used the phrase, “name area;” he referenced a particular place as, “one of several in that name area that [consultant] X was familiar with.” According to d’Azevedo (1984, 468), Topaz Lake in Antelope Valley is where the Uṇá’biya detdé?yi?, or salt place dwellers, reside; the ending detdé?yi?, designates this place as a permanent settlement location, versus a temporary camp site. In her oral history interview, Washoe elder Bernice Auchoberry (King 1984a) recalled the name, Uḡá • bi, for the Topaz area. Joanne Nevers (1976) provided the name, Onobia, “the place where salt was” or “salt valley” (1976, 4), with no other description of the location. Nevers’ (1976) place name and description was associated with the Topaz Lake area of Antelope Valley (located in California and Nevada), based on the salt descriptor and the sound semblances among the written forms.<sup>45</sup> The Washoe name for Rubicon Point, California is derived from a plant, called Mugawlu or Mam?gawlu (Garey-Sage 2003, 240-241, 263; Jacobsen n.d.d.). Dangberg recorded Mogaulu, as the name for Lonely Gulch Creek (1927, 412-413). In 2003, Garey-Sage recorded Mam?gawlu wata as the name for Lonely Gulch Creek near Rubicon Point (2003, 263). Nevers (1976), Freed (1966, 80-81), and Jacobsen (n.d.d.),

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<sup>45</sup> The author is awaiting verification from the WCRAC group about the association with Topaz Lake.

attributed the place name, Mugawlu, to both Rubicon Point and a camping location south of Meeks Bay.<sup>46</sup>

The process of identifying, repeatedly traversing, and personally visiting the places named and remembered by Washoe people and their families enabled me to become familiar with parts of their cultural landscape. Not only did I visit many of the places in person, but I also took advantage of the opportunity to learn the places and their names in Washoe. Identifying places from text references extracted from reports and various archival media was time-consuming, but the task of comparing and scrutinizing the array of historic, modern, and multi-dimensional maps and imagery was the most tedious part of orienteering through northern Washoe terrain, with mastery of the multiple Washoe orthographies a close second. The landscape immersion experience prompted an increased understanding of the Washoe language on my part; especially when it became apparent that names for geographical features of larger landscape settings (creeks, rivers and confluences) –or “name areas” (Davis 1992, 3)– tended to share the same root word or phrase in Washoe. D’Azevedo noted this same trend, and recorded the Washoe word, d’áwa, which signifies a “place or name area” (1956, 44/#103). The root word or phrase of a place name is meaningful, because it identifies the place descriptively for the listener. The utilitarian value of a Washoe place name is evident whether the larger name area is referenced, or a specific location within it. For a Washoe individual familiar with or learning a series of interconnected microenvironments on their route to and from their family’s seasonal fishing camps, hunting areas, or gathering places, the

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<sup>46</sup> Rubicon Point and Lonely Gulch Creek are both located south of Meeks Bay.



place names likely provided important directional cues needed to prompt an individual's mental map.

Overall, familiarizing myself with the northern Washoe (We' Imelt' i?) cultural landscape – the places named and remembered by northern Washoe people and families– was a very enriching and fundamental component of this study, as it facilitated my understanding and orientation during participant-observation opportunities, archival research, and mapping. Community participant-observation provided avenues to ask questions about my research topic while in the company of Washoe individuals and families, and it also presented me with opportunities to clarify, confirm, and validate my research findings. Once I knew the places and they became part of my cognitive map, I began to understand the essential, organic, utilitarian nature of the names. Place names tended to include a phoneme(s) indicating the specific landscape and resource area, which was frequently identifiable within the place name. Another component of Washoe place names identified the landscape feature, such as a mountain, lake, creek, or confluence. The geographic feature was often followed, or modified, by an adjective characterizing the feature, relating it to an event or narrative, or further distinguishing the location of the place (e.g. loud, fast, flows away this way or that way).

### **Discussion**

A total of 94 places in northern Washoe territory were identified during the archival research component of fieldwork, and most places were visited in person. I asked my four sponsors (Angie, Linda, Cheryl, and Ruby) and Chris, another elder, to verify a list of the 94 northern Washoe places –to confirm or deny their statuses as northern Washoe

spaces, and to check translation and spelling; I also hoped viewing the list might prompt memories and discussion.<sup>47</sup> One individual marked the places they confirmed were We' Imelt' i? places with a "W" and returned it to me. Angie, Cheryl, and Ruby spoke to me about certain places during Washoe language classes, and I also directly asked our instructor, Kate, questions about places, which sometimes prompted group conversation. Personal comments and knowledge pertaining to the landscapes are interspersed throughout the dissertation. Each of the 94 We' Imelt' i? places was mapped and accompanied by Washoe names, associated narratives, and recollections to highlight the landscapes and demonstrate the multiple ways places are significant to contemporary Washoe people. The 94 places are illustrated in a GIS ethno-map (Figure 8. Ethno-map of Northern Washoe Landscapes) I that is presented in Chapter Seven. Northern Washoe (We' Imelt' i?) Landscapes.

Archival research yielded first-hand data in the form of eleven oral history interviews and four ethnographic interviews; there were ten Washoe and five non-Washoe interviewees. Of the total nine men and six women represented in interviews; six of the women (King 1984a; King 1984f; McBride 2017a; McBride 2017b; Rucks 2002; Tarwater, Prusso, and Pyle 1936) and four of the men (King 1984e; Glass 1972; Tarwater, Prusso, and Pyle 1936) were of Washoe descent. Oral history and ethnographic interview data referencing Washoe landscapes, individuals and families, was incorporated into two tables that show age of the interviewee at the time of

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<sup>47</sup> Although not one of my assigned project sponsors, another Washoe individual and elder who was present at WCRAC meetings, and who provided input throughout the study, was given the pseudonym Chris.

interview, date of birth, and the source; one table is organized by date of birth and the other by age at the time of interview (Tables 1.1 Archived Oral Histories by Date of Birth and Table 1.2 Archived Oral Histories by Age When Interviewed).<sup>48</sup> Oral history data pertaining to We' Imelt' i? spaces is also contained in the Master Index of Washoe Landscapes (Index 5).

Examination of research collections belonging to anthropologists who studied the Washoe was primarily focused on collections of five individuals: Warren d'Azevedo (n.d.a; n.d.b), Edgar Siskin (n.d.), John Price (n.d.), Grace Dangberg (n.d.), and Anita Spring (1965). Other archival collections provided photographic data and maps depicting portions of northern Washoe territory, such as the Lorenzo Creel papers (n.d.), the George F. Wright papers (n.d.), and materials from Washoe Tribe's ICC hearing (n.d.). One of the most informative archival documents I examined for my study was d'Azevedo's (1956) Washo Place Names. The document was referenced in the catalog, but I discovered it was not part of the collection, or housed there; the manuscript was in possession of the author, who had recently passed, and not available. I also learned Washo Place Names (d'Azevedo 1956) at one time contained maps, which accompanied the list of 249 place names. In the process of conducting archival research, I learned the d'Azevedo maps were missing (Edan Strekal personal communication, March 2018; Davis 1992, 3). Unfortunately, all ten maps were misplaced by d'Azevedo while he was employed at University of Utah in 1962 (d'Azevedo 1956). Not being able to view the maps d'Azevedo produced to accompany the list of Washoe place names was

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<sup>48</sup> Tables 1.1 and 1.2 are not included in this report.

disappointing and frustrating, as they accompanied and illustrated one of the most important ethnographic documentations of Washoe language.

In the course of my research, Washo Place Names (d'Azevedo 1956) was the most frequently cited Washoe reference, and d'Azevedo's numerous publications were the next most frequently cited. Compared to other anthropologists of the Washoe, d'Azevedo spent the greatest amount of time working among them.<sup>49</sup> The long-lasting relationship he maintained with Washoe families and communities was enhanced by the fact that d'Azevedo also resided and was employed (as UNR faculty) in Washoe territory. When I finally obtained a copy of the d'Azevedo (1956) manuscript from Ruby and reviewed it in person, I had the explanation about the missing maps. The title page of the manuscript contained a typed note from d'Azevedo explaining the plight of the maps. He had plotted locations recalled by Washoe individuals on a series of ten USGS quadrangle maps. According to d'Azevedo (1956), the manuscript is a compilation of his ethnographic fieldwork notes –which he states were incomplete and unedited– along with his index cards; he mentions manuscript was “not meant for general distribution;” all of these factors account for the manuscript's informal mode. The manuscript interweaves individual testimonials from d'Azevedo's Washoe consultants about landscape significance, and the set of maps he produced contained valuable, in some cases irretrievable, knowledge about Washoe landscapes.

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<sup>49</sup> D'Azevedo began studying the Washoe in the mid-1950s, and he continued this endeavor up until his passing in 2009. His latest publication was a report on Cave Rock dated 2008.

The cultural resource documents and reports I consulted yielded data pertaining to eight northern Washoe spaces, including the Lake Tahoe Basin (Goodwin 1971; Davis 1992; Lindström and Waechter 1995, 1996; Toll and Elston 1980), Tahoma and Sugar Pine Point (Rucks 2002; Bloomer and Jaffke 2009), the entire north shore of Lake Tahoe (Rucks 1996), and specifically: Watson Creek (Bloomer et al. 1997), the Truckee River outlet (Lindström et al. 2002), Deer Park-Alpine Meadows (Lindström 1992b), Olympic Valley (Bloomer and Lindström 2006), and the entire Truckee River from Lake Tahoe to Pyramid Lake (Nesbitt, Kelly, and Hood 1991; Summit Envirosolutions, Inc. 2005; Lindström et al. 2007).

Dissertations consulted most frequently were Dangberg (1968), Lindström (1992a), and Garey-Sage (2003). The three Washoe narratives presented in Dangberg's (1968) dissertation include 1) "People Are Grown," 2) "The Weasel Brothers, Parts I-IV", and 3) "The Women Who Married Stars," which reference and name places of mythic significance within the Washoe homeland. In her dissertation detailing Washoe fishing technologies and analyzing protein content by species, Lindström (1992a) noted Washoe fishing camps in the northern Washoe region, as well as the seasonality of spawning by species and watercourse. A documentation of Washoe ethno-botanical knowledge and identification of several plants and gathering locations in the northern Washoe area are contained in Garey-Sage's (2003) dissertation; her work also contains an ethno-botanical index that includes Washoe names for plants, complete with references.

Examination of historic photographs yielded a total of 298 historic depictions of Washoe people and landscapes referenced in the archival material. An additional 35 modern landscape images were obtained by the author either to document places not

depicted elsewhere, or locations having all but modern photos available. For this study, a total of 333 images depicting northern Washoe landscapes and individuals were collected and compiled (Index 4. Historic and Contemporary Washoe Landscape Photographs, Appendix C). Indices of the four categories of archival material were combined into a master annotated index of 269 Washoe places that includes English and Washoe place names, as well as 333 historic and modern images of the landscapes. The 269 Washoe locations are coded by geographic landscape type, such as a lake, spring, or creek. Landscapes are also coded for different types of cultural use and significance as documented in the literature and archival material, including but not limited to: resource procurement sites; habitation and camping areas; interment areas; places where social gatherings take place; and places that are still visited (Figure 2). Another version of the same list presents only the northern Washoe landscapes referenced in archival media; there are 94 northern Washoe places identified in this study. Two master indices of landscapes were generated from archival research results, and the index detailing northern Washoe landscapes is presented in appendices at the end of this report (Index 6). The most informative and interesting details of archival research were the abundant and descriptive Washoe place names; the places they named and the names themselves were reflective of how Washoe people perceive, engage with, and orient themselves on the landscape. The latter observations and the 94 northern Washoe landscapes will be discussed in Chapter Seven.

### **Chapter 3. Washoe Ethnohistory**

By acknowledging former Washoe habitation areas and places they still claim as their homelands, my study focused on the northern portion of the Lake Tahoe Basin and surrounding area; the northern Washoe, or We' Imelt' i?, region. Joanne Nevers' map (1976, 90) illustrates the entire Washoe homeland, which extends from Honey Lake to Sonora Pass, California (north-south), and from the Pine Nut and Virginia Ranges in the east to the Sierra Nevada Mountains in the west. The Washoe occupied a 4,000 square mile core region in a larger 10,000-13,000 square mile extended range (Garey-Sage 2003, 64; d'Azevedo 1986b, 468; Downs 1966a, 11; Price 1980, 46). The Washoe territory includes three plant communities: (1) upper montane forests with riparian communities, non-coniferous areas, and wet meadows (such as regions surrounding Lake Tahoe); (2) lower montane forests with riparian zones, montane chaparral, and woodland meadows (as in Sierra Valley); and (3) a transition region with piñon-juniper forest, sagebrush scrub, and desert riparian communities (ie, the areas surrounding Honey, Washoe, and Topaz Lakes) (Garey-Sage 2003, 60; Lindström 1992a, 194). The northern Washoe region includes a combination of the three plant communities.

The Washoe did not receive official reservation lands so many Washoe families historically settled and still reside in or near one of the Washoe communities (Reno-Sparks, Carson, Stewart, Dresslerville, Woodfords), which began as Washoe encampments located near Euro-American settlements or ranches. The trust lands and fee lands held by the Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California today, however, are comparable to reservation lands and have the same legal and political influence. The Reno-Sparks community is the only one of the five communities situated in the northern

Washoe region, with Carson and Stewart on the eastern fringe of this region. Four of the five communities are still inhabited by Washoe families (Nevers 1976, 63). In addition to the aforementioned communities, Washoe families also currently reside in Reno, Sacramento, the San Francisco Bay Area, elsewhere within the Washoe homeland ([www.washoetribe.us](http://www.washoetribe.us)), and throughout the US. In all of the Washoe range, fewer Washoe families have maintained residence or landscape associations in the Truckee, Martis Valley, Sierra Valley, and Honey Lake Valley areas; and these landscapes are all We' Imelt' i? landscapes.

Under the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act three different Washoe tribal entities gained federal recognition, but this occurred at different times for each (Strong and Van Winkle 1996, 556). Washoe colonies of the Carson Valley formed the Washoe Tribe of California and Nevada, and they were “recognized as a formally organized tribe” in 1937 (Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California 2009, 39). The Washoe, Northern Paiute, and Shoshone colony in Reno (Reno-Sparks Indian Colony) gained federal recognition separately, as did the Susanville Indian Rancheria (SIR), which included Washoe, Northern Paiute, Northeastern Maidu, Atsugewi, and Achomawi individuals. None of these entities received reservation acreage. Current acreage possessed by the three Washoe tribal entities was either granted or acquired by purchase over time and this process continues today. Recent land acquisitions include the following parcels: Frank Parcel, Lady's Canyon, Babbit Peak, Uhalde Parcel, Wade Parcels, Olympic Valley, Incline Parcel, Upper and Lower Clear Creek Parcels (Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California, 2009, 36)



According to the Washoe Tribe, the current official tribal population is 1,550 ([www.washoetribe.us](http://www.washoetribe.us)), and total acreage for the Washoe Tribe of California and Nevada is 391.33 acres, or approximately  $\frac{1}{4}$  acre per person.<sup>50</sup> Land was purchased for the Washoe in 1917 (Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California 2009, 23-24), constituting Carson Community (156.33 acres). Forty acres of land was held in trust for the Washoe by the Dressler family and became Dresslerville Community (Nevers 1976, 91). The 95-acre Washoe Ranch parcel was acquired in 1939 and 1940 in the Carson Valley of Nevada under the General Allotment Act (Nevers 1976, 91). In 1971 the Washoe acquired another 80 acres in Alpine County through a special act of Congress; this parcel is known today as Woodfords Community (Washoe Tribe of California and Nevada 2009, 27). The Washoe established Stewart Community on the grounds of the Stewart Indian School, which was in operation from 1890 to 1980; the original school parcel consisted of 240 acres ([www.stewartindianschool.com/history](http://www.stewartindianschool.com/history)).

The Reno-Sparks Indian Colony (RSIC) has 219 Washoe members (Stacey Montooth personal communication, 2016) out of a combined total of 1,134 Washoe, Paiute, and Shoshoni ([www.rsic.org](http://www.rsic.org)). Total acreage for the RSIC is 1,948 acres and includes the original 28-acre parcel located near Reno plus 1,920 acres acquired in Hungry Valley and Eagle Canyon (Nevers 1976, 91; [www.rsic.org](http://www.rsic.org)). This constitutes an approximate acreage of 1.72 acres per person. In 2012 the Reno-Sparks community voted to exclude its Washoe members, in spite of the colony's creation in 1934 specifically for Washoe, Northern Paiute, and Shoshone. The implementation measures

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<sup>50</sup> These calculations do not include the additional acreage from more recent land acquisitions.

enacted by the vote were potentially detrimental to households, especially in cases where families had affiliations with more than one tribal entity as a result of marriage; in some instances, tribal housing was at stake. When I unknowingly broached a question about the Reno-Sparks community at a WCRAC meeting early in my fieldwork stages, I was quickly updated, and it was apparent the topic was upsetting to everyone in the room; there was discussion of families whose residential statuses were affected. The reality of Washoe exclusion from the RSIC was confirmed during recruitment for this study in a very polite, but direct manner; the Tribal Historic Preservation Officer (THPO) of RSIC responded to my email inquiry for assistance in locating northern Washoe individuals to participate in my ethno-survey and stated, “[a]s the RSIC includes some Washoe people, you are probably better off contacting a tribe whose population is completely Washoe” (Stacey Montooth personal communication, 2017). This was a very different response than the one I received in 2014 when I communicated with a Tribal Archivist at RSIC about visiting their photographic collection of over 40,000 images (Trisha Calabaza personal communication, 2016); I specifically inquired about photographs of Washoe people and landscapes in the communication and was encouraged to view photographic collections depicting Washoe, Northern Paiute, and Shoshone people. My second recruitment efforts made their way to a Language Specialist at RSIC who responded to my project and ethno-survey with initial enthusiasm; they offered to assist in locating and gathering northern Washoe individuals and also host a place for them to take the ethno-survey (Jamie Astor personal communication, 2018). I responded affirmatively to the offer, but there was no follow-up to my response. In our brief exchange, the Language Specialist did inquire if I was also collaborating with the Washoe Tribe of Nevada and

California, to which I responded, “yes.” It is unknown why communication ceased or if it was related to my last response.

As of June 2016, the official tribal population for the Susanville Rancheria (SIR) was 1,115 – a combined total of the four groups ([www.sir-nsn.gov](http://www.sir-nsn.gov)); the Rancheria does not allow dual membership. The number of Washoe who affiliate with SIR is currently unknown, according to James Mackay (James Mackay personal communication, June 2016). Mackay explained how people provide their family tree and the blood quotient they are using upon enrollment. SIR keeps this information in tribal records, but access to tribal records is not available to the public (James Mackay personal communication, June 2016). Alternately, SIR tracks generational statistics on members, and reports 150 elders (age 55 and up), 581 adults (age 18 to 54), and 384 minors (under age 18) ([www.sir-nsn.gov/history/](http://www.sir-nsn.gov/history/)). The Tribal Historic Preservation Officer (THPO) for SIR responded to a later recruitment effort for this study; she stated, “To my knowledge there are very few Washoe people here on the Rancheria...” (Melany Johnson personal communication, 2018). As a result, it was impossible to identify or reach northern Washoe individuals affiliated with SIR. The current total acreage of the Rancheria is 1,340.74 acres ([www.sir-nsn.gov](http://www.sir-nsn.gov)). Of this acreage, 1,100.74 acres are in trust status, and 240 acres are in fee status, constituting 1.2 acres per person. Tribal acreage consists of the original 30-acre parcel near Susanville, California purchased in 1923 under the Landless and Homeless Act. In 1978, Congressman Bizz Johnson passed special legislation that added 120 acres to the Rancheria. Another 80 acres was donated in 1994, and 72 acres near Herlong, California was acquired in 2000 from the US Department of the Army. In 2000, the SIR Housing Authority purchased an additional 3.21 acres. The

tribe purchased 875 acres adjacent to the Rancheria in 2002, and another 160-acre ranch parcel near Antelope Lake in 2003. The total acreage constitutes approximately 1.2 acres per person. It is currently unknown how many individuals or families of Washoe descent acquired or have access to any of this acreage ([www.sir-nsn.gov](http://www.sir-nsn.gov)).

### **Situating the Study**

My study focused on the landscapes to which We' Imelt' i? Washoe hold continuous ties. The Washoe Tribe's map of Washoe lands (2009, 4) includes areas of three sub-regional groups, including the We' Imelt' i?. A We' Imelt' i? core area map is contained in Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak (2011, 256). Both maps were continually referred to in the process of determining the places and landscapes to include in this project that highlights the northern Washoe. Washoe groups inhabited the same landscapes each year, and the experiential knowledge possessed by family members about ecosystems, weather patterns, and resources in these places (Garey-Sage 2003; Rucks 1995, 1999; d'Azevedo 1986; Downs 1966b) was passed verbally to younger generations. Isge?es translates as "moving about," the former Washoe lifestyle. Their temporary camps are named t'ayadi?, and individuals and families would split off into smaller mobile contingencies to harvest or hunt (d'Azevedo 1984, 94).<sup>51</sup> The fluidity of Washoe society, which permitted individual and family movement between groups, likely permitted transfer of family knowledge to other families; meaning Washoe people residing or raised in one area of Washoe territory may possess knowledge and memories about landscapes

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<sup>51</sup> T'ano gutesiwes demlu? iduwewe?i refers to "people off searching for food", and t'anu gutesiwes t'a-yani is "a small hunting party" (d'Azevedo 1984, 94).

in other parts of Washoe territory (d'Azevedo 1986; Downs 1966b). I kept this in mind as I recruited and invited Washoe participants for my study regardless of regional or tribal affiliation.

Chapter Three is arranged temporally into five sections: Washoe Creation Stories and Engagement with the Land; Early Encounters with Europeans; Washoe Experiences in the Mid-Late 20<sup>th</sup> Century; Historic and Contemporary Practices on the Landscape; and Concluding Thoughts. The first section presents Washoe narratives about their origin and the origin of their homeland. Section two contains Washoe and European accounts of the early contact period up through the early 20<sup>th</sup> century; forced assimilation is discussed, as well as early anthropologists who ventured into their homeland. Topics that characterized Washoe ethnohistory of the mid-late 20<sup>th</sup> century include an onslaught of research, such as oral histories. It is during this era that Washoe families first began to receive compensation. Next, I present archaeological and anthropological research in We' Imelt' i? lands from the 1980s to the present. The last section of the chapter focuses on historic and modern landscape customs, such as stewardship and claiming spaces, rules about ownership and access to resource procurement areas, marking places and possessions, spiritual responsibilities, and the employment of fire as stewardship. The chapter closes with a discussion of contemporary Washoe communities. It was my finding that because of the few Washoe and the loss of both lands and some of the knowledge of the land, older regional designations (e.g northern or southern Washoe) are not as important as in the past.

Commentary and clarification obtained from my We' Imelt' i? sponsors, Angie,

Cheryl, Ruby, and Linda, are interspersed throughout the report, as are comments of other Washoe elders (Mark and Chris) I interacted with at WCRAC meetings for this project and as part of my employment with California State Parks. The comments of living Washoe people characterize their personal associations with the landscape and with places, and their associations with landscapes are inscribed in the language, toponyms, and narratives. The intent of inserting comments by contemporary Washoe people throughout the dissertation is to continually remind the reader that they are still here. Washoe individuals and communities have things to say about: what is being documented and has been recorded about them; the development activities occurring in spaces that have cultural significance to them; and the ways landscapes are being cared for and maintained. Sometimes the Washoe elders had answers to incomplete translations, they recognized dialectical differences among orthographies, they provided contextual information that relayed deeper meanings about places, they shared family-specific information about places, such as individuals who lived there, the place names, stories told by relatives, and they explained relational concepts present in the language.

Mapping and maps feature prominently in this study of landscapes; the maps and territorial boundaries depicted were produced by Euro-Americans and reflect a non-Washoe bias. I realized my landscape project presented an opportunity to help create a community map with a Washoe focus. This process will be discussed further in Chapter 6. Ethno-mapping. The history of Washoe people as told by Europeans draws from these maps, and the ICC (Indian Claims Commission) hearings based their rulings of the Washoe land claim on the same maps. The Washoe received monetary compensation instead of acreage they could live on, and since the early seventies, they have been

working to acquire a land base adequate for their people. A result of this reality, the topics of maps and mapping stir up contentious issues, like those presented in this chapter, which include: Washoe ideas of claiming spaces; how they claim places by marking them with tools and equipment; customs regarding who can utilize spaces; how access privileges are maintained; and different ways landscapes, places, and resources are stewarded, including spiritual care.

### **Washoe (We' Imelt' i?) Creation Stories and Engagement with the Land**

Washoe stories that tell of the creation of the world and the beings inhabiting it make claims of varying specificity in regard to Washoe homelands and places upon the land. The Washoe creation story entitled, "Origin of the Indians," tells how a woman basket maker and a young girl travel and are chased by Hanawü'wü the giant, from Hot Springs to Walker Lake (in the southern Washoe area), where Coyote and Wolf (two brothers) were living and fishing. Wolf and Coyote feed the woman and girl. Wolf proceeds to seduce the woman, and Coyote intends to seduce the girl, but he cannot resist and eats her instead. Upset, the woman leaves, and elsewhere she encounters a "good Indian" who has a "big house," caches of pine nuts and dried deer meat. The woman decides to stay. The couple (the Indian and the woman) bore many children, who of course fought terribly. The parents finally decided the children ought to be separated from one another, and so the parents named the first group the Washoe and told them to live "in the middle of this country." The Paiute were the second group of children named, and they were told they "were too numerous" (but no direction or place for them to go is mentioned).

The third group of children was referred to as the “Digger Indians,” or more appropriately the Achumawi and Atsugewi; their parents told them to “live over there” (Lowie 1939, 335-337).<sup>52</sup>

Another rendition of the Washoe creation story “People Are Grown” was recorded by Dangberg (1927; 1968, 32-39). The story begins with Pewetseli and Damalali on a fishing trip. While Pewetseli and Damalali were away, Nentusu (the old woman) processed cattail seeds by singing off the fuzz, sifting the “cattail eggs” out, and separating and designating them to be Paiutes, western Miwoks, and Washoe (Dangberg 1968, 33-39). The woman placed the Washoe “eggs” (seeds) into a water jug, then she asked Coyote to take the jug to “the Washo’s Valley” and open it there, but not before the people were grown (Dangberg 1927, 439-443). Coyote completed the task. The story concludes with Nentusu going south, where she becomes the thunder and commands the storms to rain water onto the piñon trees, woolly wyethia, and other plant foods for the people, and she spoke the wildlife into being as she named them, including the squirrels, deer, cottontails, and jackrabbits. The story closes with, “She kept speaking to all living things which kept coming to life. ‘Grow into food so my children can eat you,’ she said. So it was like this. It stormed in winter. It kept thundering in summer. They always come one after the other. All years are like this” (Dangberg 1968, 33-39).

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<sup>52</sup> Another version of the Washoe creation story, documented by Lowie (1939, 333-334), is titled “Wolf and Coyote—Origin of Death—Creation.” In this rendition, Coyote wanted to create people. Coyote’s wife constructs a woven water jug into which he puts seeds; then he blows smoke onto them, plugs the jug, and dances in a circle with the jug four times, until he hears sounds of talking. At this point Coyote unplugs the jug and pours out the people, but it is not specified where they end up (Lowie 1939, 333-334).



A third version of the creation documented by Dangberg, “The Weasel Brothers, Part II (1968, 49-68),” includes details recounted in the other three versions, and it leads into the chapter where Damalali scalps Water Baby and almost causes flooding of the entire Washoe world – a story referenced in other sections of this report. It was not noted in other renditions, but the Dangberg 1968 translation of “The Weasel Brothers, Part II” (Dangberg 1968, 49-68) includes description of a lengthy wrestling match between Water Baby and Damalali prior to the scalping incident. It is this version that includes the most detail in the naming of places on the land. The two of them wrestle at different places around the Lake Tahoe Basin, and in the process they name places in Washoe, announcing with each one, “The Washo will call this...” followed by “And then they came away from there.” Places named in this event, include: ʔlám wát’a (mortar creek); ʔát’abi ʔšámat (fish passage); déʔek wádapuš (rock standing gray); suʔiṇa; dawmalá·dip (fog); dawmáʔlím demše·gil (...flowing through); pagácíma; maʔgóyoʔ’a; waʔabáʔam (plunging into water); dípek (white chalk); ʔlóʔom (hot springs); dabayó·duweʔ (flowing away over the edge); dagášliʔ; dawmáʔlím t’í·yel (large flowing together); dúku dawát’a (loud creek); málká; šuʔwétik (service berries); maʔyála (soda springs?); dukMéʔem; mugáwLu (good luck charm, gambling medicine); t’ági; salítá·š (sunshine coming in); and hó·ga; debelelélek (reddened, smearing with red, i.e., blood?).<sup>53</sup> Eighteen of the 24 places have water-based names, and they are all creeks and rivers except five (Table 4).

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<sup>53</sup> It is important to note that not all the places named in the story as presented by Dangberg (1968) are accompanied by translations, and in these cases there is actually a blank space on the line, indicating Dangberg edited out select translations last minute, or she left place markers for inserting the meanings later; in this instance it seems she never acquired the names or never completed the task of including the remaining place name translations (1968, 67).

The next two stanzas read, “Now the red blood of Water Baby flowed into the lake. Damalali took the scalp, he ran with it. The lake rose. Now and again the waves almost covered him, the big waves, he ran” (Dangberg 1968, 66-67). Eventually Damalali heeds the scolding of his elder brother Pewetseli, and he throws back Water Baby’s scalp, and “The water lowered... Water was left in the hollow places, water dripped from the pine trees. Little lakes were made everywhere in the mountains” (Dangberg 1968, 68). This version of the Washoe creation is particularly relevant to the current study of northern Washoe landscapes, because it traces Washoe language, the acts of naming and claiming spaces, all to the beginning of Washoe existence; it also provides much more specific location information than the other versions. The creation saga provides validation of Washoe claims and associations to specific landscapes and places resulting from a considerable period of time and experience in those same landscapes.

### **Early Encounters with Europeans**

We’ Imelt’ i? narratives include descriptions of the Spanish and other travelers, prior to encroachment by Euro-Americans in the 1800s (Nevers 1976, 38-39).<sup>54</sup> However, a historic map depicting routes taken by Spanish explorers through California and Nevada entitled, “Spanish Explorations in the Southwest, 1535-1706” illustrates these parties travelled near, but not into or through Washoe territory (From Atlas of the Historical Geography of the US Pet. Ex. 7-3, undated. Series 5, Folder 3, Map 8, George F. Wright

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<sup>54</sup> Rucks (1996, 1) explains, “[e]ncroachment” is the legal term the federal government used to describe the process by which the Washoe gradually lost their territory (US Indian Claims Commission 1959-1970).

Papers 90-37). Washoe elders provided testimonies from their relatives who observed the Spanish and other explorers. Although it is likely the Washoe were warned by neighboring tribes about the explorers in advance, it also seems plausible they could have witnessed or encountered the explorers themselves while residing or visiting neighboring

**Table 4. Washoe Water Based Toponyms from Creation Story, “The Weasel Brothers, Part II”<sup>55</sup>**

<u>Washoe Toponyms</u>	<u>Washoe Translation</u>	<u>English Toponym</u>
ʔlám wát'a	mortar creek	Edgewood Creek
ʔát'abi ʔšámat	fish passage	McFaul Creek
dawmalá·dip	fog	Spooner Summit
dawmáʔlim demše·gil	...flowing through	Secret Harbor Creek
pagácima		Marlette Creek
maʔgóyoʔ'a		Incline Creek
waʔabáʔam	plunging into water	Mill Creek
dípek	white chalk	Dollar Creek
ʔlóʔom	hot springs	Brockway Hot Springs
dabayó·duweʔ	flowing away over the edge	Truckee River Outlet
dawmáʔlim tí·yel	large flowing together	Blackwood Creek
dúku dawát'a	loud creek	Madden Creek
šuʔwétik	service berries	McKinney Creek
maʔyála	soda springs?	Meeks Creek
dukMéʔem		General Creek
mugáwLu	good luck charm, gambling medicine	Lonely Gulch Creek
t'ági		Rubicon River
hó·ga		Cascade Creek
debelelélek	reddened, smearing with red, i.e., blood?	Tallac Creek

California tribes of the coastal lowlands, and Washoe narratives actually recall “Spanish men in Washoe land” (Nevers 1976, 38). Narratives of California Indians allude to

<sup>55</sup> From Dangberg 1968, 49-68.

Spanish encroachment on Washoe land. One Washoe story recalls the kidnapping of a “Washo to work in a mine in Washo territory” by “Spaniards, dressed in funny clothes and hats,” while another mentions a mine “in Brunswick Canyon” worked by Spaniards (Nevers 1976, 38).

In the 1800s northern Washoe landscapes were dominated by the movement of various groups of people through the region, such as fur trappers, explorers, and the various expeditions traveling through the region as part of the westward expansion of the United States (“American Explorations of the West, 1803-1852.” Pet. Ex. 7-14, from Paullins Atlas, 1803-1852, Series 5, Folder 1, Map 6, George F. Wright Papers 90-37). The evidence of their travels, the documentary evidence detailed in journals and reports, maps and drawings, provided the ethno-historic documentation accessed for this study. The first Caucasians to traverse the Great Basin were fur traders, Jedediah Smith, who passed through Burns, Oregon near the location of the Honey Lake Paiute in 1826, and Peter Skene Ogden in 1909 and 1910 (Riddell 1960; Cline 1963). We know We’ Imelt’ i? families resided and maintained settlements in the Honey Lake region. The landscape was shared among particular Washoe, Northern Paiute, northeastern or mountain Maidu, and Atsugewi groups (Simmons et al. 1997, 2). Washoe narratives reveal they earned Pyramid Lake fishing rights from Northern Paiute in exchange for battling off the giants; according to d’Azevedo (1956, 60/#146), “Paiutes allowed Washo trespass.” Multiple tribes converged on Pyramid Lake for kuyui, a fish species endemic to the lake, including groups of Washoe, Shoshone, and “Digger” (Stewart 1941, 440).<sup>56</sup> In 1844 explorer,

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<sup>56</sup> Cui-ui (*Chasmistes cujus*) is an alternate spelling; the fish is endemic to Pyramid Lake. Cui-ui used to spawn up the Truckee River, prior to modern times (Dixon 1980; Fallon

John Charles Frémont, reported being at Pyramid Lake, Nevada near the Northern Paiutes who were living there at the lake (Untitled. Map of Oregon, California and Nevada by Capt. J. C. Fremont, Pet. Ex. 7-9, from the National Archives R. G. 77, 1848, Series 5, Folder 2, Map 7; “Map of Oregon and Upper California from the Surveys of John Charles Fremont,” Pet. Ex. 7-7, from the National Archives R. G. 77, 1848, Folder 3, Map 3, George F. Wright Papers 90-37).

There are Washoe accounts that describe the Bartleson-Bidwell party, and Washoe scouts observed them traversing their lands in 1841; and when Washoe individuals encountered Fremont and his company in 1844, they advised him of the party’s route and led him to their camp (Nevers 1976, 39 from Fremont 1845, 226-227). A journal account of Fremont, recorded on February 3, 1844 stated, “several Washo on snowshoes” joined his party (Nevers 1976, 42 from Fremont 1845, 230). Male relatives of Washoe elders, Lana Hicks and Joanne Nevers, were scouts who witnessed the Donner Party from afar; the Washoe scouts recounted seeing the people starving and how they tried to offer them food, which was refused (Dixon, Schablitzky, and Novak 2011, 275).<sup>57</sup>

A decade later, in 1855, the Beckwith Expedition led by Assistant Commander Edward Beckwith and Captain James Gunnison was seeking a route for the Pacific Railroad. They passed through Colorado and the central Great Basin roughly following

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Paiute-Shoshone Tribe 1977; Fowler and Bath 1981; Lindström 1992; Wheeler 1967; [http://www.fws.gov/nevada/protected\\_species/fish/species/cuiui/html](http://www.fws.gov/nevada/protected_species/fish/species/cuiui/html), accessed March 19, 2012).

<sup>57</sup> Joanne Nevers and Lana Hicks recounted the names of their male relatives, who were: Dam so sava, “one who talks to the storm;” Da co peg e (named this because he whistled); Ma hu nung a, “pretends to be an old man;” Tagum bosgi, “frying pine nuts;” and Da ma goo she, “he has fleas,” also known as Old George by residents of Truckee (Nevers 1976, 275-276).

Frémont's route (Untitled. Map of the Great Basin from Fremont's Report, pp. 275-276. Pet. Ex. 7-6, from the National Archives, R. G. 77, undated; Series 5, Folder 2, Map 1, George F. Wright Papers 90-37). According to the Mormon accounts assembled by Malouf (1966), 1855 was the year 200 Northern Paiutes were encountered near Humboldt Sink, almost all of whom could speak English. Near Carson River they met a few Washoe people, all of who were "wage employed," along with 150 Northern Paiutes who spoke English (Malouf 1966, 23). Peter Lassen visited Honey Lake in 1856, home of the certain northern Washoe and Honey Lake Paiute families (Riddell 1960, 209/#44). "Honey Lake was not far from where Maidu, Paiute, and Washo met. It seems not to have had permanent villages and may have been visited by all three of the tribes in question" (Simmons et al. 1997, 5). According to Riddell (1978a, 372 from Simmons et al. 1997, 6), the Maidu who lived in Sierra Valley retreated to the west side of Honey Lake sometime around AD 1700, and the Northern Paiute took over the vacated space. Washoe and Northern Paiute groups shared the open land in Honey Lake Valley, but Washoe individuals in this area also traded with Maidus for access to resources (Simmons et al. 1997, 9).

In 1859 Captain James H. Simpson led a group of 64 men through the Great Basin from Salt Lake City to Genoa, Nevada on a map-making expedition to find a shorter wagon route to California. The wagon route mapped by the Simpson Expedition was the one utilized later by Wells Fargo's Overland Stage, the Pony Express, and telegraph companies; the route follows the approximate route of today's Highway 50. C. R. Collins, one of the 64 men of the expedition, was the second individual to record Washoe vocabulary; he recorded 200 Washoe words and was the first to note Washoe's

distinctness from surrounding Numic-speaking groups. Collins' report of Washoe vocabulary is included in the Simpson exploration report (Fowler and Fowler 1971; Collins 1876).

Washoe testimonials contain descriptions of being warned by others about the new arrivers, and how We' Imelt' i? scouts watched wagon trains, such as the Donner Party, from a distance. One place located on the other side of the Sierra Crest at the edge of the foothills and overlooking the flatlands near Wheatland and a river near the Dew Drop Resort is named dé'ek gu'uš, which means "saw, marching, noise;" this is within ten miles of the western limit of Washoe lands (d'Azevedo 1956, 83/#212). The river referenced could be the Bear River or one of its tributaries, Wolf or Rattlesnake Creek.

Nevada became a territory in 1861, and by 1862 the Washoe had lost nearly all of their land (Rucks 1996, 1). In 1862 an Indian Agent was assigned to Nevada Territory. By 1863 there were already a series of treaties signed between Great Basin groups and the US government. Great Basin cultures, like the Washoe and neighboring Northern Paiute, were being pressured as Mormons occupying the eastern basin, and miners and farmers occupying the western basin, encroached further inward (Malouf 1966). In 1867 the Central Pacific Railroad construction proceeded (Myrick 1992). Simultaneously the Overland Stage and Pony Express routes, and telegraph lines were all shifted to the north, leaving the southerly ones abandoned. Once the railroad was completed, a large portion of Chinese migrant laborers remained in the area, adding to an increasing population in the Washoe range. In fact, by the 1880s, the majority population in the town of Truckee was Chinese (Susan Lindström personal communication, 2012). The 1860s must have been a terribly difficult time for Washoe people. There were various groups of people

encroaching on Washoe landscapes and these same groups of people were competing with Washoe individuals for resources and sometimes for employment. To confound an already dynamic, confusing, and stressful environment, the Indian Agents frequently changed, and so did their objectives (Malouf 1966).

Disease was a battle of another sort, and there is documentation of disease impacting northern Washoe settlements. Simmons et al. (1997) reported a smallpox outbreak in northern Washoe territory at Susanville. A testimonial of the outbreak came from a woman of Maidu descent born in 1851; her husband died of smallpox at the large Maidu village called Wetajam in southwest Susanville. Prior to the smallpox outbreak there had been a roundhouse and several villages near Wetajam, but the area was avoided afterward; the large cemetery there has many unmarked graves (Simmons et al. 1997, 24). The landscapes surrounding Susanville were also considered We' Imelt' i? places. There is documentation of substantial hunting camps at the springs on the Susan River a short distance to the west of Susanville. The Washoe name Dewgumé-mi' was documented in 1955 by two Washoe individuals; the name means "many springs," and one individual who is reported to have camped here in the summers was a Washoe named Buffalo Jim who resided permanently in the vicinity of Janesville (d'Azevedo 1956, 79/#203, #202). Associations between We' Imelt' i? and Maidu occurred because of inter-marriage and feuding, and they resided in close enough proximity to one another for smallpox to have affected both communities. In an archaeological report regarding a site along the Truckee River near Truckee, it was mentioned that specific Washoe individuals knew of medicinal plants for treating smallpox as well as other diseases such as, measles, colds, sprains, chicken pox, and rheumatism. The plants utilized include: big sagebrush



(dá·bal), bitterbrush (balḡácaḡ), balsamroot (šú·gilá·ci), and snakeweed (Summit EnviroSolutions, Inc. 2005, 4 from Train et al. 1957; Garey-Sage 2003, 348, 352, 382).<sup>58</sup>

This detail suggests We' Imelt' i? people in the Truckee region possessed sufficient knowledge of smallpox, and also had the need to have identified a local medicinal remedy.

### Increased Pressure to Assimilate

In this section I present multiple instances of Washoe individuals and families blending their traditional customs and lifestyle with that of the Euro-Americans who have encroached on Washoe lands. I try to paint a picture of the general types of interaction occurring in different places by blending different types of ethnohistoric documentation (oral histories, tribal publications, ethnographic interviews, and photos) that includes first and second person testimonials of particular Washoe individuals and families. This period of time is unique, because accounts of Washoe presence in the Lake Tahoe Basin after this time are rare. This time is also interesting, because this is the setting in which early anthropologists began documenting Washoe culture and language. The fruit of their efforts was reviewed and incorporated in this study about northern Washoe

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<sup>58</sup> Big sagebrush is also known as Great Basin sagebrush and sagebrush (*Artemisia tridentata*) (Garey-Sage 2003, 353). Bitterbrush is a medicinal plant of the Washoe, alternately called antelope brush and buckbrush (*Purshia tridentata*) (Garey-Sage 2003, 348). Other names for balsamroot are arrowleaf and sunflower (*Balsamorhiza*) (Garey-Sage 2003, 382). There was no Washoe name for the plant snakeweed (*Gutierrezia sarothrae*). (southwestdesertflora.com/WebsiteFolders/All\_Species/Asteraceae/Gutierrezia\_sarothrae.html accessed September 5, 2019).

landscapes; some of the early anthropological material was also shared with my Washoe sponsors and language classmates.

In 1890 the US government made two significant steps toward forced assimilation in the Great Basin. One of the assimilation steps was the establishment of the Stewart Indian boarding school near Carson City, which was initially for children of Washoe, Shoshone, and Northern Paiute descent (Malouf 1966; Thompson 2013; Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California 2009, 32). In the same year, four reserves in Nevada were established for the Paiute and Western Shoshone including reservations at Pyramid Lake and Walker Lake for the Northern Paiute, Moapa for the Southern Paiute, and Duck Valley Reservation for the Western Shoshone. No reservation land was established for the Washoe during this time. However, a majority Washoe day school in Woodfords, California was in operation during the 1930s. Leonore Bravo was a teacher there from 1937 to 1939, and she described and published a book of her experiences as a non-Washoe teacher living in a primarily southern Washoe community (Bravo 1991). Additionally, there is record of a couple Washoe children attending a small school in Tahoma, California; Washoe elder, Marie Kizer, was one of those children (Rucks 2002, 26-27). Manuel Pomin (Fillmore) is another “Indian,” possibly a Washoe adolescent, who attended the same historic school at Pomin’s in Tahoma sometime between 1926 and 1934, according to Bill Soll Dewhurst, daughter of Hellman Estate caretaker (Rucks 2002, 21).<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> In 1920, the estate of Isaias G. Hellman was passed to his daughter, Florence Hellman-Ehrman, and then to Esther Lazard, the daughter of Florence (Dinkelspiel 2010). Today the estate and grounds are owned by the State of California and managed as part of Ed Z’Berg Sugar Pine Point State Park. The large mansion, named Pine Lodge by the

I was able to locate one oral history interview conducted with Washoe individuals born in the late 1800s, and there were three interviews with Euro-Americans born during the same time period that lived alongside the Washoe. All four interviews were important in fleshing out the picture of northern Washoe landscapes and families recorded during this early contact period. An informal interview by Tahoe City schoolchildren in 1936, features an elderly Washoe couple, Captain Pete and Agnes. Captain Pete and his wife Agnes camped above Commons Beach in Tahoe City; each summer they placed their canvas tent adjacent to the Watson's who were friends of theirs.<sup>60</sup> Due to harsh winters, the Tahoe Lake School in Tahoe City was in session all summer, much to the dismay of children from the cities whose parents had toted them to the lake...for more school. During the summertime Captain Pete and Agnes camped a short walk from the schoolchildren, and in 1936 three schoolchildren interviewed them (Tarwater, Prusso, and Pyle 1936). Located on the main thoroughfare above the lakeshore, the Washoe couple as local fixtures would have been known by the entire community, including the schoolchildren. The large grinding stone (lam) that still sits in front of the Watson Cabin today was relocated from the outlet during a drought year; Robert M. Watson and other Tahoe City men used a truck to haul the lam to its current

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Hellman family, is a historic house museum where summer tours are offered. The author of this report has served as curator for the property since 2010. The park's Tails and Trails Fest in July 2019 displayed a galis dungal, or Washoe home built by a father-son duo. Next year it is anticipated that Washoe storytelling will be added to the schedule of cultural activities.

<sup>60</sup> From 2006 to 2008, I operated the Watson Cabin store and offered tours and historic information about the Watson Family while employed at the North Lake Tahoe Historical Society. A docent training binder contained a compilation of historical details derived from the historical society's collections.

location for their Washoe neighbors.<sup>61</sup> The lam is a physical reminder that this is a Washoe landscape, and it also indicates there was a permanent settlement associated with the outlet area where the lam was originally situated. Washoe toponyms for these places are presented in Chapter 7. Captain Pete was born in 1840, and Agnes was born in 1852. Captain Pete's parents died when he was very young, so he did not know whether he was born in California or Nevada; Agnes did not know her birthplace, either. When the elementary school students asked the Washoe couple why they came to Tahoe City and the lake each summer, Captain Pete responded, "My Uncle Dick died over there. (Captain Pete waves his hand toward the west.) We come here ever summer to be with his spirit." Agnes' father was a former Washoe leader, as Captain Pete explained, "Chief used to be Agnes Jim's father. Now he is dead. We are chief" (Tarwater, Prusso, and Pyle 1936, 1-2). In the interview, Captain Pete also confirmed taking part in a war with the Paiutes (Tarwater, Prusso, and Pyle 1936, 3).

As mentioned, there were a handful of recollections from non-Washoe that provide discussions of Washoe individuals' lives in the later years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and early decades of the 20<sup>th</sup>. Harry Hawkins was born 1881 in Alpine County in the southern Washoe region in proximity to Woodfords, California where his family owned and operated a ranch that was within walking distance of a Washoe residential area; Mr. Hawkins' father employed Washoe individuals on his ranch and Harry played with

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<sup>61</sup> Two historic photographs were taken October 31, 1930; one image shows the Truckee River outlet in Tahoe City looking south and toward the original location of the Washoe lam (UNRS-P2008-18-0059), and the second image (UNRS-P2000-18-055) shows the lam after it was repositioned in front of the Watson home. A second lam was identified and marked in the channel of the Truckee River outlet in 1990 during the drought (Lindström et al. 2002, 5).

Washoe children and spent many hours exploring their camp areas as a child when they were away (Glass 1967). Fred Dressler, the son of a prominent Carson Valley ranching family, was born at the Dressler Ranch Home; Mr. Dressler also grew up playing, interacting, and working with Washoe individuals on his father Bill's ranch. It was evident that Fred Dressler became proficient with Washoe language, learning from his Washoe co-workers (ranch hands), and he produced surprisingly detailed recollections of Washoe people, along with their names, personalities, narratives, and songs (King 1984c). Frank Yparraguirre was born in San Francisco; of Basque descent, Frank and his family worked in southern Washoe territory on the Sweetwater Ranch, one of the largest sheep ranching operations near the Carson Valley. As an adult he was employed as a dry goods keeper for stores in Minden and Genoa, Nevada. His recollections and anecdotes feature specific Washoe individuals and couples shopping in the two dry goods stores, and both stores were situated near the southeastern border of northern Washoe landscapes (King 1984b). In this report, the memories Harry Hawkins, Fred Dressler, and Frank Yparraguirre shared involving particular Washoe families they knew are included among discussions of the particular places they recalled, which were associated with Washoe people.

Oral history interviews conducted with Washoe individuals born in the first part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century included: Winona James, Bernice Auchoberry, John Dressler, and Marvin Dressler. Winona James was born in Genoa, Nevada on the property of a Euro-American landowner (King 1984f); Bernice Auchoberry (King 1984a) was born on the Dangberg Home Ranch near Minden, Nevada; John Dressler was born in Sheridan, Nevada (Glass 1972); and Marvin Dressler was born on the Settlemeyer Ranch in Carson

Valley (King 1984e). These places in the Carson Valley are in the foothills of Nevada and on the southwestern edge of We' Imelt' i? country; their experiences and recollections involving We' Imelt' i? places are inserted throughout this report in presentations of the various landscapes.

As for Washoe people's own recollections, three oral history interviews conducted as part of the University of Nevada Oral History Project (UNOHP) exist by Washoe individuals born in the 1920s, and they included: Ted Sallee, born in Douglas County, Nevada (King 1984e); Leonard Lowry, who was born on the Lowry family homestead in Milford, California (Blue 1999); and Marie Kizer, born in at their family cabin in Tahoma, California on the west shore of Lake Tahoe (Rucks 2001). Leonard Lowry was born in the northern Washoe region, and Marie Kizer was born at the southern boundary of We' Imelt' i? area, while Ted Sallee was born on the southwestern periphery of northern Washoe lands. In this report the personal narratives and memories of Leonard Lowry, Marie Kizer, and Ted Sallee are woven into discussions of the particular landscapes they remembered.

Marie Kizer resided in the Tahoma area from 1926 to 1934 with her entire extended family; the family resided at Pomin's where they had a cabin and a canvas tent.<sup>62</sup> Marie's grandmother, Annie Fillmore, was married a second time to Tom

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<sup>62</sup> Pomin's Lodge was built in 1913 by Ernest J. Pomin captain of the SS Tahoe. A historic photograph of Pomin's Lodge dated 1914 courtesy of Robert L. Callender depicts the two-story lodge situated on a knoll situated amidst the sugar pines (<https://taoehistory.info/tag/pomin/> accessed September 1, 2019). A similar photo taken the same year by C. O. Valentine is a panoramic shot of the lodge and lakefront with cabins incomplete (Scott 1953, 98). The lodge was a rustic "resort hotel with cottages" (<http://taoecountry.com/oldtimetahoe/Tahoma.html> accessed September 1, 2019).

Fillmore and there is mention of his three sons from a previous union, one who was named Manuel Fillmore. Acknowledging the Washoe naming convention of the time, which included taking the last name of their employer or the rancher whose land they resided upon, it is possible her half uncle may have been the Manuel Pomin (Fillmore) who attended the same school as Marie Kizer in Tahoma (Rucks 2002, 26-27). A 1928 map from the California Division of Highways indicates the approximate location of the grammar school, which was relocated and photographed by a former student in 1984.<sup>63</sup>

The accounts about and by Washoe individuals in this section demonstrate some of the ways Washoe people were actively adapting their traditional lifestyle to a changing situation, and in large part they were doing this in situ. Washoe people were employed by, neighbors of, and friends with Euro-American resort owners and townspeople who respected them for their hunting prowess, fishing skills, basketweaving talents, and experience as backcountry guides. Washoe family camps are reported in association with many early resorts and lodges surrounding Lake Tahoe. The point can be made that Washoe people have never ceased adapting in situ, but it cannot be discounted that they have been squeezed out of the most desirable landscapes in their homeland, with the exception of the Carson Valley and the Pine Nut Range (the most barren part of the range), where a number of Washoe communities and the Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California are located.

### Early Anthropologists in the Washoe Homelands

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<sup>63</sup> Historic map and photograph were accessed at <https://taoehistory.info/tag/pomin/> September 1, 2019.

At the same time the aforementioned Washoe individuals were born, the first anthropologists descended upon Washoe landscapes to conduct linguistic and ethnographic research, such as Alfred Kroeber, who conducted an analysis of Washoe language in 1907, and Sydney Barrett who made a short visit in 1916 during which he collected Washoe ethnographic objects for a museum in Milwaukee (Barrett 1917). During the 1900s through the 1920s, anthropology students like Kroeber, as well as Robert Lowie, were studying amidst the various Washoe communities in the spirit of Boas' Americanist Tradition; their task as anthropologists in training was doing "salvage ethnography," amassing ethnographic and linguistic data about Indigenous North American groups like the Washoe, as it was believed by these non-Indigenous researchers that these cultures were at risk of disappearing altogether. Alongside his colleague, R. B. Dixon, Kroeber began his career in anthropology classifying Native American languages of California. He produced a linguistic description of Washoe language entitled, "The Washo Language of East Central California and Nevada" (1907). Kroeber's more widely known *Handbook of the Indians of California* was published later, in 1925.

Sydney Barrett, born in 1879, had been a student of Alfred Kroeber at the University of California, and he also studied under Franz Boas in the course of his academic endeavors. In 1909 Barrett was appointed first Curator of Anthropology for the Milwaukee Public Museum, and his first research among the Washoe was a short trip of just a few days, wherein he met Washoe individuals residing at Gardnerville, Carson City, Woodfords, and Lake Tahoe (1917, 5). His data is complete with drawings and images of the objects he collected on his trip that was sponsored by the museum to collect



ethnographic objects of the Paiute. Among the ethnographic artifacts he gathered were images of landscapes, winter and summer houses (Barrett 1917, 28-29), grinding implements (1917, 34-35), cooking utensils (1917, 36-37), hunting equipment such as bows, arrows, and a quiver (1917, 38-39), and a multitude of baskets (1917, 40-52). Part of Barrett's field data was published, and it included a map of Washoe lands referenced in the ICC claims case, descriptions of Washoe customs and material culture (tools and utilitarian objects) enriched with photographs and Washoe terminology. Barrett's descriptions are specifically detailed with regard to basketry materials (1917, 17), basket types, styles (1917, 20-21), and design elements (1917, 22-24), including Washoe terminology; he also included a Washoe language phonetic key (1917, 7).

In 1927 Dangberg published Washo Texts, a compilation of the following three narratives: four verses of adventures of "The Two Weasel Brothers," known as Damalali and Pewetseli; "The Women Who Married the Stars;" and "The Creation." The work is unique in its presentation of the narratives in Washoe language on the left-facing pages and the corresponding English translation on the right-facing pages; each sentence in the narrative is numbered sequentially and corresponds to the translated version. In review of the document, I was reminded of an earlier question one of my sponsors, Ruby, had asked about the whereabouts of Dangberg's original field notes. Although the three narratives were not original field notes, it occurred to me I should ask whether they were familiar with this work of Dangberg's, which was published 41 years before the more accessible Washo Tales (1968). I took photos of the title and table of contents pages and texted them to Ruby and asked the question. She did not recognize the work and asked for a copy, so I made the copy and delivered it my next visit to Washoe language class,

along with a copy for my language instructor, Kate. Although I discreetly handed a copy to the instructor as I passed by, it created an instant distraction that lasted the duration of class. Angie and Linda, who were also attending class that evening requested copies, as did three younger Washoe students; a valiant team effort was employed to generate all the copies.

Early ethnohistoric research in the Great Basin, according to Don Fowler (1966), yielded kin terminology lists, discussions of social organization (Sapir 1913; Lowie 1923; 1939), distribution studies seeking historic relationships, and research concerned with material culture and folklore; a portion of this material pertains to northern Washoe landscapes and is relevant to this study, because these are the kinds of cultural details that when integrated with personal narratives and voices provide thick description. Although most of the early documentation of northern Washoe culture and landscapes was not ethnohistoric in method, the results of the research endeavors were ethnohistoric in content. Omer Stewart conducted ethnographic work in the Great Basin during the 1930s. He used a written survey instrument and conducted ethnographic interviews with Northern Paiute in Reno the summer of 1936, to ask about their territorial boundaries. The same summer, he visited Carson City, and a camp at Lake Tahoe, to ask Washoe people about their territorial boundaries with the Northern Paiute. From Washoe individuals he collected narrative statements (Stewart 1938), or accounts, of boundaries to accompany the maps he produced (Stewart 1966). Stewart used published USGS maps of California and Nevada, and then outlined Washoe territory on them. The maps Omer Stewart (1938) collected during the 1930s are particularly relevant, because they include boundary lines from other historic maps for visual comparison. The three maps Stewart

created are housed in the UNR Special Collections Library (George F. Wright Papers 90-37 1978, Folder 1, Maps 1-2, 5), but the narrative accounts and field notes from his dissertation research detailing Washoe territorial boundaries may be housed separately in the UC Boulder Archives (Stewart 1938, 1966; George F. Wright Papers 90-37, 1978); the maps provided evidence in the Washoe land claims case for which he provided expert testimony.<sup>64</sup> Stewart is one of the first anthropologists to employ ethnohistoric research methods in the Washoe region. His research methods were dialogic, comparative, multi-disciplinary, and he utilized historical documents combined with ethnographic material in his recordation of the Washoe range. The methodology Omer Stewart employed in co-creating maps with Indigenous people and validating the maps using their narrative statements was cutting-edge, because it presented the insider perspective and was collaborative.

As mentioned, Robert Lowie trained under Franz Boas and spent time among Washoe communities. He recorded Washoe and Shoshonean folktales, and also explored the relationships between California and Plateau Shoshonean groups (1923, 1924, 1939). In 1939 Robert Lowie conducted ethnographic studies among the Washoe, and his ethnographic notes are detailed and descriptive. He recorded a list of 38 Washoe kin

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<sup>64</sup> The three Omer Stewart maps cited above include the following, listed with title and description: (1) Untitled. Composite map of Washo Territory by O. C. Stewart. Based on USGS maps of California and Nevada, marked Petitioner's exhibit 7-13, 1955; (2) Untitled. Boundary Disputes over Washo Territory. Siskin, 1938; O. C. Stewart, 1939; S. A. Barrett, 1917; Swanton, 1952; R. B. Dixon, 1905; O. C. Stewart, 1954; Powell, 1890; A. L. Kroeber, 1925; Royce, 1897. Also shows Nisenan (Maidu) Territory by Beals, 1933; and (3) "Washo Boundary 1866," from Franklin Campbell, US Indian Agent for Nevada, 1866 with O. C. Stewart boundary added. The Omer C. Stewart Papers (1938) contain interviews and census data from California and Nevada.

terms and eighteen complete “Myths and Tales” (1939, 311) one of the narratives features the being Hanawū’wū, a tall, red-haired giant, known for eating children, and who lived in a cave near Gardnerville (1939, 335). As the story goes, a group of Washoe individuals assisted Paiute people residing near Pyramid Lake in defeating the giants, and in return their received Pyramid Lake fishing rights from the Paiute (Lowie 1939, 348). Other Washoe customs noted by Lowie included: a Washoe girl’s puberty dance he attended in 1926 (Lowie 1939, 307); marriage customs such as informal divorce and sororal polygyny; death, cremation, razing personal possessions, abandoning homes of the deceased, and mourning (Lowie 1939, 309-310); and he named and described Washoe men’s and women’s games and associated vocabulary.<sup>65</sup>

In the 1950s and 1960s Jacobsen was the primary scholar of Washoe language. Prior to his work, only Kroeber (1907) had attempted to produce a linguistic account of the language.<sup>66</sup> Jacobsen’s dissertation examined Washoe grammar (1964), and two years later he published a summary of Washoe linguistic studies (1966). He produced several unpublished manuscripts containing Washoe vocabulary, for example: a 1955 manuscript with terms for animals, plants, trees, animals used as food, types of fish, and insects; an undated manuscript (Jacobsen n.d.d.) detailing Washoe place names; and

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<sup>65</sup> Specific games named by Lowie included Washoe football (palo’yapi telí’liwa palo’yap); the hoop-and-pole game (pululpai’yayapu, pulpulpaiyapa); archery (tsohotumpesh, from Hudson); women’s shinny (tsigai’yaga); and gambling games such as the hand game (hinai’yaya, hinaiya’ukia); a type of hiding game (tso’tsoyi); and women’s dice, for which no name was documented (1939, 315). Washoe football games were social gatherings that took place each summer at McKinney’s (now Chambers Landing Restaurant and Bar) on the west shore of Lake Tahoe (Rucks 2002, 5; Lowie 1939, 304, 315).

<sup>66</sup> “The Washo Language of East Central California and Nevada.” University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 4, No. 5.

another manuscript that contains lists of plants harvested for food, medicine, or poison (Jacobsen n.d.). D'Azevedo was also a scholar of Washoe culture during the 1950s, and he produced many reel-to-reel recordings of Washoe hand game songs and peyote songs (d'Azevedo 1954-64).

While Jacobsen's linguistic work did indeed contain place names, the grammar of the language was his major focus; the vast majority of ethnologic and ethnographic research of the Washoe during the fifties and sixties, in large part, was conducted by Warren d'Azevedo from 1954 to 1964 (1966; 1954-64; d'Azevedo 1956; d'Azevedo and Barrett 1963). D'Azevedo's ethnographic research among Washoe communities during the 1950s elicited Washoe place names; the 1956 manuscript Washo Place Names contains 249 places recalled by his Washoe informants. A series of 13 maps identifying the 249 places originally accompanied d'Azevedo's manuscript, but he unfortunately misplaced them during his employment at University of Utah (d'Azevedo 1956). This work is important for my project because d'Azevedo documented northern Washoe spaces and place names, and he mapped most of the places. Even though the maps no longer exist, the place-based information is organized by area in such a way the data could be used or combined with other landscape data to (re)produce another Washoe place name map. The data pertaining to northern Washoe landscapes from this source was synthesized with ethnographic and ethnohistoric data to highlight and produce an ethno-map northern Washoe landscapes.

### **Experiences of Washoe Individuals and Families during the Mid-Late 20<sup>th</sup> Century**

Probably the most significant development of the 1940s affecting Washoe lands was establishment of the Indian Claims Commission (ICC), which led to a decade of government-mandated research of Indigenous North Americans, including the Washoe. The Indian Claims Commission Act was passed in 1946, under which the US Congress established the ICC, a judicial panel to hear claims of Indian tribes against the United States. It created a process for official tribes (not all Native American groups) to address their grievances and offered monetary compensation for territory lost to broken treaties. The ICC did not restore land to the tribes, but alternately awarded money based upon the net acreage of land lost times the market value of an acre at the time of taking. An unjust caveat of the compensation, however, was that by accepting the monetary compensation, the tribe gave up its right to raise the claim again in the future. On August 10<sup>th</sup>, 1951, the Washoe filed their claim with the ICC; they requested \$42.5 million in compensation for 9,872 square miles of “appropriated lands and resources” in their range (d’Azevedo 1984, 162).

Much of the research for expert testimony relied upon historic maps, such as those rendered by early American explorer J. C. Fremont, Indian Agents Franklin Campbell (1866) and Powell (1890), linguist R. B. Dixon (1905), and ethnographers Barrett (1917), Kroeber (1925), Siskin (1938), Stewart (1939, 1954), and Swanton, 1952 (George F. Wright Papers, 1978), and Curtis (1926).<sup>67</sup> In the Washoe claims case, expert testimonies

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<sup>67</sup> The Fremont maps include: (1) Untitled. Map of Oregon, California and Nevada by Capt. J. C. Fremont. Pet. Ex. 7-9, from the National Archives R. G. 77, 1848, Series 5, Folder 2, Map 7; (2) “Map of Oregon and Upper California from the Surveys of John Charles Fremont,” Pet. Ex. 7-7, from the National Archives R. G. 77, 1848, Folder 3, Map 3; and (3) Untitled. Map of the Great Basin from Fremont’s Report, pp. 275-276. Pet. Ex. 7-6, from the National Archives, R. G. 77, undated, Series 5, Folder 2, Map 1,

were provided by Kroeber, Heizer, Barrett, Winslow, Stewart, and Cook (d'Azevedo Collection 97-04; George F. Wright Papers 90-37, 1978). Paleoanthropologists, archaeologists, and linguists, reconstructed Native ecologies from vocabulary lists, place names, and early maps; and recorded ethnographic sites, making note of food supply and other environmental resources in an effort to delineate the Washoe people's aboriginal range. A major part of the defense was that Washoe people did not have a sense of land ownership and did not live within a delimited area with which they could be associated (Stewart 1966). As a result of the partly nomadic characterization of Washoe residence patterns by the defense, the Washoe people were not acknowledged as having legitimate claim to their entire extended range. This was the argument presented against the Washoe Tribe in spite of the fact they do possess a word for property; *t'i?i* means "personal property" and refers to "implements, clothing or adornments" (d'Azevedo 1984, 105). However, Washoe people did not necessarily conceive of land as a class of personal property, with the exception of prime fish spearing spots and pine nut allotments; Washoe land and waterscapes were considered shared or communal property of families.

By the 1960s, the state of Washoe landscapes in some areas had been completely transformed.<sup>68</sup> Olympic Valley, the site of the 1960 Squaw Valley Winter Olympics, was

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George F. Wright Papers 90-37. The map made by Indian Agent Franklin Campbell is credited with being the earliest known ethnographic map of the Great Basin in 1866 (Fowler and Fowler 1971; George F. Wright Papers 90-37, 1978).

<sup>68</sup> Early snow surveyor, James E. Church, took this photo of Squaw Creek Valley in the 1940s (James E. Church Collection, UNRS-P2004-18-030). A 1963 photo of Squaw Valley, looking to the northwest (UNRS-P1991-28-095), was collected for the Washoe case in the ICC hearings (ICC, docket 288, exhibit no. M-9, 1963).

formerly a large meadow and valley with a meandering creek (Squaw Creek) and confluence at the Truckee River; at one time, this place was an important fishery to Washoe families. Bloomer and Lindström consulted with Washoe elders in 2000 as part of an archaeological excavation in Olympic Valley, in which they unearthed several hearth features (2006). The Washoe elders' interpretation of the hearth features was they constituted a kitchen space where foods were prepared. They recalled terms for different methods of cooking with hot rocks such as, a griddling, frying, or steaming: roasting in the ground with rocks" was called mogieu, per Winona James; um selum was provided by Ramona George Dick and referred to "cooking on a hot rock;" and Amy Barber offered the term wasiw itdiyu in reference to the "large rock hearths or shallow ovens" she recalled her grandma using to steam-bake "Washoe spinach," or wadaksha.<sup>69</sup> Wadaksha was steamed on the rocks then made into cakes stored and used as a winter "tonic." Marvin Dressler recalled woodchucks being roasted on hot rocks (Bloomer and Lindström 2006, 31-32). The Olympic Valley landscape was transformed from a peaceful valley, to a short-lived boom and bust silver mining camp before it was even an Olympic space. There were actually two closely situated mining camps, Knoxville and Claraville, a short distance upriver (Scott 1957, 7, 35). Knoxville was established June of 1863 by "Georgetowners" (miners) headed to Washoe, and by August the population rose from two to 600 people. Mining shacks were built so hastily, they had dirt floors, but the

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<sup>69</sup> Wadaksha, or Washoe spinach, is the Washoe term for Washington lupine (*Lupinus polyphyllus*) (Bloomer and Lindström 2006, 31-32). Without proper processing, this plant is poisonous to humans. Washoe acknowledge this and harvest wadaksha "in early spring to avoid selenium poisoning;" however, the plant still requires leaching before it can be consumed (Bloomer and Lindström 2006, 31).



operations were finished by the end of the year. Following the mining bust, the meadow provided summer grazing lands for cattle herds. The Locke brothers bought the Squaw Valley Ranch in 1872 (Scott 1957, 7). The Tahoe Fish Ranch and Toll House opened in 1874 near Big Chief Camp on the Truckee River (Scott 1957, 34, 39), a short distance down the Truckee River just north of Olympic Valley. In 1879 Casper Shock constructed a water-powered shingle mill (Scott 1957, 9). Seventy years later (1949) and in the same landscape, the Squaw Valley Development Corporation was formed, followed by Squaw Valley Ski Area. Eleven years later, the 1969 Winter Olympics were held at Olympic Valley.<sup>70</sup> Less than two miles upstream, the transformation of the Alpine Meadows landscape was underway with development of another, adjacent international downhill ski destination and resort complex. Landscapes along the wild fishery at Bear Creek, which were utilized by Washoe families, were transformed into the 19<sup>th</sup> century recreation areas of Deer Park and Deer Park Springs, and transformed again into Alpine Meadows subdivision and ski area; these and neighboring landscapes were impacted by similar kinds of infrastructural development associated with the Olympics, which took place less than two miles away or on the other side of the mountain called KT-22. The Squaw Valley and Squaw Creek landscape that was once the setting of a Washoe habitation and resource procurement area, was traversed as a shortcut to Sacramento as early as 1849; it was called “Scott’s Route.” The valley settled in the 1880s by Euro-Americans who had come to prospect silver and afterward utilized the meadow for

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<sup>70</sup> Although the name Squaw Valley applies to the ski resort, and local residents still refer to the neighborhood as such, the official name is Olympic Valley; I was not able to find the precise date of the official name change.

summer cattle grazing (Scott 1957, 1-10; Lekisch 1988, 104), is now a resort community for skiing and golfing. As part of a larger effort to acquire and consolidate former Washoe landscapes, the Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California acquired a parcel of land in Olympic Valley for cultural uses (The Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California 2009, 36); the subdivision containing the Olympic Valley parcel is located near Squaw Creek and was renamed Masa'ti?, or “arrow points” (WCRAC personal communication, 2015).<sup>71</sup>

#### Further Research and Oral Histories of the Late 20<sup>th</sup> Century

Freed and Downs both pioneered acculturative studies in the Great Basin among Washoe communities during the sixties, such as their response to animal husbandry as an introduced subsistence method (Downs 1963b), and comparative investigation of how a sample of Washoe and neighboring Northern Paiutes responded to Euro-American contact (Downs 1963a). Stanley Freed and his wife, Barbara, published the findings of their joint Washoe research in the early 1960s; one document characterized aboriginal Washoe culture (Freed and Freed 1963b), and a second specifically addressed the persistence of ceremonies in contemporary Washoe society (Freed and Freed 1963a).

Washoe habitation sites near Lake Tahoe were mapped and recorded by Stanley Freed in 1966; the map assisted in identifying northern Washoe resource and residence areas for

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<sup>71</sup> During consultation for the Donner Visitor Center in Truckee, the WCRAC members provided Washoe names and spellings for objects in the Washoe exhibit areas. One goal of the new visitor center was displaying both Washoe and English names for objects on display, and in that sequence –Washoe first, English second; the Washoe word for arrow point was provided during consultation I was involved in (California State Parks, Donner Visitor Center project notes, 2015).

this project, since habitation sites were usually situated near desirable resources. During the 1960s, Freed also investigated the status of kinship among Washoe families (1960). Downs investigated Washoe religion (1961), and later he addressed “environmental manipulation,” employing terms such as “incipient agriculture” and “incipient domestication” to characterize Washoe and Northern Paiute subsistence methods and to distinguish them from hunting and gathering lifestyles (Downs 1966b, 54). Downs’ unique characterization of Washoe lifeways (1966b) was reinforced by contemporary anthropological research. The same year he published the more widely read ethnographic piece, The Two Worlds of Washo (Downs 1966a). Other region-specific anthropological works focus on stewardship of land- and water resources by Washoe and Northern Paiute communities; these include: Speth (1969); Fowler and Bath (1981); Rucks et al. (1996); Rucks (1999); Garey-Sage (2003); and Hammett, Garey-Sage, and Walsh (2004). A map of prehistoric sites in Washoe territory published by John Price (1963) combines Heizer and Elsasser’s (1953) archaeological site data with his own. Two prehistoric sites concentrations are visible on the 1953 map: the northwest shore of Lake Tahoe north to the Truckee area; and from the south and southeast shores of Lake Tahoe toward Topaz Lake (Price 1963, 78).

Anthropologist Don Handelman recorded the life history of a contemporary Washoe shaman (Handelman’s term) in 1967 with particular interest in the process of how one becomes an “Indian doctor” or *Da mom lee*, the Washoe term (Nevers 1976, 26).<sup>72</sup> Three years after, Handelman published a related study about transcultural

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<sup>72</sup> Lowie (1939, 319) recorded the Washoe word *tamo’mli*, a dream doctor. D’Azevedo also recorded *damom?li?* and documented the translation “shaman;” in a succeeding

shamanic healing (1970).<sup>73</sup> Research among Washoe communities conducted toward the end of the 1960s and early 1970s trended toward shamanism (Handelman 1967a), peyotism (d'Azevedo 2006), and the advent of the Native American Church in Washoe communities. In the 1960s Boasian cultural relativism became associated with the Indigenous rights movement, and emically-oriented ethnographic research related to tribal land claims was conducted; this included research, for example, of the physical and psychological wellbeing of Washoe individuals and communities (Scotch and Scotch 1963). Washoe individuals who provided testimonies for the ICC claims case for the Washoe were We' Imelt' i? elder, Richard Barrington (Lindström 1992a, 109, 203 from Barrington 1969) and Manuel Bender (Strekal 2012, 45-46, 50). Barrington was from Sierraville, California and since 1880 he had resided in Washoe territory (Strekal 2012, 99). At age ten, he was also the very first student to be enrolled at Stewart Indian School (Thompson 2013, 205).<sup>74</sup> Both Washoe elder men were asked to rank fisheries –all streams flowing into Lake Tahoe– according to significance (Rucks 2002, 7).<sup>75</sup>

Other valuable resources pertaining to the life of Washoe individuals appeared in the decades to follow. In 1976, the Washoe elder Joanne Nevers published Wa She Shu: A Washo Tribal History. Don and Catherine Fowler published Stephen Powers' earlier

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paragraph he differentiated between good and evil Washoe doctors (not shamans), damom?li? ana we·s (good doctor) and damom?li? nanawes· musegew (evil doctor) (1984, 113-114).

<sup>73</sup> A photograph of Washoe Shaman, Henry "Moses" Rupert, taken by Don Handelman in the 1970s is housed in the UNR Special Collections Library (UNRS-P1991-24-47).

<sup>74</sup> An undated, early photograph shows Richard Barrington at Stewart Indian School (UNRA-P316-1).

<sup>75</sup> I later learned a Washoe language classmate is a descendant of the same Manuel Bender.

research concerning the cultures of the Washoe and Paiute (Fowler and Fowler 1970), and also researched J. W. Powell's collection from the Smithsonian Institute (Fowler and Fowler 1971).

### Washoe Compensation Arrives

Twenty years after filing claim with the ICC and requesting compensation approaching \$43 million, the Washoe were awarded a vastly reduced total compensation of \$5 million, for what has been described as “one of the richest and most desirable locations in the American West” (d’Azevedo and Kavanaugh 1974, 60; Nevers 1976, 90-91).<sup>76</sup> ICC reports and files concerning the Washoe case, are contained in volumes six, seven, and 26. Volumes six and seven involve both the Northern Paiute and Washoe case details ([www.digital.library.okstate.edu](http://www.digital.library.okstate.edu)).<sup>77</sup> With the \$5 million settlement, and with guidance from the Tribal Council formed in 1966, “the Washoe voted to invest seventy percent of the funds for tribal operation and programs, and the remainder as per-capita payments to older members of the tribe (d’Azevedo 1984, 163-164; from Nevers 1976, 91). A general plan outlined objectives to “consolidate the tribe,” develop their lands, improve colony housing and public services, offer educational training and new jobs to improve their standard of living; the tribe purchased additional land holdings and others were deeded to them (d’Azevedo 1984, 164). The role of The Washoe Tribe Hunting and Fishing

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<sup>76</sup> To add perspective, in 2019 I observed that the average price for a single family home in the Lake Tahoe Basin is estimated at \$500,000.00, one-tenth of the total compensation received by the Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California.

<sup>77</sup> The claims documents were accessed April 6, 2012 and are available at [www.digital.library.okstate.edu/icc/index.html](http://www.digital.library.okstate.edu/icc/index.html).

Commission, established in 1978, is regulating wild animals on Washoe land (d'Azevedo 1984, 165). Since 1980 the tribe has had jurisdiction over the State of Nevada to control deer herds, hunting, and fishing within the pine nut allotments. However, a significant portion of We' Imelt' i? land is in California where there are separate fish and game laws.

One of the recent parcels acquired by the Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California for cultural uses is the Incline Parcel (Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California 2009, 36). The We' Imelt' i? have long camped, fished, and harvested wild rhubarb at Incline Village, Nevada according to Joanne Nevers (1976, 6), and it was also a plentiful source of berries. Three creeks flow into Crystal Bay, Lake Tahoe at Incline; from west to east, they are named Third Creek, Incline Creek, and Mill Creek. The mouths of two of the creeks (Third and Incline Creeks) are situated about 1,000 feet apart.<sup>78</sup> The lakeshore fishery areas historically were favored camping places of specific Washoe families until early lumbering operations were being constructed there in 1878 and 1880; Hobart's Sierra Nevada Wood and Lumber Company started up in 1878 (Scott 1957, 305). The creek impacted first and most was Mill Creek, as it was the site of one of the largest lumbering operations in the Lake Tahoe Basin, and the site of the historic Incline Tramway; by 1881 the crew consisted of 250 men (Scott 1957, 308). A 4,000-foot long water tunnel at Mill Creek diverted water to a flume (Scott 1957, 306) operated by the Gold Hill Water Company (Scott 1957, 308). After the lumbering heyday of Incline

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<sup>78</sup> An aerial photograph of Third and Incline Creeks in Incline Village, Nevada was taken in 1967 for the Washoe case in the ICC hearings (Courtesy of the Lake Tahoe Area Council, UNRS-P2003-10-436).

Village ceased, the great incline tramway, water flumes, and associated railways were dismantled, and the community remained undeveloped until the 1970s.<sup>79</sup> Incline Creek is hardly notable to today's residents of the community, unless one is aware it is the creek routed through the Raley's shopping plaza, and flowing into Lake Tahoe by the Hyatt Hotel and Casino onto the expansive and gated private beach. Directly west of Incline Creek is Third Creek, which flows through the same landscapes and into Crystal Bay at Incline Beach. The residential community along Lakeshore Drive in Incline Village is one of the most exclusive neighborhoods in the western US where estates are valued in the tens of millions of dollars. The hunting, fishing, and berry-picking landscapes at Incline Village have been transformed from summer camping spots of particular Washoe families into private beaches, condominiums, gated homes, golf courses, a hotel-casino, and ski areas for the luxuriously wealthy. In 1972 and 1973, just a decade after development of the community began, the buildup of trash and organic debris in the creeks of Incline Village was cause for a local clean-up effort to restore health to the watershed. Thus, the We' Imelt' i? landscapes in the Incline Village area (lakeshore, stream courses, meadows, marshes, and trek routes) were in some cases irreversibly altered by development, and the We' Imelt' i? families associated with them were excluded from these spaces in the process.

### Anthropological and Archaeological Research from the 1980s to the Present

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<sup>79</sup> Photographs document stream clean-up programs that took place in 1972 and 1973 in Incline Village, Nevada (UNRS-2003-10-333; UNRS-P2003-10-365).

The 1980s and 90s produced numerous archaeological reports (Lindström 1992b) as contract archaeology as a profession expanded in response to development projects across the country, many which affected landscapes of the Washoe homeland.

Archaeological reports from Alpine Meadows (1992b), Olympic Valley (Bloomer and Lindström 2006), and the Truckee River outlet (Lindström et al. 2002) involve We'Imelt' i? landscapes. A portion of each report includes ethnohistoric content some of which is referenced in this report, particularly the maps, and recordation of associations with Washoe individuals and lineages. D'Azevedo produced two important ethnographic works during the 1980s; one is a descriptively dense, unpublished manuscript detailing his thirty years of research with Washoe communities (1984); the other work is a chapter outlining Washoe culture contained in the Great Basin volume of the Handbook of North American Indians, a volume he edited in 1986. On a more specific topic, building on peyote research of the sixties and seventies, Edgar Siskin conducted a study of Washoe peyotism and shamanism (1983).

Expanding upon Speth's (1969) study of Northern Paiute fishing strategies and equipment, Fowler and Bath (1981) produced an ethnographic piece highlighting the significance of fishing at Pyramid Lake among Northern Paiutes. Although the focus of both pieces was Northern Paiute-based, archaeological and ethnographic data pertaining to Washoe fishing were co-mingled to produce a more holistic picture of fishing-based cultures in the Great Basin through time. In 1992, Lindström completed her dissertation describing the variety of Washoe fishing practices and the dietary contribution of fourteen species of fish available in the streams, rivers, and lakes of the Great Basin; likely the ones fished by specific Washoe and Northern Paiute families. D'Azevedo



identified a scarcity of literature pertaining to Washoe fishing in relation to their traditional ecological knowledge and cultural memory of the activity, compared to that focused on hunting or gathering. The same perspective characterized Lindström's research (1992a), as she and d'Azevedo were colleagues up to his passing in 2014.

A sizable oral history project undertaken by the University of Nevada, Reno during the eighties and nineties yielded videotaped interviews with Washoe and non-Washoe individuals with family ties to the Carson Valley region, five oral histories from the effort were scoured for this study, because they featured first hand narratives and descriptions of Washoe landscapes and families (Table 1.1 Archived Oral Histories by Date of Birth, and Table 1.2 Archived Oral Histories by Age When Interviewed). As previously mentioned in this chapter, oral history interviews with the following Washoe individuals informed this study: Bernice Auchoberry, Winona James, Marvin Dressler, Ted Sallee, and Leonard Lowry. Oral histories by Euro-American settlers Fred Dressler and Frank Yparraguirre were consulted secondarily for descriptions and memories of Washoe landscapes, and their personal recollections of Washoe individuals and families recalled as friends, neighbors, or co-workers.

Beginning in the 1990s, pertinent works that targeted key We'Imelt' i? landscapes included cultural resource inventories by Lindström (1992a; 1992b; 1994; Lindström and Waechter 1995, 1996), Rucks (1995, 1996), Kolvet and Rucks (2013), and Garey-Sage (2003). Rucks explained Washoe places, landmarks, and names “representing a long unbroken chain of association to specific landscapes” (1995, 152-153). Collaborating with a handful of Washoe individuals, she participated in several projects on behalf of the United States Forest Service (USFS), which identified Washoe

landscape rehabilitation areas to be cooperatively managed.<sup>80</sup> Meeks Bay Meadow and Meeks Creek (Mayala wata) near Tahoma, California, are two of the landscape areas chosen as an adaptive management area (AMA) (Rucks 1999, 245). The maps and resource inventories produced by Rucks reflected the most contemporary ethnographic landscape data pertaining to Washoe communities, alongside Garey-Sage's (2003) ethnographic portrayal of Washoe women's ethnobotanical knowledge compiled as an index of plants that includes Washoe, English, and species names, plant uses, and citations.<sup>81</sup> Fowler's 2000 study concerning Washoe and Northern Paiute knowledge of regional biodiversity reiterates the specific types of long-term landscape knowledge, such as "former distribution of a plant or an animal" (2000, 125) the Indigenous peoples of the Great Basin possess.

Lindström compiled details about Washoe fishing landscapes and Washoe knowledge related to fishing and exploitation of wild fisheries, in her dissertation (1992a). She produced and co-produced several inventories identifying historic and prehistoric heritage resources in the Lake Tahoe region (1994; Lindström and Waechter 1995, 1996). The cultural resource inventories and modern ethnographic data contributed to the current study by providing temporal and spatial comparisons to earlier Washoe-

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<sup>80</sup> For the Watson Creek Project, Rucks and others (Rucks 1996; Rucks 1999, 245) identified land use and resource areas for gathering Washoe basketry materials. She collaborated to identify conservation areas for gathering Washoe basketry materials for the Bracken Fern Project (Rucks, Conway, Jackson, Kizer, and Martinez 1996; Rucks 1999, 245). In the North Shore Ecosystems Heritage Resource project (Rucks 1996), Washoe interviewees identified significant resources, historic and potential collecting areas, historic and contemporary campsites, and associations with resort areas.

<sup>81</sup> The study contains an index of plants identified by Washoe women elders with whom Garey-Sage collaborated, and it includes descriptions for use or avoidance, in addition to Washoe, common, and scientific plant names.

specific research. Two earlier studies by Speth (1969) and Fowler and Bath (1981) highlighted several Washoe and Northern Paiute fishing landscapes, strategies, and equipment. Lowie’s field notes (1939) and d’Azevedo’s 1984 manuscript both contained descriptions of fishing locations, and explanations of fishing strategies, in addition to Washoe fishing terminology (Table 3). The four anthropological studies, along with Lindström’s (1992a) dietary examination of Washoe fishing, and d’Azevedo’s paper, “To Fish or Cut Bait: Missing the Boat to Washoe Material Culture” (1990), together provided regional, fishing-specific references that helped me identify places significant to the We’ Imelt’ i? families with cultural memories and ties to these landscapes.

**Table 3. Washoe Fishing Based Terminology<sup>82</sup>**

<b><u>Type of Fishing Gear or Technique</u></b>	<b><u>Washoe Name</u></b>
Spears	?itumdali?
Cordage lines with bone fish hooks	?iti?II
Harpoons	?itdumbe?es
Detachable harpoon point	Bayak’aw
Dams for stream diversion	Beyecik or Yucim
Nets	Diges
Weirs	Bagocal
Fish traps	
Covered fishing platforms	Ma?anal
Strategy for capturing fish by draining creeks	Y <sub>u</sub> tsim

During the nineties, Rucks and Garey-Sage produced ethnographic studies that emphasized the lives of Washoe women. Rucks collaborated with women elders and

<sup>82</sup> From d’Azevedo 1984, 54.

produced an ethnographic work specifically about Washoe ground stone milling (Rucks 1995). While employed by the USFS, she was instrumental in the re-establishment of Meeks Meadow as a landscape cooperatively managed by the Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California and the USFS (Rucks 1999). Garey-Sage recorded the life history of a 21<sup>st</sup> century Washoe woman (1995), and she published an ethno-botanical study with Washoe women elders in 2003 (2003). The two ethnographers continue to collaborate with Washoe individuals into the next decade and after, particularly Rucks who prepared the ethnographic components for collaborative cultural resource reports (Hammett, Garey-Sage, and Walsh 2004; Rucks 2002; Lindström et al. 2007; Lindström, S., P. Rucks, and P. Wigand 2000; Bloomer, William W., Susan Lindström, Penny Rucks, and D. Craig Young, Jr. 2002; Lindström, Susan, William W. Bloomer, Penny Rucks, and D. Craig Young 2002). In 2006 Rucks interviewed two women who had family associations with the Tahoma to Sugar Pine Point area of Lake Tahoe; Washoe elder Marie Kizer, and Bill Soll Dewhurst, a non-Washoe. In 2017, two more elders were interviewed about their memories and experiences of attending Stewart Indian School, and both are We' Imelt' i? – Ruth Abbie and Joanne Nevers (McBride 2017a; McBride 2017b). The two Washoe women elders were born in the mid-1930s when Omer Stewart and Lowie were engaged in their Washoe research.

### **Historic and Contemporary Practices on the Landscape**

Strong and Van Winkle made specific example of the Washoe, comprised of 1,500 members with a virtually useless land base comprised of four small residential

communities, initially referred to as colonies. For tourists, outsiders, and some local residents, the Washoe communities are almost non-existent, with the exception of a few historic landmark placards, public places incorporating the name, Washoe, a chimpanzee named Washoe, and two named museum displays (Strong and Van Winkle 1996, 555). One of the museum displays to which the authors refer to was the former Trophy Room at the Cal-Neva Resort and Casino in Crystal Bay, which was historically owned by Frank Sinatra; the space was referred to locally as the Indian Room (1996, 556). Under new management, the property has been undergoing construction and remodel under new ownership for the last year. The Trophy Room had been decorated with Washoe basketry, wood and stone implements, photos of Washoes, their houses, and clothing, against the backdrop of Lake Tahoe...Strong and VanWinkle commented, “the greatest trophy of all (1996, 556).” In the same room, but above the Washoe artifact display cases were more trophies – taxidermy specimens – heads and bodies of game animals, serving to remind the visitor “California and Nevada Indians were once hunted for sport (Strong and Van Winkle 1996, 556; Hurtado 1988).” By the early 1960s, Lake Tahoe provided an isolated haven for a new kind of sport – the sporting and recreation characteristic of the Tahoe rich and famous, like Frank Sinatra who owned the Cal-Neva Casino and Hotel (Goin 1992, 104-105). Despite the ways they are often presented as a relic of the past by non-Indigenous people, Washoe remain active in their homelands, and in the following sections I will discuss the kinds of stewardship and connection that they remain engaged in at present.

### Stewarding and Claiming the Land

The Washoe people consider Lake Tahoe the life-giver and central to their homeland; the lake and surrounding landscapes require physical and spiritual caretaking (Kolvet and Rucks 2013; Garey-Sage 2003; Rucks 1999; Dangberg 1968). The Washoe stewarded water resources, such as lakes, rivers, streams, and falls to achieve various results (Kolvet and Rucks 2013; Lindström and Waechter 1995, 1996; Rucks 1995; Lindström 1992a; Sisken 1983; Fowler and Bath 1981; Price 1980; Speth 1969; Downs 1966a, 1966b). The Washoe maintained, modified, and harvested from wild fisheries of the Truckee River, Donner Lake, Lake Tahoe, and the smaller streams flowing into them by damming or diverting water to accommodate different fishing strategies or equipment (Downs 1966a, 47, 50, 52). Streams identified in this study of We' Imelt' i? places included but were not limited to the following: Donner Creek; Bear Creek; Martis Creek; Long Valley Creek; Blackwood Creek; and Griff Creek. Desirable hunting and gathering landscapes, almost all meadows and grasslands, were tended by the Washoe in numerous ways to maintain meadow health and enhance resource availability. Meadows of particular note in We' Imelt' i? country are those in: Olympic Valley; Honey Lake Valley; Sierra Valley; the Truckee Meadows; Tahoe Meadows on Mt. Rose; and Glenbrook Meadow.

Pertaining to significant resource and habitation areas identified in 1996, Rucks reported, "...Washoe families habitually returned to specific areas to gather a variety of plants and that harvesting techniques include specific conservation and propagation techniques (1999, 247; 1995; 1996). Rucks explained that places, landmarks, and names represent "a long unbroken chain of association to specific landscapes" (1995, 152-153).

The presence of camps “established claims to resource catchments and defined ‘owned’ space;” claimed spaces were “maintained by consistent use and care,” which in turn signaled ownership to others (Kolvet and Rucks 2013, 12, 14). Kat Anderson listed multiple Washoe stewardship practices for stimulating plant growth and encouraging desirable traits of significant food plants, or plants they utilized to fabricate hunting and fishing gear (2005, 211, 220-221, 230, 271, 281, 284); these practices included pinching, picking, and pruning.<sup>83</sup> Rucks discussed stewardship and maintenance of “use areas” and she lists burning, pruning, weeding, and grooming, as specific tasks (1995, 85 from Rucks 1994-1995).

As mentioned in the previous sections, ethnographic studies of Washoe communities undertaken since the 1990s, stress the cultural significance of landscape stewardship, the breadth of traditional ecological knowledge (TEK), and the extent of the responsibilities much more than earlier research did. An objective of the current study of We’ Imelt’ i? landscapes was to identify specific micro-landscapes in their range and to gather Washoe perspectives related to their needs of maintaining and rehabilitating these spaces. This study mapped landscapes significant to We’ Imelt’ i? families, and presented the specific characteristics and historical details lending their importance, for the purposes of determining if and where commonality exists with local environmental scientists and environmental support groups endeavoring to maintain or rehabilitate landscapes. Specific environments within the Washoe range that were the focus of recent

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<sup>83</sup> Bows, harpoons, spears, netting, and basketry, were listed among the utilitarian items crafted from resource areas owned by Washoe individuals or families (Anderson 2005, 211, 220-221, 230, 281, 284).

landscape rehabilitation efforts include waterscapes, including lakes, streams, and riparian meadows. At Lake Tahoe reduced water clarity is a primary concern among the Washoe communities, as is restoring overall health of the watershed. Fall 2019 marked the twentieth annual Markleeville Creek Day, when Washoe families (Hungnalelti, or southern Washoe) and local volunteers gathered to clean up garbage and replant seedlings along Markleeville Creek ([alpinewatershedgroup.org](http://alpinewatershedgroup.org)).<sup>84</sup>

A growing interest for Washoe communities that is related to watershed vitality is the health of meadow landscapes. Meadows in riparian areas were important resource procurement and habitation areas. A reality about meadows is they shrink over time as the trees and shrubs of the forest encroach. Anthropogenic practices, like meadow burning, stimulates the growth of new grasses and keeps encroaching trees and shrubs at bay; it also breaks up continuous tracts of forest with open grassy areas, producing “patches and mosaics” in the landscape that provided an increased variety of plants, which could be utilized for different purposes (Hammett 1992; 2000). The growth of new grasses attracts game animals, and it is possible open meadow areas also created defensible habitation spaces where they were protected from wild fire. Restoring and maintaining meadow health involves removal of invasive weeds and reestablishing growth areas for desirable plants. Invasive species removal days, sponsored by the Alpine Watershed Group, have played an important role in rehabilitating the large meadow within Grover Hot Springs State Park near Markleeville, California that retains cultural significance to southern Washoe lineages. The recent establishment of a Native

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<sup>84</sup> Complete reference is [alpinewatershedgroup.org](http://alpinewatershedgroup.org) accessed August 21, 2019.



plant garden, a collaborative and multi-generational effort, is also helping to reconnect and reinforce Washoe ties to family landscapes.

#### Owning Property, Personal Property, and Permission for Access

The presence of camps “established claims to resource catchments and defined ‘owned’ space” (Kolvet and Rucks 2013, 12, 14) of Washoe individuals or families owned rights for gathering resources. Washoe families and individuals owned important resource locales and had exclusive use rights for gathering foods, medicines, and material used in crafting various, utilitarian equipment (Anderson 2005). In addition to hunting territories owned by each Washoe group, Rucks and Price both document families or individual men owned rights to important hunting spots (Kolvet and Rucks 2013, 15; Rucks 1995, 85; Price 1980, 57). Ownership of fishing streams and springs (Rucks 1995, 82-83, 85; Price 1980, 57) is documented in addition to family-ownership of spawning areas (Kolvet and Rucks 2013, 15), and inheritance of sections of riverbank (Rucks 1995, 83; Siskin 1983, 12-13). Stewardship activities involving eagle aeries is discussed by Downs (1966a, 1966b), who reported that rights to eagle aeries were inherited and owned by individual hunters; exclusive rights to these areas were passed from father to son. Eagles (*Aquila chrysaetos*), or pat’alni? in Washoe, were “believed to have extraordinary supernatural attributes,” and their tail feathers were valuable trade items, both internally and externally (d’Azevedo 1984, 74; Downs 1966b, 41; Downs 1961b, 371). A Washoe shaman or individual, “dreamed of eagle” from whom they acquired power. “Such a person might have exclusive access to an aerie where particular birds allowed him to

remove dropped feathers of a prescribed number from their tails: a gift must be left in the nest and no other human being was to approach it” (d’Azevedo 1984, 74-75; from d’Azevedo, field notes). Omer Stewart documented young eaglets were “taken from the nest and raised in a cage” (1941, 370), but Downs (1966a, 50) was speculative about the practice.<sup>85</sup> Eagle and magpie feathers continue to be incorporated as adornment, and they are utilized in ritual as an expression of Washoe religion and cultural identity (d’Azevedo 1984, 75).<sup>86</sup> Eagle Creek in Emerald Bay is named Ashuk watah in Washoe (Nevers 1976, 7), but no sources indicated this was a significant We’ Imelt’ i? place, and it was not specifically mentioned by any of the Washoe individuals I collaborated with; most records of this area identify it as part of the southern Washoe region. Since 1953 Ashuk watah has been included as part of Emerald Bay State Park, where it flows past Vikingsholm. The Washoe term, mawsh, referred to “family-owned” and “inherited” fishing spots, traps, and platforms, “where exclusive use rights were observed;” the fishing equipment was considered property of the families who built them, and reclaimed them annually (Kolvet and Rucks 2013, 12-14, 20). Not only were mawsh acknowledged as the designated and exclusive fishing, hunting, and harvesting areas of particular families, but visiting, harvesting, and tending these places was also considered the right of certain families. Per Kolvet and Rucks (2013, 14), “[p]laces and things can be owned,

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<sup>85</sup> In the 1960s when Downs was studying among Washoe communities, the Bald Eagle Protection Act of 1940 had been established, as it was determined that bald eagles were threatened; the act “prohibited killing, selling and possessing the species” (Hockensmith 2019). It is possible Downs’ perspective on eagle breeding was an accurate portrayal of the time period.

<sup>86</sup> Many Washoe dancers observed at the Stewart Father’s Day Powwow in 2017 and 2019 were wearing traditional dress bedecked with colorful feathers, suggesting the tradition persists in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

but claims to places are maintained by consistent use and care of these places (stewardship); while ownership of personal gear and tools is established by possession.”

At times access to family resource areas was extended to others at the discretion of the family. Rucks (1995, 146) found that family rights to exclusive use were maintained by caring for the resource” (Downs 1966, 4). She stated, “[k]in groups probably maintained exclusive use privileges by sustaining the desired plant attributes, which may have signaled ownership to others” (Rucks 1999, 254, Note 12). Penny Rucks (1995, 5, 85; Kolvet and Rucks 2013, 15), John Price (1980, 57), and James Downs (1966b, 41) all noted separate hunting territories, fishing streams, and springs were owned by each of the Washoe regional groups. In an oral history interview, Washoe elder Marvin Dressler made the distinction between ‘má·š, “land where they can pick” and ‘má·š tíyel, “big land,” which he identified as Hot Spring Hill “on the other side of Dangberg Hill” (King 1984e). Rucks (1999, 254) highlighted a Washoe story gathered by Lowie entitled, “Coyote and the Grizzlies,” that features Coyote winning a dispute with two Grizzly sisters over ownership of a patch of “wild potatoes;” in the tale, “Coyote owned the place for getting wild potatoes, and Grizzly dug up some of them” (1939, 340-342). The narrative cautions against trespassing and simultaneously teaches a lesson about asking permission before harvesting in someone else’s mawsh.

Stewarding piñon tree groves is recorded consistently throughout the ethnographic literature pertaining to the Washoe. Multiple sources document the pruning of piñon tree branches during harvest season (Anderson 2005, 211, 220-221, 230, 281, 284; Rucks 1995; Siskin 1983; Freed 1971; Downs 1966a, 1966b). Inheritance and ownership of pine nut territories pre-dating the US government distribution of pine nut

allotments to the Washoe is documented (Rucks 1995, 82-83; Siskin 1983, 12-13; Freed 1971, 17), as is inheritance of “home valleys” (Rucks 1995, 82-83) or permanent residence areas. With reference to piñon groves, Downs (in Barrett et al. 1963, 119) remarked, “[t]hey defended these with vigor, as they also defended fishing sites.” The fact that there is a Washoe term to identify these family resource procurement spaces, mawsh (Kolvet and Rucks 2013, 12-20), supports the existence of a Washoe concept of personal property, specifically in the sense of family and extended family property.<sup>87</sup>

The literature mentioned in the previous paragraph concerning Washoe resource stewarding and mawsh made reference to pine nut territories, but this study focuses on We’ Imelt’ i? landscapes where there is a natural absence of piñon trees.<sup>88</sup> Although the transition region is characterized by a combination of piñon-juniper forest, sagebrush scrub, and desert riparian communities (Garey-Sage 2003, 60; Lindström 1992, 194), there is a lack of piñon forests in the We’ Imelt’ i? range.<sup>89</sup> In lieu of pine nut harvests, d’Azevedo (1956, 78; 1986b, 60, 471, 474), Jacobsen (n.d.d.), and Merriam (1904) recorded We’ Imelt’ i? harvesting of acorns from Honey Lake and Honey Lake Valley, in addition to acorn-bearing oak groves along the Feather, Yuba, and American Rivers

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<sup>87</sup> Mawsh is the Washoe term for “family-owned areas that included springs and camping grounds that were inherited, and where exclusive use rights were observed (Kolvet and Rucks 2013, 12-14, 20).

<sup>88</sup> After much reflection it is evident that “pine nut territories” is an expression that runs throughout the popular and academic literature about the Washoe people, despite the frequent use of the terms pinyon, or piñon, or even *Pinus monophylla* by botanists or other specialists ([https://plants.usda.gov/plantguide/pdf/cs\\_pimo.pdf](https://plants.usda.gov/plantguide/pdf/cs_pimo.pdf) accessed September 6, 2019).

<sup>89</sup> Before 1500 BP there is no paleo-ethnobotanical evidence for piñon in the Pine Nut Mountains, and some suggest fall Washoe pine nutting forays may be a more recent subsistence pattern (Zeier et al. 2002).

(Riddell 1960, 37; Barrett 1917). As Freed (1966) relayed, each Washoe regional group acquired acorns in different landscapes outside of the core territory; and the oak groves they visited, in their extended territory were marked by inter-tribal boundary areas, where inter-tribal exchange, and intermarriages were customary. One northern Washoe route took them over the Sierra crest to the Colfax, California area to known acorn-harvesting landscapes. The route began at Rubicon Springs near the west shore of Lake Tahoe where they camped one or two days before heading to Bunker Lake for hunting deer. Next, the route took them west to Georgetown, which was a day's walk to acorn bearing oak tree groves (Freed 1966, 78/#10, #11). There is record of a We' Imelt' i? camp, called Dagaiaíaca, where a few oak trees grew; and per Freed, Washoe people trekked there from Lake Tahoe (1966, 78/#17). A second We' Imelt' i? route associated with acorn harvesting is documented as originating from the Honey Lake and Long Valley areas; this route followed the Middle Fork Feather River and North Fork American River to oak tree groves in the vicinities of Colfax and Grass Valley (Garey-Sage 2003). The Pauwalu (Central or Valley Washoe) travelled from the South Lake Tahoe area to harvest acorns; this included a stop near Myers Station (Freed 1966, 78/#4), and then followed the Middle Fork American River and the South Fork American River southward to California (Garey-Sage 2003). Southern Washoe journeyed from the Markleeville and Coleville regions by way of the Mokelumne and the Stanislaus Rivers (Garey-Sage 2003), and then to Calaveras Big Trees for acorns (Freed 1966, 78).

Edward Curtis recorded a Washoe acorn dance in 1926, and the name he recorded was mállūṅ-lâs; he mentioned with regard to their lands, “they held the edge of the oak groves” situated near the following west-flowing rivers: American, Cosumnes,

Mokelumne, Calaveras, and Stanislaus (Curtis 1926, 89, 97). Jacobsen asserted Washoe terms for two species of oak, wíliši and šagá·šaʔ, were borrowed from the Miwok languages to the west (Garey-Sage 2003, 87 from Jacobsen 1978, 127), which indicates interaction and communication with Miwok groups.<sup>90</sup> Contemporary ethnographic work and cultural resource reports resulting from collaborative efforts with Washoe families and individuals indicate acorn harvesting is not part of their current life experiences; it is known that acorn harvesting was a cultural activity associated with old places and old ways. We' Imelt' iʔ landscapes populated by oak trees are situated from Honey Lake to Long Valley (Simmons et al. 1997; d'Azevedo 1984; Riddell 1960); a shared use area among Maidu, Achumawi and Atsugewi (where relations were not consistently friendly), and Northern Paiute groups. This part of We' Imelt' iʔ country is characterized by tribal inter-marriage, inter-tribal conflict, and a small pox outbreak; the combination of disease, conflict, Euro-American encroachment and alteration of the northern reaches of their territory, the majority of We' Imelt' iʔ families residing here depopulated the area early on.<sup>91</sup> In the entire Washoe homeland, the northernmost parts of the We' Imelt' iʔ region are where cultural memory of places is the most fragmented, and it is directly related to the early establishment of mining, logging, ranching, and railroad industries that checkerboarded the landscape by 1880, as one map of mining claims in the Truckee area illustrates.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> Šagá·šaʔ was identified as “bean oak, oak with long acorns” and wíliši as “grease oak” (Garey-Sage 2003, 379, 387 from Jacobsen n.d.b.).

<sup>91</sup> An outbreak of smallpox in a Maidu village near Susanville, in the We' Imelt' iʔ region, occurred after 1851 (Simmons et al. 1997, 24).

<sup>92</sup> The map title is, “Map of Nevada County, California. Compiled from the Latest Authentic Sources Showing Towns, Villages, Roads, Streams, Mining Ditches, and US

### Rules and Proscriptions for Land Access

Washoe landscape and resource stewardship, in general, functioned according to a system of rules and proscriptions for access, use, and appropriate behavior, which is evidenced in the ethnographic literature (Kolvet and Rucks 2013; Rucks 1995; 1996; 1999; Freed 1971; Downs 1966a, 1966b). Details suggest the system may have operated at the family or household level, and Washoe camps and habitation sites were typically situated adjacent to or near desirable landscapes – usually water, and other resources (Kolvet and Rucks 2013; Rucks 1995; 1996; 1999). A married couple (detgumla·?ya?) and their children (na?mi?min) constituted the Washoe family and the size ranged from five to twelve individuals. Individuals occupying the same winter house (galis duᅅgal) were thought of as one family (detgumye·ya?lu? semu), and winter camps consisted of four to ten family groups residing together in separate the galis duᅅgal (gumt’anu lak’lewlew ?anali?) (d’Azevedo 1984, 97; 1956). During the year, family groups that made up the winter camps often travelled together. Households, or extended families, are comprised of a married couple and their children, the parents and siblings of the married couple, their children, any additional husbands and wives, and unrelated friends (Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California 2009, 6-7). Families residing at permanent settlements and camps tended to be extended family groups, and the nearby resource areas were also owned and tended by those same Washoe families. Washoe families no longer reside in the galis duᅅgal, but the terms associated with their former settlement patterns are relevant to this study, because individuals still refer to their respective gumt’anu

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Land Surveys, Quartz and Placer Mining Claims. By J. Hartwell, County Surveyor, 1880” (Lindström et al. 2007, 38).

lak'lewlw ?anali? when they introduce themselves in Washoe (Appendix B). Permanent settlement areas are one of the named landscapes highlighted in this study, and Washoe individuals still acknowledge and identify themselves with these family groups.

Washoe elders explained that lam (bedrock milling stations) are “landmarks left by families and represent a communal permanent place for work that exemplifies a stationary, domestic space called ‘home’” (Bloomer and Lindström 2006, iii-iv). Lam are like “kitchens;” they are the place where food preparation occurs, they are associated with “home” to the families and lineages associated with them (Kolvet and Rucks 2013, 13, 15; Lindström 2006, iii-iv), and they also symbolize long term, repeated occupation by the same family group.<sup>93</sup> The word, lam, communicates a pounding and grinding activity; a pestle, or bítsik, is used to pound on the lam, while a hand stone, called a gamum, is used for grinding on the lam.<sup>94</sup> Washoe women massaged nut oils onto surfaces of the lam to preserve them, and they also covered the lam with brush for protection against animal feces and urine (Kolvet and Rucks 2013, 6-7, 10). Moreover, a well-maintained lam indicated someone had use exclusive use rights. Rabe Meadow near the lakeshore in South Lake Tahoe, in southern Washoe territory, is the former setting of Washoe summer camps (Rucks 2006, 3). The creek flowing through the meadow into Lake Tahoe is Burke Creek, and the Washoe name, ‘Lám Wá·t’a, identifies the numerous bedrock mortars (‘lám) situated in proximity to the creek (wá·t’a) (d’Azevedo 1956,

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<sup>93</sup> Additionally lam were spaces “where children were socialized and taught about their rights and obligations to each other and to the land” (Kolvet and Rucks 2013, 13, 15).

<sup>94</sup> A ga’mum is a hand stone, or mano that is typically used in combination with a de’mge?, whose purpose is similar to a mortar or metate. Unlike lam, de’mge? are portable (Rucks 1995, 51, 58).



20/#49). D’Azevedo recorded a second name for the creek, K’ik’idi Wá·t’a; k’ik’idi are a species of fish that only spawn in ‘Lám Wá·t’a (d’Azevedo 1956, 20/#49), which makes the creek significant from a biological and watershed stance in addition to its cultural significance.<sup>95</sup> The ‘Lám Wá·t’a (d’Azevedo 1956, 20/#49) landscape has been transformed into Lam Watah Park, a public park with RV campsites, recreational trails, and interpretive signage through the meadow along a historic Washoe trail. The landscape has been altered from a private and family space, to a multi-use and public recreational space, but Washoe people still consider this their land, and Washoe elders informed Rucks they still camp here (Rucks 2006, 3).<sup>96</sup>

Permanent settlement spaces are also identified by the presence of Washoe winter houses, which were frequently inhabited “by some members of families” all year round (d’Azevedo 1984, 75), and these persons acted as caretakers. Washoe structures for habitation include: the ga·du, a “dome-shaped summer house” built of brush and tule; the taʔa, a sunscreen, wind or snow break made of brush and limbs; and the galis duᅅgal (d’Azevedo 1956; 1984, 75-76), a conical structure constructed with cedar bark planks two to three inches in thickness and with the bark facing outward. Interpretive signage in front of the model galis duᅅgal in Ed Z’Berg Sugar Pine Point State Park on July 31, 2019 read as follows:

A Place for Family. Washoe winter shelters were warm spaces for families to share stories and knowledge. This Washoe winter shelter is called a galis dungal.

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<sup>95</sup> This study did not yield any record of the species.

<sup>96</sup> Lam Watah and Rabe Meadow are located in the Hungnalelti, or the southern Washoe region. This study did not reveal Lam Watah or Rabe Meadow to be associated with We’ lmelt’ iʔ families, and We’ lmelt’ iʔ elders consulted in the past and contemporary times did not mention them, either. Thus, Lam Watah and Rabe Meadows do not appear to be significant northern Washoe spaces.

A shelter was made with a sturdy frame, and layers of bark, poles, brush and animal hides for insulation from the cold winter weather. A fire in the center of the home provided warmth for the inhabitants; smoke escaped through a hole left in the roof. The shelter always faced east to avoid storms originating in the west and to greet the rising sun each morning. Together in their shelter, family members would spend [sic] time repairing tools and clothing, telling stories, and passing on essential knowledge and traditions.

Variations of the galis duṅgal appeared in the early 1900s, incorporating an array of recycled building materials, such as “lumber, canvas, or sack covering[s];” the structures were called “campoodies” by Euro-Americans (d’Azevedo 1984, 76). Kroeber offered a translation of the term galis dañal, derived from the words galis (year) and dañal (house) (1907, 272, 311).<sup>97</sup> The last detail demonstrates the galis dañal was understood by the Washoe people as a year-round habitation structure; in the ICC court of claims, this important detail was overlooked or maybe not given enough emphasis, because it is clear that particular, known Washoe spaces marked with permanent dwellings (and sometimes tools, such as lam) were occupied on a year round basis. Following Kroeber, “the stem añal means both to live and house, dwell or dwelling” (1907, 280).

Tending landscapes is a personal experience to Washoe people; the personal nature of the relationship they have with familiar places is demonstrated in the translation of the term mawsh, which refers to exclusively accessed, family-owned and inherited camping spots, springs, and resource areas, and means “face” (Kolvet and Rucks 2013, 12-14, 20). The mawsh example illustrates Washoe people think about family resource areas the same way they do the human body, and the face is a particularly personal part of the body. The way Washoe people think and communicate about mouths and

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<sup>97</sup> Kroeber (1907, 272, 311) uses the ñ, but d’Azevedo (1956; 1984) uses the ŋ to express the sound in the word, galis duñal, alternately spelled galis dungal.

confluences of creeks and rivers embodies the same personal type of relationship. As also discussed in Chapter 6. Ethno-mapping, another example of the human-landscape physical association present in the Washoe language is má'lam, which identifies a confluence; the literal translation of the word má'lam in Washoe is "mouth" (d'Azevedo 1956, 54/#129).

### Identifying and Marking Spaces and Property

Washoe resource areas were typically marked in ways identifiable to others. The presence of camps "established claims to resource catchments and defined 'owned' space[s]," which were "maintained by consistent use and care" (Kolvet and Rucks 2013, 12-14). In addition to exclusive use of fishing spots, James Downs (1966b, 41) recorded use of fishing traps and platforms as another property right. Fishing equipment was considered property of the families who built them, and reclaimed them annually by tending and maintaining the spaces. Washoe language includes a word for "personal property," t'i?i, and it refers to utilitarian objects, objects of adornments, or clothing (d'Azevedo 1984, 105). Tools and equipment were left behind to mark managed and claimed spaces (Kolvet and Rucks 2013, 20). Freed (1971b, 17; 1966, 84) and Downs (1966b, 41, 84) documented the manner in which Washoe families marked their pine nut areas "with stones" to indicate boundaries; these spaces were monitored. With regard to exclusive family use of mawsh in the Pinenut Range, d'Azevedo (1984, 106) stated, "parallel strips of pinyon lands" mapped and designated for families per the General Allotment Act of 1887, were "marked off by lines of rocks" (Nevers 1976, 52-63; Price 1962, 34; Lowie 1939, 203). Washoe families and individuals still own and tend the

allotments, they still harvest pine nuts seasonally, and Gumsabay, the Pine Nut Festival, is still held there annually. There is documentation (Downs 1966b; Barrett et al. 1963) that particular families or individuals had rights to exercise discretionary access to their resource areas, and trespasser rules may have been enforced with regard to “pine nut plots” (Freed 1971b, 17).<sup>98</sup> Requests for access to resource areas were generally granted, depending on the circumstances and relation of the individual requesting access.<sup>99</sup> Under certain circumstances, rights could be lost, and then subsumed by others.<sup>100</sup> Continued neglect and lack of resource stewardship could eventually result in relinquishment of rights (Kolvet and Rucks 2013, 18).

#### Spiritual Stewardship of the Landscape

In addition to rules and proscriptions for access and use of family designated landscapes, there are also rules and proscriptions guiding appropriate behavior while conducting specific activities or being present in certain landscapes. Washoe “spiritual resource management” and appropriate stewardship behavior are themes highlighted in more recent ethnographic studies by Rucks (Kolvet and Rucks 2013; 1995, 51; 1999) and Garey-Sage (2003), but were also noted by Dangberg (1968), because socially

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<sup>98</sup> It is unknown whether piñon nut plots, in this instance by Freed, refers to the pine nut allotments designated by the US government, and if so, it would be then be pertinent to know whether the behavior of marking pine nut spaces began before or after the government sponsored allotment.

<sup>99</sup> For example, rules permitted a Washoe individual to collect piñon nuts from plots used by their parents, and Washoe spouses were permitted to collect on each other’s plots, but the latter privilege expired upon death of the spouse (Downs 1966b, 41).

<sup>100</sup> Kolvet and Rucks (2013) explain, by tending the land, one maintained rights of priority; however, not tending the land, signaled by overgrowth and neglected resource areas, diminished one’s rights.

appropriate Washoe behaviors are introduced and reinforced in and through the telling of traditional Washoe narratives. Rucks addresses “spiritual resource management” (1995, 51) particularly in the context of gathering. Gathering and appropriate stewardship of collecting areas, is not just necessary for maintaining resource vitality, it is also “...a form of communion with the spiritual world,” a form of “social discourse” with their environment, and a way to reinforce cultural values (Rucks 1999, 249). With regard to harvesting bracken fern rhizomes, she (Rucks 2006, 37) explained:

Not any root will do. Neglected stands produce thin, twisted roots that are difficult to harvest. Ideal rhizomes are straight and long, produced by vigorous new growth in stands tended by experienced gatherers. This knowledge –the time of year to harvest, desired attributes and how to nurture them, how to ensure future harvests, how to protect yourself and the plants –is part of the cultural legacy elders pass to the next generation.

Following Garey-Sage (2003, 2), the incorporation of prayer as appropriate stewardship behavior, was a frequent topic of discussion among Washoe women. Washoe elder, JoAnn Smokey Martinez, explained how “[w]omen used to bless the plants and talk to them. We learn from them; they teach us what they need and what to do; how to use them; we were taught to listen to the land, cleaning and tending as we gathered” (Kolvet and Rucks 2013, 15). To Washoe people this behavior is spiritually correct, while neglecting the land is interpreted as disrespectful. Continued neglect and lack of resource stewardship can eventually result in relinquishment of claims (Kolvet and Rucks 2013, 18). The archival resources reviewed for this study revealed additional details about prayers, such as the places where prayers are offered, and who can appropriately offer them.

Washoe prayer leaders are called dagumsaba, derived from the word gumsaba (prayer); they offer prayers and blessings, wagoya?ha?, at communal gatherings. The role of a dagumsaba was determined based on several factors, including being an elder from a respected family who was listened to, and “whose dreams and prayers emanated from a character of proven good will and social responsibility. Such persons represented the community in its efforts to achieve internal harmony and cooperation from the spirits of nature whose resources were necessary to survival” (d’Azevedo 1984, 120). Prayers were directed not at plants, but the spirits of the plants, to ask permission and also to thank the plants for “their generosity and continued productivity;” he notes “first-fruit and harvest celebrations” of the Washoe were insufficiently addressed in the ethnographic literature (d’Azevedo 1984, 120, 123). With particular reference to the We’ Imelt’ i? he goes on to describe,

[a]mong the northern Washoe the malin gumsaba?yi? (“acorn praying”) and the ?at’abi? gumsabay?YI (“fish praying”) provided the focus of the major annual and semi-annual assemblies, though some of these people also travelled to the area southeast of Washoe Lake for pine nut harvesting (d’Azevedo 1984, 123).<sup>101</sup>

Prayers are offered to plants before harvesting, and gathering equipment is blessed.

Some Washoe women possessing extensive plant knowledge, such as behavior and their location, are thought to have the capacity to communicate, or “speak,” to the plants (d’Azevedo 1984, 66-67; from d’Azevedo, 1952-1984).” In addition to offering prayers at communal gatherings, daily subsistence tasks, like gathering, or eating, also have a

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<sup>101</sup> The unaltered orthography from d’Azevedo (1984, 123) is: malin gumsaba?yi? (“acorn praying”) and the ?at’abi? gumsabay?YI. Underlining and questions marks, versus italicizing and glottal stops, are used throughout this manuscript, because it was prepared on a typewriter and typewriters did not include either convention. Orthography was modified in the main text.

prayer component that is social and religious in nature. At the close of each Washoe language class I attended, the eldest person was always selected to make the prayer before eating. Each time a different elder was selected, and the process of choosing was approached with good humor and often awkwardness on the part of the individual. As a student of more than one foreign language, I found Washoe very difficult to pronounce and learn, and I observed others struggling as I did. Being chosen as one to offer prayers was an honor and serious undertaking in Washoe society; and even though the majority of elders were reading from a sample prayer on a class handout, it was fascinating to listen to the elders practicing their own language, but only a few of the experts had perfected the task by memory. This demonstrates how important praying in Washoe language is, in spite of declining linguistic knowledge.

### The Employment of Fire

Evidence of Washoe fire management as a landscape stewardship strategy in the past is scant and based upon second hand sources. Euro-American settlers of Tahoe City, California recalled meadow burning by Washoe (Rucks 1995, 85 from Van Etten 1994).<sup>102</sup> Omer Stewart (2002) and Kat Anderson (2005) assert Washoe burned meadows and grasslands to prevent forest encroachment on meadows, to maintain

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<sup>102</sup> A photo dated 1889 depicts a meadow in Tahoe City with an enormous mound of wild Timothy hay that was harvested by early residents Antone Russi, Fred Pomin, Frank Dunlap, and Bob Watson. The meadow grasses and hay have been replaced and the Tahoe City Golf Course occupies the former meadowland (Lindström, Bloomer, Rucks, and Young 2002, Plate 21).

meadow health, and increase diversity of plant foods.<sup>103</sup> Anthropologist Erminie Wheeler-Voegelin stated, “[t]he Washoe burned areas around Lake Tahoe in fall to encourage the proliferation of grass and wildflower seeds” (Anderson 2005, 63). Anderson references one individual of mixed Washoe descent who recalled hearing about intentional meadow burning from a grandparent who referenced this practice in earlier times near the southern Washoe fringe to “increase foods” they favored, and to prevent forest encroachment on meadows (2005, 169-170, 284).<sup>104</sup> Burning maintained meadow health, and the improved pasture attracted game animals. Making reference to the plant shoogil, or Mule’s ear (*Wyethia mollis*), Rucks learned from Washoe elders how “[r]ank patches of growth were burned off to kill insects and restore vigor” (2006, 33). These were the two references encountered in the course of conducting archival research for this study that described applications of fire as a stewardship strategy by Washoe individuals; both references come from primary sources.

According to Northern Paiute, Ute, Southern Paiute, and Shoshone informants, fire was employed in hunting deer, antelope, and rabbits by means of “fire circles” or drives (Stewart 2002, 230-231), but no similar reference by Washoe informants was revealed in the present study of We’ Imelt’ i? landscapes. It is likely Washoe adopted Euro-American settlers’ aversion to fire as a result of working as wage laborers for Euro-American ranchers, who would have opposed burning the sustenance for their livestock.

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<sup>103</sup> According to Stewart, fire is the key ingredient in the “formation and maintenance of grasslands” by non-agricultural peoples around the world (2002, 67, 69).

<sup>104</sup> Meadow burning reduced sagebrush, and lodge pole pine. According to Omer Stewart, it “destroyed...underbrush and allowed grass to grow between the trees without killing the trees” (2002, 69).



However, Anderson challenged this view, and explained, “Cattle ranchers and sheepherders continued the practice of burning meadows as early as the 1860s. They learned directly from the Indians,” but when the USFS initiated a program of fire suppression in the early 1900s, the practice of meadow burning by both California Indians and ranchers was discontinued, resulting in an eventual absence of meadows because of the natural meadow-to-forest succession (Anderson 2005, 170-171).

### **Concluding Thoughts**

Here I have provided a chronological overview of Washoe historical experience from contact to the present, using historical and ethnohistorical records; a discussion of ethnographic and other anthropological and linguistic works informing understandings of past and present Washoe practices has also been included. I have endeavoured to orient the reader to Washoe customs as they relate to landscapes and culturally significant places. Contemporary Washoe people are very cognizant of their history and origins in the landscape of Da ow aga (Lake Tahoe); they did not migrate here from another place. Washoe people assert that they are the first inhabitants of this landscape and have resided here since the beginning. The geographic features all have Washoe names, and there are narratives about them (Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California 2009, 5 from Nevers 1976, 3). Washoe families and individuals still identify themselves according to places, and they continue to live, visit, and spend time in the landscapes that formerly comprised their homeland.

Although the Tribe has gradually been reacquiring pieces of their homeland and

entering into cooperative management agreements with agencies, such as the USFS, to rehabilitate more Native landscapes for Washoe cultural purposes, they own, manage, and reside upon a miniscule portion of what was formerly their range. Due to a limited land base, the Washoe have not lived a traditional subsistence-based lifestyle since the mid-1800s to early 1900s. A census from 1890 tallied 95 “Indians” living in Truckee, but the documents were destroyed in a fire. The 1910 census recorded eleven English-speaking Washoe in Truckee; it designated occupations of Washoe men and women, which included: washerwoman; washing; housekeeping; housework; laborer – odd jobs; laborer - butcher shop; and no occupation. Occupations of Washoe people residing in Truckee on the 1920 census included: laborer - ice plant; chambermaid in lodging home; sales girl – sporting goods; servant – private family; and no occupation, confirming the early pattern of wage labor at least in the Truckee region of We’ Imelt’ i? territory. The two individuals listed as having no occupation were a 68-year-old woman and a 91-year old man (Lindström et al. 2007, G-5, G-6). Washoe people, as a group, are and have been employed as wage laborers since the inception of the above-mentioned urban areas, and in some cases (early Carson Valley ranches) earlier. In this sense they are no different than non-Washoe people of Nevada, California, and the US.

Contemporary Washoe communities are situated within, and directly adjacent to modern towns and cities with conveniences, such as Reno, Sparks, Carson City, and the Minden-Gardnerville area.<sup>105</sup> Government funded residential areas were established in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century in the eastern periphery of Washoe territory, and this is where the

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<sup>105</sup> I was usually corrected when I used the term “colonies;” “communities” is the preferred term.

tribal offices, services, programs, and tribally owned businesses are based; this includes medical care, the Dresslerville Senior Center, Washoe Housing Authority, Tribal Police, the newer Wa She Shu Casino, Washoe TANF office (Temporary Assistance of Needy Families), Cultural Resources Office, Tribal Historic Preservation Office, an Education Department supporting four Washoe Head-start schools (for three to five year olds) and the Washoe Language Program (Washiw Wagayay Mañal).<sup>106</sup> Summer Culture Camp, the Washoe Warrior Society, White Bison Society, and Tribal Government groups were established to foster Washoe customs of generosity, respect, and personal wellbeing (Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California 2009, 40-41).

The experiences of Washoe individuals and families are unique in comparison to other Native Americans due to the extent of time they have occupied the same landscape. The paleoarchaeological record revealed extreme and fluctuating environmental conditions in the Lake Tahoe Basin would have permitted human habitation, and possibly year-round habitation, from about 700 AD (1,300 years BP) to contact with Europeans, and the ethnographic Washoe are associated with this period (Lindström, Rucks, and Wigand 2000, 107). During this extent of time, they established very personal relationships with specific places and spaces. One of the themes highlighted in this chapter involves how property is inherently related to land use, and more specifically proper use of the land, or else that right can be relinquished. Meaning, that if the land was not properly utilized and or respected, it could be forfeited via Washoe conceptions

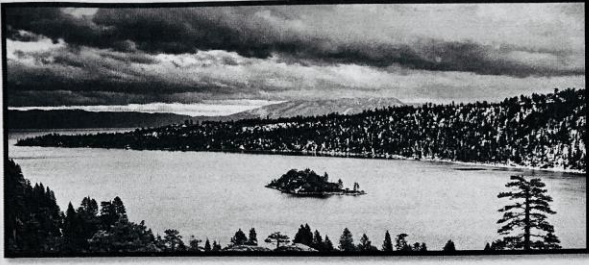
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<sup>106</sup> The Washoe TANF (Temporary Assistance of Needy Families) program serves Washoe families residing in twelve California counties and two Nevada counties (Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California 2009, 40).


of place and property. The values associated with care of the land persist and they are exemplified in Washoe cultural events and activities today that take place on the land, including seasonal prayer offerings at Lake Tahoe and the annual fishing trip at Taylor Creek. Even though Washoe have not maintained a fishing, hunting, and foraging subsistence lifeway characterized by seasonal movements through the territory, they remained in their space as much as possible, and they continue to maintain as many traditional practices as possible; using Washoe language is at the forefront of tribal and individual community announcements, event flyers, and newsletters. A classmate handed out copies of a Washoe Tribal Health Center newsletter featuring a message about Health Month. The message is in Washoe and a translation in English follows, as does a short vocabulary list (Figure 4). During a February class we received copies of a valentine possibly borrowed from Washoe Head Start class that said, “I love you” in Washoe (Figure 5). However, Washoe families and individuals residing out of this immediate region may not have regular or convenient access to most of these programs and services, even if the tribal and community websites communicate and advertise them.

**Washoe Tribal Health Center**

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**National Nutrition Month**



Demlu· taŋawšemu· Lew le?ew  
u·di· gelu· lew le?eši·pa?. Di·hamu·  
ŋaw hu·ye?

Dime?sa taŋaw ke?a. Gelu tanu  
i?wi· wegeyay udi· gum mišiw ha  
ke?a. Dime? i·da demlu· lew gelu·  
di·hamu· dešip i·da le?ešip hu·ka?a  
di·eštotoli· huya?

•

Food is real good. We eat and with  
it, we become strong.

Water is good too. With it, they preyed over the people. With  
it, they got well. With these things, our thinking will be good.  
We reside well. With it, we will be strong.

Damo?mo?—woman	Taŋaw—Good
Eštotoli·?—Strong	Mu?uš—to run
Gemu·—Eat (command)	Apiš—Body
Dime?—water	T'agim—Pinenut
Hamu·—Think/feel	Tu·gebil—Winnowing tray

Figure 4. Image of Message Written in Washoe for Health Month



Figure 5. Image of Washoe Valentine

#### **Chapter 4. Northern Washoe Places, Spaces, and Landscapes**

Even though Washoe people did not historically embrace a formal or legal concept of property from a Eurocentric perspective, they did and still do identify with particular biological resources and habitation places as being “theirs,” and may closely associate themselves with either. Many times, however, indigenous knowledge of biological resources and culturally significant landscapes are overlooked as components of identity. This study of Washoe landscapes explores and highlights the association between sense of self, experiencing places on the landscape, and the cultural memory of places. An assessment of Washoe toponyms was a theoretical and methodological strategy for revealing and comprehending Washoe perspectives about places, because knowing the language and the names is tied to Washoe identity.

#### **Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Landscape Connections**

Indigenous landscapes are commonly integrated with oral tradition and are often described in narratives referencing place names and historic events. In one renowned case study, Basso (1996) discusses this phenomenon of intersecting landscape and narrative through place name use among Western Apache speakers. In another instance, when making specific reference to the inland Inuit of the Subarctic, Stewart, Keith, and Scottie (2004, 184) explain, “[i]n parts of the world still occupied by people who identify with traditions of hunting and gathering, sites exist within a context of oral histories and traditions that relate activities to place, present generations of people to their predecessors, and people to other beings.” In Navajo culture, for example, there is lore

about the land, and much of it is “esoteric;” passed from one medicine man to a few apprentices over a lifetime, and many such stories contain “instructions for proper care and use of land” (Kelley and Francis 1994, 3). Narratives and testimonials are partly what make the places sacred or important and so they are cultural resources themselves; sometimes they are so important that “even elderly non-specialists don’t pass on [the] most powerful stories, prayers, songs until [they are] ready to die,” because “indiscriminate spread of knowledge lessens its power” (Kelley and Francis 1994, 3-4). In the Washoe situation with continually decreasing numbers of native speakers, the greater threat seems to be the complete disappearance and loss of the cultural knowledge. Maybe this is why Washoe language teachers have begun publishing narratives, including parts of the creation story, as children’s books that include the Washoe and English translations (Enos and Rakow, 2014; n.d.a.; n.d.b.; n.d.c.).

Like the Inuit, Navajo, and Western Apache, Washoe families and individuals have a unique relationship with the landscapes, spaces, and places within their homeland. It is documented that indigenous place names can provide insight to systems of cognition and orientation, how the landscape and places in it are perceived, and a better understanding of the significance of places (Boas 1934; d’Azevedo 1956; Fowler 1982; Hunn 1990; Basso 1996; Berlin 2006). For this project, assembling place names was both a theoretical and methodological strategy for gaining a better understanding of Washoe perspectives. Knowing the language and the names is tied to Washoe identity. Washoe language instructor, Kate (personal communication, 2019) explained to us in one class that “you have to speak Washoe to understand Washoe;” she had expressed to me a few years earlier how most Washoe language students today have a challenging time



learning Washoe, because they are thinking in English. Just as it is important to know Washoe language and place names, it is also important to physically be in places, as they are embedded with cultural knowledge and memories. Instead of cultural information being recalled chronologically, temporal information is anchored to places. Certain places and spaces can provide contexts for teaching and cultural activities, such as storytelling, that features place names, family information, and lessons demonstrating desired behavior or disposition (Rucks 1995; 1999).

In Washoe language class I learned of the Annual Kokanee Fishing Trip at Taylor Creek, a cultural activity sponsored by the Washoe Tribe's Cultural Resources Department; Washoe call Taylor Creek, *Dauga shashu* (Nevers 1976, 7), meaning "Clear Water."<sup>107</sup> According to archaeologists, human utilization of the Taylor Creek landscape dates to 3500-4000BP (Lindström 1992, 32, 156). This place is featured in the Washoe creation story (EDAW, Inc. 2004, 6-6), and in the 1960s Freed (1966) recorded this place as a major Washoe fishing site.<sup>108</sup> Washoe people still visit Taylor Creek, as it provides a social context for recreation, meditation, spiritual renewal, and to reconnect with the land. There is a Washoe doctor who visits the place as part of his practice, and Washoe basket makers continue to harvest the willow near Taylor Creek, which is long and desirable for

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<sup>107</sup> Variations of the name include *Dawgasháshiwa* by Freed (1966; EDAW, Inc. 2004, 6-6), and *Dawgašášiwa* by Dangberg (1968, 102).

<sup>108</sup> Taylor Creek is adjacent to Tallac Creek (or Little Tallac Creek), which is named *Debelelélek wát'a*, or "reddened or smeared with red" in Washoe (d'Azevedo 1956, 86/#225; Freed 1966, 80/#7; Toll and Elston 1980, 13/P-14). The Tallac Creek Watershed includes Spring, Taylor, and Tallac Creeks, a narrative, or mythic, landscape where *Damalali* (or Weasel, depending on the version) scalps Water Baby in the Washoe creation story (d'Azevedo 1956; Dangberg 1968, 41-89; Nevers 1976) causing a deluge (Dangberg 1927; 1968) in some versions, and a tsunami-like event in others (EDAW, Inc. 2004, 6-7).

weaving large baskets (EDAW, Inc. 2004, 6-8). Particular Washoe families and individuals have memories and connections to the Taylor Creek area (EDAW, Inc. 2004, 6-3; Cohodas 1979, 41; Fowler et al. 1981, 122), including an elder and classmate from Washoe language classes who is descended from one of these families.

The landscape of Taylor Creek provides an important context for learning about and experiencing fishing in accordance with Washoe customs for technique and equipment. Angie explained the fishing trip is held at Taylor Creek, because they received permission from the US Forest Service; they wanted to hold it at Boca, but recently the water flow has been too low for the fish (Angie personal communication, 2019). An announcement in 2017, posted qualifications for the event included manufacturing their own fishing traps, nets, and spears with traditional materials that would protect the streambed.<sup>109</sup> I learned from Angie that Washoe Language Instructor and Cultural Activity Coordinator, Hermann Fillmore, coordinates the fishing event. The fishing trip participants learn to build the Washoe fish traps, they learn Washoe names for the type of fish trap, the materials used to make it, and the fish; they also learn about the traditions, including spiritual ones, such as the Washoe prayers offered in association with the activity (Angie personal communication, 2019). Even though this event takes place in territory associated with the southern Washoe landscape, it is open to all Washoe.

Northern Washoe landscapes are contexts for speaking Washoe; in these spaces, place names are recalled and spoken, stories about places are narrated, prayers are

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<sup>109</sup> Announcement was published on the southern Washoe community website. [www.hungalelti.us/Contents/index.php/news/534-fishing-trip-2017](http://www.hungalelti.us/Contents/index.php/news/534-fishing-trip-2017).

offered, important plants are spoken to, and resources are harvested. One objective of this project was identifying which spaces are significant to the northern Washoe, and what it is about the heritage of those places that gives them cultural value. I was interested in the whos, whats, whens, whys, and hows in defining the practical significance (Hunn 1982, 840-842) of landscapes to the We' Imelt' i?. In order to explore these questions, I endeavored to examine the status of Washoe language fluency and tried to ascertain how many We' Imelt' i? speak Washoe, and whether northern Washoe cultural knowledge was being passed on to younger generations.

I wanted to better understand what made places memorable so that the map I would make as part of this project would reflect a northern Washoe sensibility; I wanted to ensure it was embedded with stories and memories about each place, space, and landscape from their perspectives, and in their terms. To accomplish this, input and verification were requested from northern Washoe elders assigned as my project sponsors; they taught, guided, edited, and collaborated with me and with one another on various details about landscapes for the duration of the project. Instead of another map of Washoe land produced solely by Euro-Americans, marked and labeled with colonial places and names to further the hegemonic agendas of state power, I engaged with northern Washoe individuals and families to produce an ethno-map that showcases lands and places meaningful to them in order to reflect northern Washoe perspectives of their homeland. The ethno-map (Figure 8) features the Washoe place names, and was coded with symbols identifying geographic landscape type, the different classes of culturally significant spaces, and also the specific uses or value of places, if known.

The ethno-map (Figure 8) is intended for Washoe use, at their discretion, for furthering their own community agendas. As the main creator of the map, an important consideration of this project was for northern Washoe communities to have authority over their own cultural information and to be able to modify or add to the information in the future. Throughout the project, concerns that We' Imelt' i? individuals shared with me had to do with where anthropological research material would be housed, as well as issues of ownership, copyright, reproduction rights, and the accessibility of collected Washoe cultural knowledge to Washoe communities. For these reasons, and in acknowledgment of future copyright protection (or restrictions), I wanted to ascertain the landscape index files that assisted with production of the ethno-map (Figure 8) and this report, were retained by the Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California.

#### Cultural Memory of Northern Washoe Places

Basso makes a distinction between sense of place and “sensing of place.” Sense of place refers to a social and psychological human need for a place to call home, while “sensing of place” or being in places both reference types of cultural activities (Basso 1996, 143). Sense of place is considered an important part of a Washoe individual’s personhood and identity, or “Washoeness” (d’Azevedo 1984, 7). The primary factor determining Washoe identity is how Washoe a person is, and this is determined based on their knowledge of Washoe language, prayers, stories, and the old ways; their participation in and knowledge of traditional Washoe activities; their lineages (as there is some status differentiation among Washoe families); and where they grew up. Washoe language fluency reinforces cultural memory of places and identity, or “Washoeness” as it relates to the knowledge

and preservation of the old ways, and vice versa. Cultural memory can be observed in the extent of Washoe claims to places and in the names themselves. Patterns were noted in which types of places are named and remembered, and which places were mapped.

For Washoe individuals and families, remembered and named places consist of: (1) places they went to or visited once or repeatedly, such as camping spots, permanent villages, and landscapes for fishing, hunting, and gathering; (2) places they had heard about, in the form of personal stories or narratives; and (3) places with mythical significance, or imbued with power. Sometimes places with mythical significance and power were the places they heard about in personal stories and narratives. Washoe places that were mapped reflect the personal knowledge and experiences of the individuals who were interviewed or whom interacted with early explorers, settlers and ranchers, ethnographers, anthropological linguists, and archaeologists; existing maps are predominantly biased to the central and southern Washoe landscapes and their social memory of places.

A northern Washoe presence was maybe not visibly apparent, because such a large number of the We' Imelt' i? individuals and families had relocated to central and southern Washoe landscapes by the late 1800s to early 1900s, and those who remained in northern Washoe spaces were usually clothed in Euro-American attire and working as wage laborers. With the exception of d'Azevedo (1956), whose maps depicting named northern Washoe places were lost, and Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak's (2011) map of the We' Imelt' i? core area, the products of other regional cartographic efforts to date (Dangberg 1968; Freed 1966; Price 1963; Nevers 1976) are lacking detail of northern Washoe spaces. Cultural memory of places for Washoe people consists of people, places,

events, travel corridors, trekking routes, and seasonal rounds associated with landscapes and places, but the list is not exhaustive. These were the kinds of data pertaining to northern Washoe that were compiled into indices during this study.

For the current study, pieces of cultural information associated with northern Washoe landscapes were obtained from the following classes of resources: 1) archived photos of people and places; 2) historic maps showing Washoe place names and territorial boundaries; 3) archived oral histories describing Washoe people, events, places, stories, and their inter-relatedness; and 4) archaeological reports, maps, and ethnographic narratives gathered for this study. Cultural information about northern Washoe landscapes was also obtained from We' Imelt' i? sponsors (Angie, Ruby, Linda, and Cheryl) and Washoe Tribal Cultural Preservation Officer (John), the Washoe language instructor (Kate), and classmates from Washoe language class. Data from two publications, one interview, and the responses of one ethno-survey referenced in this study were the products of three Washoe elders who provided guidance for this project.

At the 2017 Wa She Shu It Deh Festival, I won a set of six children's books in Washoe as a raffle prize; they were children's versions of Washoe narratives with English translations, from which I was able to draw information about place names. My Washoe language instructor, Kate, provided several sources of information that contributed to this study, including Dangberg's (1968) map with Washoe toponyms, Washoe vocabulary flashcards produced by Washoe Tribe Head Start instructors (Rakow, Roach, and Roach-Osorio. n.d.), stories "Gewe ida Piteli/Coyote and Lizard," a handout pertaining to Washoe introductions, and one example of a Washoe prayer for food. Classmates from Washoe language class shared previous class materials with me, such as

handouts with Washoe vocabulary for parts of the body. Classmates also contributed information about mapping points, shared information about relatives, and their memories of places when I asked questions in class, or when we chatted over dinner; this information was interspersed throughout this report as it pertained to We' Imelt' i? landscapes. It is likely cultural memory varies among the Washoe communities and individuals, in accord with their differential Washoe language knowledge, and regional knowledge and experience in Washoe spaces.<sup>110</sup> Cultural memory about places is tied to being in places, in addition to knowledge about them, and personal experiences on the land. It may not be widely known that several of the places discussed in this report are still visited by Washoe individuals and families today. An online document published by the Washoe Tribe, Wa She Shu: "The Washoe People" Past and Present, reminds readers in boldface print that the "traditions and beliefs described in the past tense in following sections are still widely practiced and observed by the Washoe today (2009, 9)."<sup>111</sup>

For this study of northern Washoe landscapes, finding and documenting northern Washoe landscapes and learning We' Imelt' i? place names were essential to understanding northern Washoe spatial orientation on the land; the process assisted in the production of an ethno-map that expresses a northern Washoe perspective of their land.

A major goal of the project involved documenting locational and cultural details of We'

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<sup>110</sup> Two examples of dialect differences in Washoe speech were encountered in this study. One example noted the variety of Washoe spoken by the northern and southern Washoe was older than the more recent dialect of Washoe spoken in the Carson Valley (Ruby personal communication, 2018); the second example of dialect variation had to do with northern Washoe speakers having a slower rate of speech. D'Azevedo (1956, 39/#94) recorded that "From Carson City on, the p'awalu called the people welmelti. The people from here on talked slower than the southern Washo."

<sup>111</sup> In the original document this statement is in bold face print and underscored.

lmet' i? landscapes, spaces, and places, and to then depict the findings as a landscape memory map showcasing places. Previous studies and maps have documented Washoe place names and Washoe territory, identified Washoe resources and habitation areas, and examined Washoe landscapes from the perspective of popular literature (Magee 2015), but no studies have focused on significant Washoe landscapes from the perspective of Washoe people themselves. This study assembled and reorganized data from previous oral history, anthropology, and cultural resource management (CRM) reports into a landscape-focused study geared to understanding and presenting a We' lmet' i? perspective and taxonomy of landscapes.

In the process of assembling and organizing landscape data, I copied and shared documents, books, and archival material I encountered with my Washoe project sponsors, especially Angie, Linda, and Ruby, because I was interested in what they had to say about them with regard to content and accuracy from a contemporary Washoe standpoint. As I was indexing and mentally drafting the ethno-map, I distributed and requested feedback on the proposed points, lineal, and larger spaces I was considering illustrating to ensure accuracy of what I was identifying We' lmet' i? spaces. In some instances, the lists of places I shared prompted conversation and remembering among the elders. I did this before and after Washoe language classes, where more elders and their family members were present and could engage and contribute. It also produced an accompanying GIS map of northern Washoe landscapes illustrating culturally significant spaces by including narratives, stories, photographs, and names of places and individuals associated with them.



### Experiencing Washoe Spaces

Restricted access to and lack of interaction with heritage landscapes on public land poses a threat to the future of Washoe language, culture, and identity (Strong and Van Winkle 1996).<sup>112</sup> Landscapes of the Lake Tahoe Basin and surrounding region provide vital social contexts for creating, maintaining, and passing on Washoe culture. A recent archaeological investigation in the Watson Creek corridor (Bloomer et al. 1997) featured Washoe participation, interpretation, and family interaction. At one of the Watson Creek quarry sites, Washoe elder Steven James and archaeologist Bill Bloomer, demonstrated flintknapping techniques to younger generations of Washoe. Bloomer documented that Steven James was speaking and teaching Washoe language with other Washoe individuals while visiting the Watson Creek sites where Washoe relatives may have camped and quarried basalt for crafting tools (Bloomer et al. 1997). The Washoe people have been largely excluded from landscapes that provide these contexts. This study hypothesized the disjunction of people and place may be limiting their ability to pass language and cultural knowledge to younger generations. In danger of disappearing, there are fewer than a dozen fluent speakers of Washoe language (Keliiaa 2012; Irwin 2015). Lack of funding often impedes Washoe language instruction opportunities, already few in number.

Place names are the vehicles by which older people teach younger people about the landscape, and circumstances for instruction are becoming less common and have

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<sup>112</sup> To visit a heritage site contained on lands managed by California State Parks today, for example, a Washoe individual or group must purchase and obtain a collecting permit (even when the visit does not involve collecting), and there is no guarantee the permit will be approved.

been replaced by modern conveniences. With the modern and “insidious” pick-up truck, there are no more horseback rides to places on the landscape accompanied by stories. In the evening, storytelling has been replaced by the television, VCRs, DVDs, and video games (Kelley and Francis 1994, 59, 97).<sup>113</sup> Kelley and Francis criticize the selective preservation of sacred places, while the living cultural context—the entire cultural landscape—is destroyed.

Part of the rationale for choosing a landscape-focused study is because landscapes in their entirety (not just specific, disconnected parts of it) provide that “living cultural context” upon which the resilience of Washoe culture depends. Eugene Hunn explains that in the case of the Sahaptin of Washington, today’s generations receive limited guidance from elders in their search for a link with the natural environment because much of the traditional context has been destroyed (Hunn 1990, 239). Instead, Kelley and Francis (1994, 101) suggest first determining how each place functions in the physical, social, and conceptual landscape it is part of to determine how best to integrate development projects into the landscape with the least amount of disruption to the people whose activities are tied to it. They recommend the landscape approach because it makes explicit a holistic framework that better resembles that of the Navajo people with whom they conducted their research (1994, 104). In this study, a landscape focus enabled a more extensive and holistic framework—methodologically and spatially—for collecting,

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<sup>113</sup> While video games have been shown to be useful tools in perpetuating linguistic and cultural knowledge in other Indigenous North American communities (see, among others, Wagner 2017) they do not yet exist in Washoe language.

recording, organizing, analyzing, and ethno-mapping culturally significant places of the We' Imelt' i? conceptual landscape.

The Washoe communities desire access to culturally meaningful landscapes because places provide contexts for learning and maintaining their unique language, customs, and heritage; there are Washoe places, landmarks, and names “representing a long unbroken chain of association to specific landscapes” (Rucks 1995, 152-153). Their ancestors knew and experienced the same landscapes for generations, and they continue to acknowledge stewardship responsibilities, including spiritual obligations, described by Garey-Sage (2003) and Rucks (1995, 1996; Kolvet and Rucks 2013). Washoe elders know the names and locations of seasonal camps and gathering places (Lindström 1992a, 1994; Lindström and Waechter 1995, 1996; Rucks 1995, 1996; Kolvet and Rucks 2013), as well as specific resource stewardship responsibilities for these places, and the narratives that connect the Washoe people to these places. Washoe communities have long stated in multiple arenas that they would like to be included in management decisions involving Washoe cultural landscapes (Washoe Tribal Council 1994).<sup>114</sup>

### Stewardship of Resource Areas

As presented in Chapter Three, the Washoe stewarded water resources, including lakes, rivers, streams, and falls to achieve various desirable results (Downs 1966a, 1966b;

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<sup>114</sup> The Washoe Tribe’s Comprehensive Land Use Plan (Washoe Tribal Council 1994) outlines the following plan objectives: (1) reestablishing “a presence within the Lake Tahoe Basin;” (2) revitalizing “Washoe heritage and cultural knowledge, including the harvests and care of traditional plant resources;” and (3) acknowledging “the importance of working with federal agencies managing cultural and natural resources within their aboriginal territory” (Rucks 1999, 247).

Rucks 1995; Siskin 1983; Price 1980; Kolvet and Rucks 2013; Lindström 1992a; Lindström and Waechter 1995, 1996; Speth 1969; Fowler and Bath 1981). The Washoe utilized the wild fisheries of the Truckee River, Donner Lake, Lake Tahoe, and the smaller streams flowing into them by damming or diverting water to accommodate different fishing strategies or equipment (Downs 1966a, 47, 50, 52). Rucks documented Washoe ownership of fishing streams (Rucks 1995, 82-83), springs (1995, 85; Price 1980, 57), family-ownership of spawning areas (Kolvet and Rucks 2013, 15), and inheritance of sections of riverbank (Rucks 1995, 83; Siskin 1983, 12-13).

In addition to water resources, Washoe stewardship activities involving pine nut groves are recorded consistently through the ethnographic literature (Downs 1966a, 1966b; Rucks 1995; Siskin 1983; Anderson 2005, 211, 220-221, 230, 281, 284; Freed 1971). Inheritance and ownership of pine nut territories is documented (Rucks 1995, 82-83; Freed 1971, 17; Siskin 1983, 12-13), as is inheritance of “home valleys” (Rucks 1995, 82-83). The Washoe term *mawsh* indicates traditional fishing areas, which were “family-owned areas... inherited...where exclusive use rights were observed” (Kolvet and Rucks 2013, 12-14, 20). Lindström’s heritage resource inventories of the Lake Tahoe region (1994; Lindström and Waechter 1995, 1996), reports from archaeological consultation (Lindström 1992b; Lindström, Bloomer, Rucks, and Young 2002; Bloomer and Lindström 2006), and her dissertation (Lindström 1992a) document some of these locations.

Considered desirable hunting and gathering landscapes, almost all meadows and grasslands were tended in order to maintain meadow health and enhance resource availability. Rucks (1996) reported, “...Washoe families habitually returned to specific

areas to gather a variety of plants and that harvesting techniques include specific conservation and propagation techniques (Rucks 1999, 247; 1995; 1996; Rucks et al. 1996). Washoe families owned access rights to important resource locales to gather foods, medicines, and material used in crafting utilitarian equipment (Anderson 2005). In addition to hunting territories owned by each Washoe group (Kolvet and Rucks 2013, 15), Rucks (1995, 85) and Price (1980; 57) both document individual or family-owned rights to important hunting locales. As noted by Garey-Sage (2003, 2), the incorporation of prayer as appropriate stewardship behavior was a frequent topic of discussion among Washoe women. JoAnn Smokey Martinez, explains how “[w]omen used to bless the plants and talk to them. We learn from them; they teach us what they need and what to do; how to use them; we were taught to listen to the land, cleaning and tending as we gathered” (Kolvet and Rucks 2013, 15). To the Washoe people this behavior is spiritually correct, while neglecting the land is disrespectful.

### **The Northern Washoe Landscape Study**

#### Theoretical Frameworks

To better understand the nature of the relationship between contemporary Washoe people and the cultural spaces familiar to them, as well as the significance and value of places, this study drew upon the theoretical literature following themes of landscapes (places), cultural memory, and identity as they have been applied to indigenous communities. In the context of indigeneity, the three topics were intertwined, and they are repeated throughout this report. The model guiding this study was that 1) Tahoe regional landscapes serve as neutral media upon which Washoe culture has developed (Gupta and

Ferguson 1992, 7; Basso 1996; Taylor 2008, 4), therefore entailing that 2) landscapes of the Tahoe region act as persistent archives of Washoe cultural knowledge (Gupta and Ferguson 1992; Taylor 2008, 4, 7) and serve as classrooms for teaching, practicing, and maintaining their group distinctness through repeated interaction. Finally, 3) When there is disjunction between significant landscapes in the Tahoe region, the cultural memories of Washoe people, as well as their sense of place, and sense of self are similarly affected (Garey-Sage 2003). Theoretical literature presented in the following section expands upon the themes of cultural landscapes, cultural memory of places, and sense of place, in general and with specific regard to the Washoe.

Gupta and Ferguson (1992, 7) attest landscapes are retainers of cultural knowledge and explain how landscapes are spaces onto which “cultural difference, historical memory, and societal organization are inscribed.” They conclude landscapes function as organizational mediums onto which cultures are mapped. Discussing the Western Apache, Keith Basso describes the landscape as “a depository of distilled wisdom” a “keeper of tradition” and an “ally for maintaining standards for social living” (1996, 63). “We see and make landscapes as a result of our shared system of beliefs and ideologies. In this way, landscapes are cultural constructs, mirrors of our memories and myths encoded with meanings which can be read and interpreted” (Taylor 2008).

Basso’s 1996 work links landscapes and identity; he explains how “knowledge of places...is linked to knowledge of the self, to grasping one’s position in the larger scheme of things, including one’s own community, and to securing a confident sense of who one is as a person” (Basso 1996, 34). West and Ndlovu (2010) also suggest a “collective sense of identity comes from...practices, many of which are about interacting

with locality and place” (2010, 218). Mentions of identity occur throughout the Washoe ethnographic literature on landscapes, frequently with regard to the loss and disappearance of a distinct Washoe identity (Kolvet and Rucks 2013; Garey-Sage 2003). Taylor (2008, 6) explains that landscapes “represent a closely woven net of relationships, the essence of culture and people’s identity.”

For Navajos,

[...] most important places are features of the natural landscape: mountains, hills, rock outcrops, canyons, springs and...bodies of water, natural discolorations on rocks, areas where certain plants grow, mineral deposits, isolated trees, places where rocks produce echoes, air vents in rocks, sand dunes, flat open areas, lightning-struck trees and rocks...[and] where Navajos have left evidence of customary Navajo activities...rock cairns, traps for ceremonial hunting of antelope, deer, and eagles (Kelley and Francis 1994, 40).

According to Washoe and Navajo belief systems, places are not thought of as isolated locations; it is their significance within the larger landscape that gives them meaning.

The names of places as embedded in stories tethers indigenous people to the landscape, to the people telling the stories, to the audience, to their past, their ancestors, and heritage.

Places are significant, in these ways, because they facilitate and inform individual and community identities. One place is not more sacred than another; sacred places cannot be ranked because “the whole land is sacred” (Kelley and Francis 1994, 42). The same remark was something I heard multiple times from Washoe elders at Washoe Cultural Resource Advisory Council (WCRAC) meetings, from project sponsors, and from classmates at Washoe language class. The landscape is “an integrated system of locations for the various activities that make up the Washoe way of life. Place names can also serve the reverse function, informing outsiders of landscapes, places, or resources associated with particular indigenous groups. Whether communicated with maps or

another way, identifying and acknowledging northern Washoe places is a way to (re)affirm, (re)claim, and (re)establish their tenure of places and spaces on the landscape (Smith 1999).

### Remembering and Memories of Places

Memories of familiar places shared by Washoe interviewees (Kolvet and Rucks 2013; Garey-Sage 2003) frequently prompted mention of relatives, ancestors, events, stories, appropriate behavior, and language. In the Western Apache context, Basso (1996, 52) explains how the expression, “drinking from places,” refers to recalling, remembering, and learning from places and the stories or lessons embedded therein, because “wisdom sits in places” (Basso 1996, 107, 126-130). Gupta and Ferguson (1992) suggest remembered places function as “symbolic anchors of community for dispersed people” (1992, 11). Benton (2010, 217) similarly asserts an individual’s sense of identity depends on physical anchors, such as objects or landscapes. With regard to the Secwepemc people of British Columbia, narratives and stories also anchor individuals to landscapes (Palmer 2005). Specific geographic landscape features may act as cognitive prompts to a society’s collective memory, by “speaking to them about their origins and their relationship to the cosmos” (West and Ndlovu 2010, 210). Julie Cruikshank’s (2005) work among First Nations people of the Yukon reveals certain landscape features, like glaciers, are perceived as animate, dynamic, and sentient beings with the ability to smell, see, and hear, while Schneider (2015) suggests some landscapes may serve as places of cultural refuge. The Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California is reacquiring acreage (purchasing) and asserting their objectives and position as stakeholders; they want to be



included in decision-making processes involving landscapes that are culturally significant to them.

Relevant theoretical literature linking landscapes, memory, and identity outside the arena of indigeneity includes Jan Assman's theory of cultural memory. Assman defines cultural memory as, "that body of reusable texts, images, and rituals specific to each society in each epoch, whose 'cultivation' serves to stabilize and convey that society's self-image" (Assman 1995, 132). In a recent interview, Assman further explained:

cultural memory is 'the faculty that allows us to build a narrative picture of the past and through this process develop an image and an identity for ourselves'. Therefore, cultural memory preserves the symbolic institutionalized heritage to which individuals resort to build their own identities and to affirm themselves as part of a group...if you want to belong to a community, you must follow the rules of how and what to remember (Meckien 2013).

Basso's (1996, 63) term, "the cultural memory of places," also echoes the definition presented above. According to Taylor (2008, 4), "landscape and memory are inseparable because landscape is the nerve centre of our personal and collective memories." As Taylor (2008, 7) continues, landscapes are intimately connected to people's cultural memory and part of the "cultural richness that promotes a sense of local distinctiveness." Cultural landscapes serve as reservoirs for embodied cultural memories, which assist in the formation and maintenance of unique cultural identities, as well as the maintenance and passage of cultural knowledge in the absence of a formalized system of writing. Landscapes enable historical events of amazing time depth and the knowledge linked to them to be recorded via memory; this happens not chronologically but associatively, according to place. Remembering and tying historical events to places on the landscape

help to symbolically ground indigenous histories both spatially and temporally (Davenport 2014).

### The Ethno-survey and Ethno-map of Northern Washoe Landscapes

Ethnographic literature on the Washoe references a connection between lineages and resource areas, but no studies have explored this particular detail of Washoe culture exclusively. Recent ethnographic work by Garey-Sage (2003) reveals some Washoe women still possess stewardship knowledge pertaining to gathering areas. Kolvet and Rucks' (2013) ethnographic work with Washoe yielded comments on spiritual management of resources and places. With this more recent data (Garey-Sage 2003; Kolvet and Rucks 2013) in mind, I speculated that Washoe knowledge about landscapes still resides within Washoe lineages and with certain individuals. I designed an ethno-survey with ethno-mapping components to identify, record, and map landscapes and social memories of We' Imelt' i? with familial ties to northern Washoe landscapes (Basso 1996; Palmer 2005; Schneider 2015; Connerton 1989, 2009; Climo and Cattell 2002). I employed ethnoscientific approaches (ethno-surveys and ethno-mapping) to discover how We' Imelt' i? people classify and name regional landscapes, ecosystems, and topographic features (Hardesty 1977; Berlin 2006, 1992; Hunn 2008, 1990, 1982, 1977). The project utilized ethno-scientific approaches to build the ethno-survey and the ethno-map of landscapes. Ethno-survey questions were designed to reduce researcher bias and promote explanation in the participants' language and voices (Spradley 1979; Van Maanen 1988). Although—as I discuss in the following sections—I ended up not

receiving any interest in my ethno-survey, I was able to locate knowledge through a number of other sources, and through conversations rather than survey tools.

The northern Washoe landscape ethno-map was designed to illustrate Washoe culturally significant landscapes and places from their perspective, and to highlight their names for places. Washoe oral history data, along with data from cultural resource management reports, and ethnographic field data were compiled, organized, and coded according to landscape type, significance, and use. The ethno-map was embedded with coded textual data and Washoe place names (with as many translations as available) to show how Washoe people classify landscapes, spaces, and places, but also to reflect a Washoe orientation on the land.

My study focused on families with ties to landscapes in northern Washoe territory (Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 256). Washoe family groups inhabited the same landscapes each year, and the experiential knowledge possessed by family members about ecosystems and resources in these places (Garey-Sage 2003; Rucks 1995, 1999; d'Azevedo 1986; Downs 1966b) was passed verbally to younger generations. The fluidity of Washoe society, which permitted individual and family movement between groups (d'Azevedo 1986; Downs 1966b), likely permitted transfer of family knowledge to other families, meaning that Washoe people residing or raised in one area of Washoe territory may possess knowledge and memories about landscapes in other parts of Washoe territory. As not all individuals of Washoe ancestry affiliate with the same tribal entity, recruitment included all tribal entities with Washoe members, specifically the Washoe Tribe of California and Nevada, Reno-Sparks Indian Colony (RSIC), and Susanville Indian Rancheria (SIR). For this reason, I recruited and invited Washoe

participants, regardless of regional affiliation, because the ethno-survey questions and follow-up discussions would revolve around northern Washoe spaces.

### Ethno-survey Recruitment Challenges

I first recruited participants for ethno-surveys from June through November of 2017. I anticipated participant referrals and expected recruitment to continue through January 2018. I did not, however, anticipate the lack of response, so I recruited again during April and May 2018. The second round of recruitment produced one respondent, and so I concluded recruiting in November of 2018. A list of proposed locations (Recruitment Document 2, Appendix A) for posting the recruitment flyer (Recruitment Document 1, Appendix A) were approved by Angie, Cheryl, Ruby, and Linda, my project sponsors from the Washoe Cultural Resource Advisory Council (WCRAC), a group of elders representing each of the Washoe communities, and part of the Washoe Tribe of California and Nevada; I incorporated their suggestions for additional posting locations.

Recruitment for the We' Imelt' i? landscape ethno-survey included a combination of strategies, such as physically posting recruitment flyers, phoning and emailing individuals and organizations, and sending flyers through regular mail. Some Washoe individuals and organizations only had landline telephones, others were only reachable by physical mailing addresses, and for some I was only able to locate an email address, thus a combination of strategies was necessary for communicating my study throughout Washoe territory. In some situations, the contact persons to whom I had been referred were operating in seasonal, part-time, volunteer bases; some offices I was referred to were held on a rotational basis, so it was challenging to connect with Washoe individuals,

and I was mostly unsuccessful. Therefore, in person visits to post recruitment flyers at certain locations were often unproductive because nobody was there, or nobody answered or returned phone messages I left about the best days or times to visit.

Attempts to recruit through email and regular US Mail were almost as unsuccessful, but I did receive two responses; some of the mailed recruitment packets were returned as undeliverable, with no such address, or repeated attempts to deliver have failed. Most of the addresses were obtained online from websites of the three Washoe tribal entities (the Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California, Reno-Sparks Community, and Susanville Rancheria) or from brochures obtained at the tribal offices. After verifying contact information following the first round of recruitment, then trying again and receiving similar results, I concluded these places and positions held by Washoe individuals may not be permanent positions; it was possible the individuals to whom I had been referred had other jobs and responsibilities, and they took on additional community-specific responsibilities as their time permitted.

All recruitment communications included an email and local address for response or return of the ethno-survey, as well as a pre-stamped return envelope, where appropriate. Recruitment flyers were posted in person at 26 locations (Recruitment Document 2, Appendix A). I personally phoned Washoe individuals I knew, had recently met, or whom I had been referred to. Due to lack of response in the first round, I extended the recruitment period from six to eight months. The second round of recruitment took place in April and May of 2018; and again consisted of communication by telephone, email, and regular mail. The second batch of recruitment distribution included the consent forms (Recruitment Documents 3 and 4, Appendix A,) and the

northern Washoe landscape ethno-survey, in the instance prospective participants had reservations or questions in advance of responding; the additional documents were included in the second round of recruitment to be as transparent as possible with regard to research agenda and intent.

It was unclear why there was such a limited response to the Ethno-survey. It is possible the method of data collection simply did not appeal to Washoe individuals, meaning the ethno-survey too closely resembled an interview. Although oral history interviews with Washoe individuals are mentioned throughout this paper, they all have a common denominator—they are about the individual. Even though my Ethno-survey was geared at individual familiarity and knowledge about places, this may not have been something they were comfortable answering, in the sense they were uncomfortable being singled out and consulted as experts on something pertaining to their family group or the larger community. For example, in Washoe language class on more than one occasion when questions were raised or we discussed the applications of certain plants like doc'a, I observed several classmates deferring to a particular elder.<sup>115</sup> It was evident they respected this person's knowledge and experience pertaining to plants, even though several individuals (also elders) in the class had informative input of their own. A better option may have been to ask the Ethno-survey questions in a group, versus the individual setting I planned, where they may have been more comfortable responding.

### Outcome of the Ethno-Survey

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<sup>115</sup> The English name for this plant is Balsamroot (*Balsamhiza deltoidea*) (US Forest Service and Wašiw Wagayay Maṇal, n.d.).

At the end of the second recruitment period in May 2018, two individuals had responded and one person completed the ethno-survey. One of the individuals who responded to my solicitations was a Washoe language specialist from the Reno-Sparks Indian Colony (RSIC). This person offered to assist me in gathering northern Washoe elders and hosting a place for them to take my ethno-survey (Document 3, Appendix A). I responded affirmatively to the offer, but there was no follow-up communication even after additional attempts were made to contact RSIC by email and phone. Another potential respondent communicated their interest in participating in my study in person, but following this communication, there was also no response to attempts to coordinate a meeting time or to send the ethno-survey to them another way. One Washoe individual completed the ethno-survey in June 2018.

In spite of the very low participation rate of the ethno-survey, I continued seeking answers to the project research questions in other relevant sources, consulting archival materials, anthropological field data, and ethnographic and archaeological reports involving We' Imelt' i? places. I also took advantage of opportunities for community participant-observation, and earlier in this report I specifically discussed the experience and value of attending Washoe language classes. In addition to instruction on Washoe language pronunciation and grammar, there were cultural lessons, which ranged from discussions of everything from Washoe child rearing practices to the latest genealogical information pertaining to differentiating the multiple Captain Jims among Washoe ancestors. These conversations arose organically in response to questions myself and other classmates asked, and answers came from our instructor and also from other classmates. Although it is impossible to quantify the cultural data from Washoe language

classes employed in this study, I would estimate one-quarter to one-third of the total landscape data gathered was either confirmed, explained in greater detail, or originated from language classes. It was enormously helpful knowing how to pronounce place names, and being able to differentiate sounds, connector words, verbs, and nouns, and also to recognize their varying written forms in the literature and archival materials I was reviewing. In this revised effort the same types of data were sought about Washoe landscapes and individuals, as I had intended to gather with the northern Washoe landscape ethno-survey, such as: generational data, family descent, community affiliation, gender, Washoe language fluency, the place they were raised, current place of residence, experience and knowledge pertaining to location of family camps, allotment(s), and resource procurement zones, and frequency of visitation to these or other landscapes.

However, the data was not easily compartmentalized, and organizing the information alphabetically by place was the most practical and efficient way to search and compare data; the method also ensured data was compiled in a consistent format. Computer applications for organizing and retrieving citations and references, such as One Note, did not provide the ability to separate the different categories or media types of landscape data in the same way a spreadsheet application does; for this reason, a spreadsheet database was implemented to organize Washoe landscapes. This way textual material, photographic data, and coding for landscape type, significance, and use are all presented in separate columns. However, all information associated with a Washoe place, space, or landscape is situated in the same row, and this method of organization better aligns with some indigenous knowledge systems by organizing the data



associatively, instead of chronologically. To search and analyze landscape data in the spreadsheet, I color coded rows to highlight specifically northern Washoe places, and also travel corridors.

### **Washoe Physical and Symbolic Landscapes**

Some traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) literature makes reference to a symbolic landscape. One example of a symbolic landscape is unmasked in Philippe Descola's ethnography, In the Society of Nature (1996). The ethnography describes and analyzes the technical and symbolic relations of the Achuar and their natural environment, in myth, taxonomic systems, magical techniques, and rituals (Descola 1996, xii-xiii); what is relevant is the symbolic socialization of nature that characterized the Indigenous Achuar communities of Ecuador and Peru. Descola explored the spatial domains of house, garden, forest, and river (1996, 4)—each domain was distinguished by activity type and prescribed by certain rules for use and appropriate interaction. One example is how Achuar men referred to the animals they were hunting as brother-in-law or wife-giver, and they practiced hunting magic to manipulate their animal affines or lovers. As such, the act of hunting was transformed into symbolic acts of seduction or maintaining kin relations. Other spatial domains were characterized by similar symbolic socialization with proscribed behaviors and set the stages for the types of environmental relationships the Achuar could have in each domain (Descola 1996).

Unlike Westerners' view of nature as a reality existing outside and apart from the sphere of human nature that is transformed, transfigured, and organized by us, some indigenous communities, like the Washoe, Western Apache, and Achuar perceive human

beings and nature as a continuum (Descola 1996, 93); laws governing people are the same as those governing nature. Certain indigenous perspectives, such as those of some Northern Paiutes, include beliefs that humans and other parts of nature share traits, such as having souls and individual lives (Whiting 1950; Riddell 1960; Wheeler 1967). This type of ontology is called “Amerindian perspectivism” (Viveiros de Castro 1998). It refers to a conception of the world being inhabited by different sorts of beings (human and non-human) who perceive reality from distinct points of view. In other words, they perceive different realities.<sup>116</sup>

Northern Washoe indigenous knowledge is symbolically manifest in various ways throughout their landscape. People and events are often commemorated at monuments and special places. Places are also remembered when there are particular biological resources associated with them. The Washoe physical landscape references principles of spatial orientation (Stewart, Keith, and Scottie 2004, 203), particular practices, skills, and cultural activities associated with the old ways. As discussed earlier, landscapes necessitate specific actions and activities. Tambiah (1969) and Hunn (1982) mention how humans respond to species in like manner – we either eat them or avoid them, and Hunn calls these “recipes for action” (1982, 833). It is conceivable that landscapes, like species, have “recipes for action.” Stewart, Keith, and Scottie (2004) and Stewart, Friesen, Keith, and Henderson (2000) illustrated how for some Inland Inuit communities, caribou crossing places are the center of existence. As such, they are critical places

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<sup>116</sup> Following Viveiros de Castro (1998), Amerindian perspectivism is a specific form of animism, which “extends the [social and] moral benefits of human society to the entire local ecosystem” (Hunn 1990, 232),” and is therefore a social relationship of a more personal nature.

where humans come into contact with caribou, and are thus, places defined by a particular type of social interaction and behavior. This is somewhat analogous to the importance of stream confluences and riparian meadows, which define certain social interactions and behaviors of Washoe families. Studies of place names can yield significant information about the kinds of activities proscribed for particular landscape contexts, as well as some of the associated behaviors.

Preliminary research indicated Washoe individuals, families, and lineages associated with particular landscapes and places, were the ones who retained cultural knowledge about the significance of places (d'Azevedo 1984, 91). Washoe toponyms are often indicative of the practical significance of places and the abundance of a particular resource (d'Azevedo 1956; Fowler 1982; Fowler and Leland 1967). Some places are sites of historic events, while other places are associated with myths, legends, or ceremonial practices; all places in the Washoe homeland are considered sacred (Angie, Cheryl, Ruby, and Linda personal communication, 2017).

Recent studies (Stewart, Friesen, Keith, and Henderson 2000; Stewart, Keith, and Scottie 2004; Stevenson 1996) of Inland Inuit place names and meanings identified seven referents: 1) literal descriptions of places; 2) places associated with certain human activities; 3) places associated with animal, plant, or mineral resources; 4) places with metaphorical references; 5) places connected with historical events; 6) spiritual phenomena; and 7) stories or narratives (Stewart, Keith, and Scottie 2004, 191). The aforementioned Inland Inuit studies provided a model for how landscapes were classified and coded for the northern Washoe landscape ethno-map. Washoe toponyms reflect the

same referents as the Inland Inuit example, and sometimes a place name falls into multiple categories.

For this study, Washoe spaces were classified by geographic landscape type, as well as by use and significance (Figure 1. List of Categories for Washoe Landscape Type, Use, and Significance). Washoe (and northern Washoe) landscape types included: lakes and ponds; creeks (streams) and rivers; confluences of creeks or rivers; mineral or hot springs; mountains or peaks; meadows; valleys; canyons; caves, and rock shelters. Landscapes were further classified according to use and significance, such as: permanent settlements, home bases, and year-round habitation sites; places with bedrock mortars; camping spots; fishing, hunting, and gathering areas; places where medicinal and magical plants are harvested; places featured in Washoe narratives or featuring mythic characters; places with references to Water Baby(ies); historic places, per Washoe record; cemeteries and interment spaces; places of avoidance (e.g, places imbued with power); places where negative events transpired; trails, trek routes, and wagon roads; obsidian sources (for tool-making); ceremonial sites; social gathering locales; boundary zones; shared fishing, gathering, and hunting spaces, and shared travel routes; places providing employment; places meals were available; sites associated with school (Stewart or other boarding school) or classmates; places associated with family, relatives, or friends; and places Washoe individuals and families still visit to camp, gather, fish, and hunt. In the Master Index of Washoe Landscapes (Index 5) and the Master Index of Northern Washoe Landscapes (Index 6), the landscapes are coded according to type, and also by use and significance, as presented in Figure 2.

### Named Places on the We' Imelt' i? Landscape

Keith Basso (1996) explained how Western Apache place names evoke mental images of the places, and the names can evoke stories and generational wisdom concerning the proper ways to live and behave according to Western Apache customs. “Place making,” or the naming of places, is a “way of constructing the past,” of documenting human history, “constructing social traditions,” and constructing “personal and social identities” while re-emphasizing their ties to the local landscape (Basso 1996, 7). In 1901-1907, Boas suggested investigating “geographical nomenclatures” to learn about the “mental life” of Native Americans (Basso 1996, 43). Sapir thought examining Native vocabularies would provide insight to their conceptions of the natural world and what was meaningful. Basso explains how stories about events and the places where they happened are simultaneously about the system of rules and values one is expected to follow as an Apache (1996, 43, 52). According to Western Apache, the landscape is a “depository of distilled wisdom,” a “keeper of tradition,” and “ally for maintaining standards for social living” (Basso 1996, 63). Washoe culture is similar; engaging in traditional Washoe activities and having authentic experiences on the land teaches proper attitude, behavior, and the Washoe way; as previously mentioned in this chapter, these experiences encourage and build “Washoeness” (d’Azevedo 1984, 7).

Washoe narratives memorialize events and places that proscribe proper Washoe behavior. In the story, Pewet’seli ?ida Damalali C’ik’i Ha?ka, The Wašiw Legend of Pewet’sali and Damalali and Their Adventure with Black Widow, Damalali goes off wandering against the cautioning of his relative, Pewet’sali (Enos and Rakow n.d., n.p.).

**Figure 1. List of Categories for Washoe Landscape Type, Use, and Significance<sup>117</sup>**

**Categories for Landscape Type or Description (lower case letters)**

canyon  
 cave or rock shelter  
 creek, stream, or river  
 confluence of a creek, stream, or river  
 lake or pond  
 meadow  
 mineral, cold, or hot springs  
 mountain or peak  
 valley

**Categories for Landscape Use and Significance (capital letters)**

Association with Family, Relative, or Friend  
 Bedrock mortars present  
 Boundary  
 Burial Place or Cemetery  
 Campsite or Camping Area  
 Ceremonial Site  
 Employment or Income Opportunity  
 Fishing Site  
 Gathering or Harvesting Site  
 Site for Gathering Magical Plant  
 Site for Gathering Medicinal Plant  
 Social Gathering Place  
 Hunting Site  
 Historic Place Referenced by Washoe  
 Meals Available  
 Association with Narrative (mythic or historic person or event)  
 Negative Event Took Place  
 Obsidian Source  
 Permanent Settlement (year-round habitation site)  
 Place of Avoidance  
 School or Education-Related  
 Shared Area (with other tribes or groups)  
 Still Visited for Camping  
 Still Visited for Gathering  
 Still Visited for Fishing  
 Still Visited for Hunting  
 Shared Fishing (with other tribes or cultures)  
 Shared Gathering (with other tribes or cultures)  
 Shared Hunting (with other tribes or cultures)  
 Shared Travel Corridor (with other tribes or cultures)  
 Trek Route, Indian Trail, Wagon Road, or Staging area for travel  
 Water Baby(ies)

<sup>117</sup> Landscape categories and codes displayed in Figures 1 and 2 correspond to Indices 5 and 6.

**Figure 2. List of Codes for Washoe Landscape Type, Use, and Significance****Codes for Landscape Type/Description (lower case letters)**

cany	canyon
cv	cave or rock shelter
crk/strm/rv	creek, stream, or river
crk/rv/con	confluence of a creek, stream, or river
lk	lake or pond
mead	meadow
sprgs	mineral, cold, or hot springs
mtn	mountain or peak
vly	valley

**Codes for Landscape Use and Significance (capital letters)**

AFAM	Association with Family, Relative, or Friend
BRMS	Bedrock mortars present
B	Boundary
BUR	Burial Place or Cemetery
CP	Campsite or Camping Area
CER/SOC	Ceremonial Site
EMP	Employment or Income Opportunity
F	Fishing Site
G	Gathering or Harvesting Site
GMAG	Site for Gathering Magical Plant
GMED	Site for Gathering Medicinal Plant
GP	Social Gathering Place
H	Hunting Site
HP	Historic Place or Business Referenced by Washoe
M	Meals Available
NARR	Association with Narrative (mythic or historic person or event)
NE	Negative Event Took Place
OBS	Obsidian Source
PS	Permanent Settlement (rear-round habitation site)
PA	Place of Avoidance
SCH	School or Education-Related
SH	Shared Area (with other tribes or cultures)
SVC	Still Visited for Camping
SVG	Still Visited for Gathering
SVF	Still Visited for Fishing
SVH	Still Visited for Hunting
SHF	Shared Fishing (with other tribes or cultures)
SHG	Shared Gathering (with other tribes or cultures)
SHH	Shared Hunting (with other tribes or cultures)
SHTR	Shared Travel Corridor (with other tribes or cultures)
TR	Trek Route, Indian Trail, Wagon Road, or Staging area for travel
WB	Waterbaby(ies)

After pestering a neighbor and throwing dirt in its web, Damalali is kidnapped, bitten, and killed by the neighbor, C'ik'i Ha?ka (Black Widow Spider), who hides Damalali in his cave. Eventually Damalali is found, revived, and rescued by his relative, Pewe'sali, but learned his lesson and promises to “always listen to his relative and stay close to home” (Enos and Rakow n.d., n.p.).<sup>118</sup> According to Angie, the location of Black Widow Spider's cave is a made-up place, not a specific place; the story teaches children a lesson –to listen to what their parents and relatives tell them (Angie personal communication, 2019).<sup>119</sup> Other places, like the landscape of the Donner Party tragedy, where unforgettably horrible and disturbing events unfolded, yield stories remembered and retold among families descended from the Washoe scouts who observed what they perceived as displays of inhuman (tannu yeth, or “no people”) behavior (Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011). The story of C'ošuni: The Wašiw Seasons as Told by C'ošuni is about Ant, who rides in a burden basket with a Washoe family as they travel to different parts of the territory throughout the year (Enos and Rakow, n.d., n.p.). When they have made the journey, full circle, Ant realizes that just by observing and going along, he has learned how to survive (e.g., travel to seasonal resources and cache food) like a Washoe, ensuring he will never go hungry (Enos and Rakow, n.d., n.p.).

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<sup>118</sup> The character, Damalali, dies (or is killed) on numerous occasions during his adventures; each time, however, Damalali is revived by his elder brother Pewe'sali, who steps over him and brings him back to life (Dangberg 1927; 1968).

<sup>119</sup> The individual explained some Washoe stories are associated with actual places, like the story of “Coyote and Lizard/Gewe ida Piteli,” which by their account happened near Stewart (Carson Valley). Versions of the Coyote and Lizard story take place in Sierra Valley or even near Woodfords, depending on who is telling the story (Angie personal communication, 2019).



Basso's Western Apache collaborators explained how "stories about what happened at places stalk you and make you behave right" and how "people shoot you with stories" to make you think about your behavior (1996, 63). People "shoot" stories by "speaking with names," and this seems to occur in contexts where an individual's behavior is in question (Basso 1996, 72). In this context, stories about particular places are referenced, and the places are related to morals reinforcing proper behavior. People and the landscape have a reciprocal relationship, as "individuals invest themselves in the landscape while incorporating its meanings into their own most fundamental experience (1996, 102)." The Washoe steward landscapes in their homeland both physically and spiritually, and in return, the land reciprocates by providing them with food and resources they need for survival. Kiowa scholar, N. Scott Momaday (Capps 1976), explains how landscapes and their places are "tools for the imagination," and "portable possessions" to which people can "maintain deep...attachments, regardless...[of] where they travel." "Drinking from places" refers to recalling and recollecting places and their stories, and learning from them, because "wisdom sits in places (Basso 1996, 107)." Thus, part of the value of places has to do with the knowledge situated in them.

Washoe place names are significant, because the names are literal descriptions of places, and as in Western Apache culture, the descriptions can evoke mental images, and prompt memory and recollections of Washoe narratives, events, and lessons—without an individual even being present, however, there are valuable cultural experiences and lessons to be learned by being in places and experiencing them in person. At one Washoe language class, I distributed lists of We' Imelt' i? places I proposed to identify on the ethno-map, and asked if they would please confirm whether or not these places

were We' Imelt' i? places. In reviewing the list of toponyms, Angie began firmly tapping on several of the place names with a forefinger; with regard to Donner Creek, they told me they knew this place was where male relatives frequently fished – a place on the creek called “the bends.” Later, I photographed this place and texted the image to Angie to verify the locale, which she confirmed (Figure 6). After the class period where I asked about the Truckee River and outlet having multiple names, Angie told me she knew that Washoe individuals lived and camped on islands in the Truckee River a short distance downstream from the dam, which was the first such instance I had heard. I immediately knew and visualized the series of river islands Angie was making reference to, as they provided contemporary river rafters a resting spot. The simple activity of reading a place name evoked imagery of the place, and memories of stories that Washoe individuals were told by their relatives as children.

#### Washoe Spatial Orientation on the Land

As mentioned briefly in earlier paragraphs, place names can be indicative of an indigenous sense of space and directionality on the landscape. Boas (1934) noted among the Kwakiutl how geographical terms for locations were descriptive in nature; their place names described form, appearance, and position with reference to their principle directions (oriented in terms of the coastline and river), and not the four cardinal directions (north, south, east, west). The findings of this study indicate the Washoe have a similar means of orientation associated with the direction of water flow, and sometimes orientation conveyed in a place name is dependent upon the speaker's position on the landscape with reference to flowing water or another geographic feature. This was part



Figure 6. Image of Donner Creek in Truckee

of the explanation received from the Washoe language teacher, Kate, when I inquired about the multiple names for the outlet in Tahoe City, which had observable similarities (Kate personal communication, 2019).

Depending on where the speaker was standing in reference to the outlet, and at what point in history, the names describe water flowing out of Lake Tahoe into the Truckee River from different vantage points on either side of the outlet (north and south sides; on the up side or down side). One side was characterized by a low-lying hill,

creating a higher vantage point, which the name may suggest.<sup>120</sup> Another name for the outlet describes water “coming out” (Debeyúmewe) and “through something,” according to my Washoe language instructor, Kate, who explained the name could be describing water flowing out and through the gates of the dam.<sup>121</sup> The first dam was a crib dam built of wood and stone by Von Schmidt’s company in 1870, and the current concrete dam with seventeen gates was completed in 1913 (McLaughlin 2013).<sup>122</sup> The variation in names may also be referencing landscape changes; in this way names may, in some instances, also serve as historical time markers, since they so literally describe places as they were during a specific time period. Directionality of water flow appears to be one way that Washoe people orient themselves spatially on the land; this topic is discussed further in Chapter Seven, wherein additional place names referencing flow of water are presented.

Another way Washoe people orient themselves on the land makes reference to the four regional subgroups of Washoe people. Washoe individuals identify themselves and each other with respect to the four regional subgroupings of Washoe: the northern Washoe, We’ lmet’ i? (northerners); valley Washoe, P’a-wa?lu (valley dwellers); and the southern Washoe, Hanalelt’i? (southerners) (d’Azevedo 1984, 26); and the T’anlelt’i? (westerners) (Downs 1966a, 49). The regional names are not only employed to distinguish resource procurement zones and their associated Washoe families (Nevers

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<sup>120</sup> Dawbayódok is the name if you are “on the down side,” Dawbayóduwé is the name if you are “on the up side” (d’Azevedo 1956, 51/#118; Freed 1966, 81/#19); Nevers (1976, 4) provided the same, plus the name Dabayorddawsi.

<sup>121</sup> Taken from d’Azevedo 1956 (51/#118).

<sup>122</sup> More information available at <https://www.usbr.gov/projects/index.php?id=159> accessed 10/5/2019.

1976, 3), but the directional terms are also used generally, to refer to families or other tribes further to the north, south, west, or the center of the Washoe range relative to the person's position (d'Azevedo 1984, 26).<sup>123</sup>

Washoe names for places are tied to animals and their seasonal behaviors, sometimes involving animal species no longer inhabiting landscapes, such as buffalo, grizzly bear, and Pewetselis (a species of weasel).<sup>124</sup> Some Washoe place names and personal names reflect the weather conditions characteristic of certain places, such as the name for Spooner Summit, Dawmaládup sólño which means, "fog on top" (d'Azevedo 1956, 49/#114), or indicate an individual's ability to influence weather, as in Dam so sava, "Wind Talker" (Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 277, 282), a distant male relative of We' Imelt' i? elders associated with the Truckee area. Names for places are significant in the ways they reflect Washoe culture, and they frequently reveal specific relationships to or with the landscape and environment. Northern Paiute groups were identified and named for their group's primary food source, or one that distinguished them from other, nearby groups (Fowler 1982; Riddell 1960). Thus, groups named according to food type served to reveal historic locations of groups, and reflect regional connections, uses, and preferences for certain resources. Names for Washoe permanent settlements follow a similar naming convention, and the names are literal descriptions of

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<sup>123</sup> D'Azevedo documented ha?lew hanalelt'i? for Northern Paiute from Mono Lake and ba?lew welmet for Northern Paiutes north of Walker Lake (1984, 26).

<sup>124</sup> One night in Washoe language class when we were learning one of the tales in a series of adventures about Damalali and Pewet'sali, Ruby (one of my Washoe sponsors) commented sadly how there were no more Pewet'salis around anymore. In the narrative, Damalali and his older, taller, and wiser brother, Pewet'sali, are both weasels (Enos and Rakow 2014).

the habitation areas. A sample of We' Imelt' i? permanent settlement names include: 1) ?át'abi? wát'a detdé?yi? or “fish river dwellers” live here, at Donner Lake (d'Azevedo 1984, 468); 2) dat'sa sut ma'lam detde'yi or “mouth of stream - tributary - live there” at Donner Creek (d'Azevedo 1956, 54/129); 3) dísem dá?aw detdé?yi? or seepweed lake dwellers live here (d'Azevedo 1984, 468) in Long Valley near Doyle, California; 4) wa'a'báma (d'Azevedo 1956, 47/#111) detdé'yi' or “bathe foot in mud - live there” near Steamboat Hot Springs (d'Azevedo 1956, 47/#110); and 5) ?mucim bayo suwe? detde?yi? or “wild grass” (Garey-Sage 2003, 171-172) “+ water running down together” live here (d'Azevedo 1956, 62/#157), a settlement near Beckwith (also spelled Beckwourth) on Willow Creek, in California.

### Mythic Landscapes

In Washoe culture there are mythic landscapes associated with certain narratives; these are real landscapes, and Washoe places names reference mythic beings and monsters from their narratives. On is the giant man-eating raptor whose nest sat near the shore of Lake Tahoe and whose giant wings generated winds that could bend tree limbs (Enos and Rakow n.d.; Nevers 1976, 35). Pitwana is a people-eater featured in the story of “Pitwana ida Gewe,” which means People-eater and Coyote.<sup>125</sup> Huṇawiywiy (d'Azevedo 1956) is a red-haired giant who resided in a cave near Gardnerville and hopped from mountaintop, to mountaintop, gobbling up children (Dangberg 1927, 395, 399; Lowie

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<sup>125</sup> During one class in May 2018, our Washoe language instructor, Kate, read this story aloud to us in Washoe; she wanted us to listen to the sounds of the language before we read the written Washoe or English versions.

1939, 335).<sup>126</sup> Lizard Mountain, Gomo-ga-la-ah, is situated at the bottom of Woodfords Canyon and the place where Lizard stepped on people while crawling up Woodfords Canyon (Bravo 1991, 27).<sup>127</sup> The Giants were a neighboring tribe who lived in villages near Pyramid Lake and whom the Washoe helped the Paiute defeat (d’Azevedo 1956, 60/#146); there is golden-haired Water Baby who inhabited a specific spring and nearly flooded the Washoe world when scalped by Damalali, the shorter of the two Weasel Brothers, in one of their adventures (Dangberg 1927, 413-415; Dangberg 1968, 64-68; Lowie 1939, 343-345).<sup>128</sup>

### **Discussion About Northern Washoe Landscapes**

My study about northern Washoe significant cultural landscapes provided opportunities to learn about the cultural (not social) memory of places (Basso 1996; Connerton 1989,

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<sup>126</sup> Alternate spellings include Hanawŭ’wŭ (Lowie 1939, 335), and Hangel-wui-wui, and various renditions of this giant describe it as having one eye, one leg, living in a cave near Gardnerville, and having a particular appetite for children (Bravo 1991, 130). Joanne Nevers’ account of Hanu wui-wui states it was half human, half animal; his name was the noise he made as he went along, and she explained it preyed on people who were “neglecting duty” (Nevers 1976, 33).

<sup>127</sup> “The old people say that a long, long time ago when the sky was afire in the west, Lizard came walking this way. He was getting away from the fire. He wasn’t a lizard like the little ones we see now. He was very big and he came down the canyon stepping on the people. They had to run to get out of his way. Now, whenever the sky is red it reminds the people of that story that tells about that time when the big lizard walked the earth. And then they tell us the story. They named the mountain Ga-la-ah because lizard came from that way” (Bravo 1991, 27).

<sup>128</sup> Dangberg noted one naturalist (Orr 1949, 42) identified Damalali as a least weasel, due to his shorter stature in comparison to his elder brother, Pewet’sali (Dangberg 1968, 14, 16). A later work by the Washoe historian Joanne Nevers mentions the adventures of Pawetsile, a weasel, and Damolalle, a squirrel (Nevers 1976, 9). Discussions of the duo in Washoe language classes also presented them as a weasel and squirrel, not two weasels.

2009), and the significance of space and place as they relate to Washoe sense of belonging and identity (Gupta and Ferguson 1992; Benton 2010); in turn, these opportunities led to the development of a better understanding of how Washoe people perceive and classify landscapes, spaces, and places (Hunn 1977; 1982; Berlin 1992; 2006; Fowler 1982; Fowler and Leland 1967; Garey-Sage 2003).

Study results did confirm landscape knowledge is unique to Washoe families and sometimes individual family members, and elders are passing landscape knowledge and knowledge of the old ways to younger generations of Washoe. There were activities and settings identified in this study as inter-generational contexts where cultural knowledge was being passed on to younger generations, including but not limited to engaging in cultural activities, such as picking berries, gathering medicinal and plant foods, constructing and fishing with traditional gear, like fish traps. One example is Washoe Head Start, a tribally funded program designed to encourage Washoe values and teach children age three to five basic Washoe language skills. During Washoe language classes I frequently observed elder family members explaining to their children or grandchildren as questions came up in the course of class, and sometimes a family group would stay after class to talk more with the language instructor and other elders.

While a Washoe father and son team were constructing the galis dungal exhibit at the Donner Visitor Center near Donner Lake, they expressed to me that they had researched archival ethnographic material in attempts to relearn Washoe snowshoe-making traditions that had been forgotten, among other skills; today only a few Washoe individuals have the authentic background and knowledge required to teach others how to build a galis dungal the Washoe way (Ben Rupert personal communication, 2013). If I



recall correctly, building the structure the Donner Visitor Center in 2013 took the better part of a day, but when I observed them erecting a larger galis dungal in Sugar Pine Point State Parks at the Tails and Trails Fest six years later in 2019, the same father-son team finished within a 30-minute span of time (materials were prepped in advance) (Figure 7). The example is interesting because it demonstrates how learning and refinement of winter house-building skills was an activity practiced and refined over time, and in a context where relatives were involved with repeated instruction and supervision.



Figure 7. Image of Galis Dungal in Sugar Pine Point State Park 2019

In the spirit of Basso's 1996 study, Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache, this study produced a memory map of familiar

northern Washoe landscapes, and those in recent memory, memorializing Washoe names and acknowledging and validating cultural memories and narratives embedded in places. Identifying, naming, and visiting landscapes, as well as reworking archival and anthropological maps into a northern Washoe landscape ethno-map (Figure 8), illuminates details about the Washoe worldview concerning places and landscapes, and how they classify and orient themselves on the land. This study presents a compilation of northern Washoe cultural knowledge and perspectives about local microenvironments, species, and ecosystem dynamics based on considerable time and experience on the land.

Indigenous perspectives of landscapes have been historically under-acknowledged by western science and other landscape stakeholders. The data presented as part of this study privileges Washoe understandings and voices. The products of research (names, narratives, memories, lineages, places, and boundaries) can be accessed and utilized by Washoe tribal entities for navigating current and future challenges, such as: (re)claiming land and resource procurement spaces associated with Washoe lineages; (re)connecting with places, the past, and Washoe heritage; (re)vitalizing language and culture; reinforcing and (re)shaping identity (Smith 1999).<sup>129</sup> As expressed by Lakota historian, anthropologist, and language professional, Gwen Westerman-Wasicuna (personal communication, 2015):

Place names reflect land tenure, and the process of recording and remembering those place names in the Washoe language will be evidence of their lasting connection, especially those names that are embedded in memory and in maps. Recognizing and mapping those traditional names is one way to help keep the language in use, even by those who are not Washoe.

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<sup>129</sup> Linda T. Smith (1999) appropriates the use of parentheses around the prefix, “re,” in lieu of the alternate, hyphenated or unhyphenated version, to express Indigenous undertaking of an action, rather than just repeating the designated action.

To paraphrase Native Northern Paiute ethnobotanist, Dean Tonenna, who expressed in a recent lecture, tribal knowledge “comes from families—it may be fragmented and scattered, but it’s out there” (Tonenna 2016). Tonenna further explained and I paraphrase, that the knowledge “isn’t dead...just asleep, and it needs reawakening” (2016). Some Northern Paiute extended families, like Tonenna’s from the Mono Lake area, are (re)visiting places and (re)learning ancestral travel routes so young people can “internalize” the landscapes and remember the Native names and the stories.

The Meeks Bay landscape was and still is an important group camping area that is adjacent to Meeks Creek, Maʔyála wát’a (soda springs creek) (Rucks 2002, 6; Nevers 1976, 7; Dangberg 1968, 102), and Meeks Meadow, which constitute productive gathering, hunting, and fishing places for particular families. The Washoe Tribe operates Meeks Bay Resort and also hosts the annual Meeks Bay Resort Beautification Day in October, to learn Washoe names for Native plants, clean up the beach for next season, and learn about upcoming projects in the area, such as the cooperative restoration of Meeks Meadow with the USFS. This is just one example of how Washoe individuals and families are internalizing and continuing to engage with culturally significant landscapes.

Another theme that surfaced was that the key point is that people’s separation and disjunction from cultural landscapes puts survival of the landscapes at risk, and results in their eventual destruction (Stewart 2002, 69; Hunn 1990, 239; August 10, 1965 map from d’Azevedo collection, 99-39). In another study, Navajo elders noted that economic development is destroying sacred places, because it lures young people away and puts survival of the “culturally significant landscape” at stake (Kelley and Francis 1994, 50).

Due to the reciprocal nature of the Washoe-landscape relationship, any impacts to the land could also be reciprocated as impacts to the living communities, an equally important point (Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California 2009; Hammett, Garey-Sage, and Walsh 2004).

Following a Washoe worldview, individuals and landscapes are both living organisms, and they are dependent upon each other for survival (Rucks 1999; Garey-Sage 2003); places of import to Washoe communities are those that provide the living cultural contexts for people to maintain a distinct identity as Washoe people (Rucks 1995; Garey-Sage 2003); or as they call it, Washoe-ness (d'Azevedo 1984, 7). Disrupting the connections through commercial and industrial development can lead to the loss of place names and thus, also memories about these places, and vice versa. The Meeks Bay example in which Washoe stewardship of the land and accompanying linguistic and cultural knowledge can work to counteract these possible points of disjuncture and separation from the landscapes of *We' Imelt' i?*

Thus, while the Washoe (Kolvet and Rucks 2013; Downs 1966b; Freed and Freed 1971b) and Northern Paiute embrace a concept of property that is different from the Euro-American concept of property, both people do identify with particular places and biological resources as being “theirs,” or closely associate themselves with particular places and resources (Fowler 1982). The landscape—and knowledge about the landscape—informs their cultures and identities. The Washoe and Northern Paiute both possess knowledge about tending landscapes and ways of marking their respective property. They share memories and tell narratives about certain places, and for many of the places, both the Washoe and Northern Paiute names are recalled. Indigenous

populations of the Lake Tahoe Basin and surrounding areas have been shaping local landscapes for an extended period of time, resulting in anthropogenic patches (Hammett 1992) and layers.<sup>130</sup> The northern Washoe region has both historic and modern landscape layers modified by lumbering, mining, ranching, agricultural, transportation, industrial, and recreational activities. Northern Washoe landscapes identified and recorded in this study enabled indexing and ethno-mapping of Washoe culturally significant spaces, the Washoe names, and different activities associated with each as indicated by archived and published accounts. The index links narratives, families, individuals, historic photos, and cultural memory of places to spaces represented on the northern Washoe landscape ethno-map (Figure 8).

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<sup>130</sup> Paleo-archaeological evidence suggests environmental conditions in the Lake Tahoe Basin would have permitted human habitation, and possibly year-round habitation, from about 700 AD (1,300 years BP) to contact, and the ethnographic Washoe are associated with this period (Lindström, Rucks, and Wigand 2000, 107).

## **Chapter 5. Naming Places**

Places are initially named because there is something memorable about them, and naming or labeling places is one way in which people commit information to memory. Names provide a way to reference specific locations or to communicate details about a place with others. This being said, place names that have been remembered, are culturally valuable in the sense they mark claimed spaces, and in doing so, also confirm and assert landscape tenure. Named and remembered places identify landscapes that persist in the cultural memory of contemporary Washoe people. This chapter provides an overview of places and spaces that are named in northern Washoe territory. Analysis of the toponyms did not indicate any significant variation of names among the different groups of Washoe, aside from minor differences in dialect reflected in orthography, as in two names recorded for Marlette Creek, Pagáćima (Dangberg 1968, 101) and Phagathsami (Freed 1966, 82). The categories and toponyms presented in Figure 1 reflect a general Washoe understanding of and orientation to the local topography.

### **Places Named by the Washoe**

The Washoe name places such as habitation areas, camps, and permanent villages, as well as resource procurement areas (ie, places they fish, gather, and hunt), and geographic landmarks within their range. The canyons, meadows, creeks, rivers, lakes, mountains, mineral and hot springs bearing Washoe names mark these landscapes as Washoe spaces. Habitation zones and geographic features throughout the Washoe range are named descriptively, as in Dé'ek wadápuš the name for Cave Rock (d'Azevedo 1956,

49/#116), which means, “rock standing gray” (Dangberg 1968, 101).<sup>131</sup> In the names, places are described according to appearance, sound, or other qualities. In the case of watercourses, a description of the directionality of water flow is frequently part of the name, as in Màgóyot wáʔt’a, “the stream coming out” (d’Azevedo 2008, 2).

### Lakes

The naming of lakes follows the same convention as mountains in Washoe. The word for lake, dá’aw, is preceded by a word or phrase characterizing the lake, as in Marlette Lake, Damálili dá’aw (d’Azevedo 1956, 47/#112), Fallen Leaf Lake, Dawgašá·šiw dá’aw (d’Azevedo 2008, 2), and Pyramid Lake, Á’waku dá’aw (d’Azevedo 1956, 60/#146). D’Azevedo noted that the Washoe name for Donner Lake did not include the word lake, dá’aw and was referred to by the modifier, Datsásüt, alone (1956, 53/#126). In the instance of Lake Tahoe, as with the name for Mt. Tallac (d’Azevedo 1956, 86/#225), the general term for the geographic feature, Dá’aw, suffices with no modifier.<sup>132</sup> Maybe the modifier was not needed, from the Washoe perspective, since Lake Tahoe is the largest and culturally significant lake in their range.

### Creeks and Rivers

Watercourses, including creeks, streams, and rivers, are all named or classified equally as wáʔt’a in Washoe (d’Azevedo 1956). As with other geographic features of the landscape,

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<sup>131</sup> Dangberg and Nevers provide alternate spellings for Cave Rock: Déʔek wadápuš (Dangberg 1968, 101); and De ek wa dop push (Nevers 1976, 7).

<sup>132</sup> Da’aw ága’a is a name for Lake Tahoe provided by d’Azevedo (1956, 49/#113). A translation of the word ága’a was not recorded.

wá't'a are named descriptively for identifiable qualities, for people, or for resources encountered there, such as directionality of flow, the sound of the water, and the speed of water flow among others. Damálum t'iyelí wá'ta, "the mouth-delta big" is the Washoe name for Blackwood Creek (d'Azevedo 1956, 52/#119). According to Lindström, the Washoe name for the Truckee River means "trout stream" (Lindström 1992a, 196; from Freed 1966), or 'Át'abi wá't'a, one of several names for different stretches of the Truckee River (d'Azevedo 1956, 57/#134). 'Mát'sim guwek Múwe is the name for Sierra Valley, and it translates, "a seed – flat place" (d'Azevedo 1956, 62/#157). A creek name describing the sound of water flowing is Madden Creek, in Homewood on the west shore of Lake Tahoe; the Washoe name Dúku dawát'a means "loud creek" or "river" (Dangberg 1968, 102). The Washoe name for Watson Creek, MasuñdawwO'tha (Freed 1966, 81), describes the rate of water flow and means "slow water" (Bloomer et al. 1997, III-13).<sup>133</sup>

There are Washoe names for the following local and distant rivers, and the place names that follow reflect the extent of their range of landscape knowledge and travel: the Little Truckee River from Webber Lake, or Motóšaw'hu wát'a (d'Azevedo 1956, 54/#128); the North Fork of the Feather River is Kóm bom wát'a (d'Azevedo 1956, 81/#209); the names Wá'tia t'iyel, Á'waku wát'a, Balḡatsoḡ w'áta, and 'At'abi wát'a (d'Azevedo 1956, 57/#134) reference specific stretches of the Truckee River; T'ágiwát'a, is the Rubicon River (d'Azevedo 1956, 53/#121); Basut wat'a and Básüt wát'a, or "squirrel river," are names for the Mokelumne River (d'Azevedo 1956, 89/#236); Tá niw wát'a, is the Tuolumne River (d'Azevedo 1956, 89/#238); and T'ába

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<sup>133</sup> Bloomer et al. (1997, III-13) provide a second name, Ma'· suḡ wa' t'a, which he specifically associates with the mouth of Watson Creek.



wát'a is the Bear River (d'Azevedo 1956, 82/#211). Wá't'a šému is the Washoe name for both the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers; a possible translation is "real" river.<sup>134</sup> According to d'Azevedo, they "thought them to be one river flowing north as well as south," and they "believed it ran together upon itself into a great hole in the earth which they could not find" (d'Azevedo 1956, 83-84/#216). Watah she mu is also the name for the Carson River recorded by Nevers (1976, 4).

### Hot and Fresh Water Springs

Two different terms in Washoe identify and distinguish types of springs: 'lo'om and díme' (d'Azevedo 1956, 14, 26). The Washoe names for Brockway Spring (Lo'om) (Dangberg 1968, 25), Steamboat Hot Springs (Wa bam ma lo om) (Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 287), Steamboat Springs (Lom um) (Nevers 1976, 4), and Wally's Hot Springs ('Lo'om lélew det'é'yi' or Wáy'lu lo'om) (d'Azevedo 1956, 26/#70) identify the multiple hot springs occurring in their homeland. Dangberg's (1968, 25) map plots Brockway Spring, on the hillside, and the community of Brockway is also identified, but it does not identify Brockway Hot Springs, situated below and near the beach; it is possible both are referenced by the same name. Bag ow is the Washoe name for McGlashon's Hot Springs, located near Truckee and recorded by Nevers (1976, 4). This particular hot springs does not include the terms 'lo'om and díme' (d'Azevedo 1956, 14, 26) in the name, as in most other examples; perhaps Bag ow is a shortened version of the

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<sup>134</sup> Following the naming conventions learned in the process of conducting archival research and analysis for this project, and attending Washoe language classes, the author pieced together the translation, real water based on another place name, Dá'aw šemu– "real lake" –one of the Washoe toponyms for the Pacific Ocean (d'Azevedo 1956, 84/#217).

name or even the “place or area name,” as described by d’Azevedo (1956, 44/#103). It is also possible that Bag ow and P’agá’aw, as in T’ági p’agá’aw (Rubicon Springs), might be alternate spellings of the same word, and may designate a third type of spring (d’Azevedo 1956, 53/#122). The following two place names include a similar phrase: Wa?abá?am, or “plunging in to water” identifies Mill Creek at Incline Village (Dangberg 1968, 101); and Wa bam ma lo om, or “put your foot in something” hot spring, names Steamboat Hot Springs (Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 287) on the outskirts. The name similarity suggests the possibility that from a Washoe perspective, these two places are situated in the same geographic neighborhood.

Washoe names that incorporate the term díme’, include: T’sime díme (d’Azevedo 1956,8/#14) alternately spelled, Címel díme’ (King 1984a), Double Springs Flat; Mawi dime daga dup, and Hawk Pond in Tahoe Meadows on Mt. Rose (Rucks 2006, 18-19). The two words in Washoe identifying springs, ‘lo’om and díme’, seem to differentiate between hot or thermal springs on the one hand, and fresh water springs, on the other hand. According to my Washoe language teacher, the term díme’ means “water,” while ime means “drink” (Kate personal communication, 2019); the lesson demonstrated both words are associated with water for drinking. The word ‘lo’om, was not presented in class with díme’ and ime, which suggests this type of spring is not associated with water for drinking and is semantically and cognitively distinct from hot springs, whose diverse and high mineral content may not have been palatable or safe for drinking. Moreover, hot springs served different functions, as they were utilized for bathing or processing

hides.<sup>135</sup> D’Azevedo elaborated how cold and hot springs were both utilized to a great extent by Washoe families for therapeutic bathing and for purification (1984, 78).

### Confluences and Tributaries

The Washoe word, má’lam, references a confluence (d’Azevedo 1956) or tributary.<sup>136</sup>

Confluences were important cultural spaces and they were named. An example of a Washoe place name near a confluence is Dat’sásut má’lam detdé’yi’, meaning “mouth of stream – tributary – live there” (d’Azevedo 1956, 54/#129); this We’ Imelt’ i? permanent settlement was situated near the confluence of Donner Creek and the Truckee River.

Other named confluences in the northern Washoe range include: a settlement at the confluence of Trout Creek and the Truckee River, Péle má’lam detdéyi, or “woodchuck-tributary-live there” (d’Azevedo 1956, 56/#131); the settlement where the Little Truckee River joins the Truckee River near Boca, called Walsi wá’t’a má’lamdetéyi, “a seed – stream – tributary - live there” (d’Azevedo 1956, 57/#133); and Damálum t’íyelí wá’ta, or “the mouth – delta big,” the name for Blackwood Creek (d’Azevedo 1956, 52/#119).

The frequency of place names including the word, má’lam (d’Azevedo 1956), indicates the relative significance of these landscapes from a Washoe perspective. Washoe permanent settlements and seasonal camps tend to be situated close to the confluence or mouth of creeks and rivers, because they were predictable sites for spawning fish. It is

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<sup>135</sup> Harry Hawkins grew up in a ranching family near Woodfords during the late 1800s and early 1900s. He recalled Washoe people going to the hot springs to soak, remove hair, and treat deer (Glass 1967, 48).

<sup>136</sup> According to Dixon, Novak, and Schablitzky (2011, 257), Jacobsen and d’Azevedo’s translation of má’im or má?lim was “confluence,” but Washoe elders Melba Rakow and Steven James provided the translation, “hidden” or “hide” for the same word in 2009.

possible that strategic settlements at confluences and mouths of creeks or rivers marked individual family resource procurement zones, which may have followed the courses of specific tributaries to their headwaters.

### Mountains

Named mountains in the northern Washoe range predominantly incorporate the Washoe word for mountain, *da lá'ak* (d'Azevedo 1956, 86/#225), along with a descriptive term or phrase. The Washoe name for Dixie Mountain in Sierra Valley is *Dawdá'ta' dalá'ak*, or “green mountain” (d'Azevedo 1956, 70/#175). Three names were recorded for Mt. Lassen: *Pe'wét'seli' dalá'ak*, *Dalá'ak we'lú·hu*, and *Dalá'ak dew dímlem*, or “mountain flaming” (d'Azevedo 1956, 80/#205). An exception to the naming convention is a mountain at the southwest end of Lake Tahoe – Mt. Tallac. The Washoe name for Mt. Tallac, *Da lá'ak* (d'Azevedo 1956, 86/#225), lacks descriptors; it is the tallest mountain within the Lake Tahoe Basin and maybe did not require descriptors. In addition to individual mountains, the Washoe also named mountain ranges and summits, such as the Virginia Mountains (*'Á'wakhu dalá'eh*) and Spooner Summit, *Dawmaládup sólño*, which means, “fog on top” (d'Azevedo 1956, 49/#114).

### Classes of Toponyms

#### Place Names that Reference Specific Flora

In addition to describing geographic features, permanent settlements, and camps within their range, the Washoe named places for the specific flora that grew there. Plant named places highlighted plants they sought out and harvested for food, medicine, poison, or

from which they crafted utilitarian items (ie, basketry, nets, bows, and arrows). The Washoe naming conventions bear resemblance to Kay Fowler's (1982) "Food-Named Groups," which characterized adjacent Northern Paiute communities. Washoe people named their permanent settlements in ways that identified and called attention to the most desirable resources found there, including plants, wildlife, and water sources.

McKinney Creek is named for šuʔwétik, the serviceberries, that grow in abundance there (Dangberg 1968, 102). Garey-Sage (2003, 237) noted the medicinal plant, damukOkoi, was harvested at McKinney Creek.<sup>137</sup> A second medicinal plant is referenced in Washoe names for Rubicon Point– Mugawlu (Freed 1966, 80-81, Nevers 1976, Jacobsen n.d.d.) and Lonely Gulch Creek– Mamʔgawlu wata (Garey-Sage 2003, 263), both named for the plant mogalu sought for deer hunting magic and as a gambling medicine (Dangberg 1927, 412-413; 1968, 102).<sup>138</sup> Mogalu was considered a magical plant with regard to deer hunting, because it made the deer go to sleep within the span of a few hours (Dangberg 1927, 412-413; Jacobsen n.d.d; Garey-Sage 2003, 263). Washoe families who camped at McKinney Creek would have had reliable and excellent fishing available in the creek, at least one medicinal plant growing nearby, and an abundance of serviceberries to harvest. The resort community of Homewood developed in the vicinity of McKinney Creek (Suʔwetik wata) (Freed 1966, 80; Garey-Sage 2003, 237) and Madden Creek (Dúku dawát'a) (Dangberg 1968, 102).<sup>139</sup> McKinney's Hunters Retreat

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<sup>137</sup> The scientific name for this plant was not referenced in Garey-Sage (2003, 237).

<sup>138</sup> Joanne Nevers provided an alternate Washoe spelling, Magulu watah (1976, 7) for Lonely Gulch Creek. The alternate spelling of MugáwLu, was documented by Dangberg (1968, 102).

<sup>139</sup> Shoo we tuc watah is an alternate spelling of the name for McKinney Creek provided by Nevers (1976, 7). McKinney Creek is also known as Burton Creek (Scott 1957, 73),

was established first, in 1863 (Scott 1957, 82). Hotel Homewood opened in 1910, and was renamed Homewood Resort by new owners in 1938 (Scott 1957, 73). Washoe families continued visiting the McKinney Creek area through the 1930s and 1940s (Scott 1957, 73) and they camped nearby with their families, sold baskets and fish to tourists, served as hunting and fishing guides, and were employed at nearby resorts.

### Toponyms Identifying Wildlife

As with places named for plant resources, Washoe also named places for wildlife they hunted, fished, or encountered there, as two streams in Sierra Valley exemplify: the stream K'ík'ī wá't'a is named for a certain type of insect residing there (d'Azevedo 1956, 64/#160); and Smithneck Creek, is called K'ák'a wa't'a, or “crane creek” (d'Azevedo 1956, 65/#162), possibly referencing the family groups of Sandhill cranes (*Antigone Canadensis*, *Grus Canadensis*) whose seasonal migration routes traversed Sierra Valley, the largest intermountain valley in the Sierra Nevada.<sup>140</sup> Another Washoe name for Blackwood Creek, ǂsá-t'subi? wá?t'a translates “mountain goat stream” (d'Azevedo 2008, 2). Washoe people possessed an intimate knowledge of wildlife behavior and habits, particularly those animals living in the same microenvironments they did. Some Washoe place names describe animal behavior; particularly what the animals are observed doing, such as Má wi Díme Daga dup (Rucks 2006, 18-19) and Gagi' íme' (d'Azevedo 1956,

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however another Burton Creek exists north of Tahoe City and historically known as Bliss Creek; they are two separate creeks (Woodward 1991).

<sup>140</sup> Sandhill cranes have the furthest reaching call, and they have one of the longest fossil records of any bird, with the earliest remains dating 2.5 mya; remains of most other birds appear after 1.8 mya (soscranes.org/sandhill-cranes; audubon.org/important-bird-area/Sierra-Valley).

41/#97). Má wi Díme Daga Dup, Hawk Pond, is a pond in Tahoe Meadows on Mt. Rose whose name translates, “Hawk Standing Here Spring.” Ancestors of contemporary Washoe occupied the Hawk Pond area as early as 5,000-7,000 years ago through the 1800s (Rucks 2006, 12, 18-19). Gagi’ íme’ is a stream north of Carson Colony that flowed near a previous Washoe settlement, and the translation “crow drinks,” was documented by d’Azevedo (1956, 41/#97). Following a Washoe worldview, both animals and humans are perceived as social beings, capable of similar behaviors; some animals are considered kin of the Washoe people.

#### Places Memorializing Historic and Mythic Events

People and mythic characters are frequently the subject of Washoe place names, and some Washoe place names also reference past events or narratives. T’sime díme (d’Azevedo 1956, 8/#14) the Washoe name for Double Springs Flat, is a settlement area in a cleared place in the Pine Nut Mountains where the ceremonial pine nut gatherings take place (Dangberg 1968, 102). The place memorializes a violent event involving the decapitation of a non-Washoe man who had distinctive facial hair; his head was placed on a rock near the spring as a warning to others.<sup>141</sup> According to Washoe elder, Bernice Auchoberry (King 1984a), the name Címel díme’ means “whiskers water.” Mrs. Auchoberry recalled hearing about a “wagon train skirmish” that took place at Double Springs Flat (1984a), but it is unknown whether the two events were related. The

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<sup>141</sup> Author is not sure why the man in this narrative was decapitated. It is also unclear whether the warning was intended specifically for other non-Washoes. It is possible the wagon skirmish and decapitation event are related; regardless, both events seem to be associated with this source of drinking water.

Washoe elders with whom I collaborated were not familiar with the translation, only that it referred to Double Springs Flat.<sup>142</sup> Dangberg documented another name for the Double Springs area— Baʔámbuláʔya or Baʔámbuláyʔ —which means, “where growth has been pulled up;” she recorded this as a “cleared place” (Dangberg 1968, 102). Hank Pete recalled Baʔambolay as the place where the monster, Huṇawiywiy, pulled up all the sagebrush; the name indicates the significance of this place is associated with two Washoe narratives.<sup>143</sup> Nevers (1976, 4) mentioned Bombolite in her 1976 work, and recalled it was the name of a place near Double Springs.

Debelelek on the southwest shore of Lake Tahoe near Camp Richardson is part of the Washoe mythic landscape; Debelelek means “red” or “smeared in red,” likely referencing blood or the site of a bloody event in Washoe language (d’Azevedo 1956, 86/#226). One of the adventure tales featuring the Weasel Brothers, Damalali and Pewet’sali, took place here; this is where Damalali scalped Water Baby who then retaliated by nearly flooding the entire Washoe world (Enos and Rakow, n.d.). Debelelélek wát’a, or “red stream,” is the Washoe name for Little Tallac Creek. D’Azevedo’s notes about this stream are as follows, “[t]here is red earth and rock at the spot around the stream” (d’Azevedo 1956, 86/#226), and Freed (1966) stated “a deposit of red clay located near the lake where” some Washoe people decorated themselves, bows, and arrows; this place is avoided (EDAW, Inc. 2004, 6-7). The landscape of Little Tallac Creek bears physical scars from this traumatic event, and Washoe narratives

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<sup>142</sup> The author has inquired about the meaning of the word, Címel to explore whether there is any association with the event involving the whiskered non-Washoe man (King 1984a).

<sup>143</sup> The detail about Huṇawiywiy came from a note written in the margin of the d’Azevedo (1956) manuscript copy I received from my sponsor, Ruby.



remind people of the social memory and cultural significance of this place. Another toponym with mythic references is Anʔáanal, “the nest of Anʔ,” a massive avian being whose nest is sometimes referred to as an “island” in Lake Tahoe near the vicinity of Cave Rock (d’Azevedo 2008, 2). The only island in Lake Tahoe is Fannette Island, and it is situated in the center of Emerald Bay, but Gene Hattori at the Nevada State Museum, noted “recent bathymetric mapping reveals a submerged peak north of the d’Azevedo map plot just off Cave Rock.<sup>144</sup> To the east of Stewart is a place “where Coyote tried to smoke out Weasel;” in Washoe this place is known as Géwe mágum, or “coyote smoke out.” There is also documentation of certain Washoe and Paiute groups fighting here (d’Azevedo 1956, 40/#95). A particular large rock at Washoe Lake is named after the legendary being, Datdumbált’i’, who was turned to stone; the name means “kingfisher, or spearer” in Washoe (d’Azevedo 1956, 45/#105). These places and their names memorialize events that occurred in Washoe historic and mythic time.

### Landscape Neighborhoods

Occasionally geographic features are named according to the perceived landscape neighborhood in which they are situated. In 1992, Davis (1992, 3) selected the phrase, “name area” to indicate when a certain place was, “one of several in that name area that [consultant] X was familiar with.”<sup>145</sup> Neighborhood is another way to explain or refer to the multiple Washoe micro-landscapes where the majority of named features in it share a

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<sup>144</sup> Logan Shoals is a submerged feature visible on Google Maps in this same area.

<sup>145</sup> Davis reported on a cultural reconnaissance project that focused on archaeological and ethnographic sites recorded by Freed, Heizer, and d’Azevedo (Davis 1992, 3).

common root word or phrase. Some “name areas” (Davis 1992, 3) also have a shortened version of the name which applies to the entire area. In Washoe, the equivalent of “name area” is d’áwa, and it translates, “place or area name” (d’Azevedo 1956, 44/#103).

Named places in the neighborhoods of Blackwood, Rubicon, Glenbrook, Sierra Valley, and Pyramid Lake, demonstrate Washoe individuals perceived their range as a complex of microenvironments, interconnected landscape neighborhoods, or “name areas.”

The Blackwood Creek area is called Dawmá?limtíyel or Dawmá?lim t’í-yel (Dangberg 1968, 102). Damalum t’yelí wa’ta, or “the mouth – delta big,” is the name for Blackwood Creek, and Daw má’lum t’yeli detdé’yi’ is the name of a settlement in the area (d’Azevedo 1956, 52/#119). In the Rubicon area, T’ági wá’t’a means, “knife stream;” it is the toponym for the Rubicon River (d’Azevedo 1956, 53/#121; d’Azevedo 2008, 2). T’ági p’agá’aw is the name for Rubicon Springs (d’Azevedo 1956, 53/#122), however a translation of p’agá’aw is lacking. The name for Rubicon Park may be T’ágiya (d’Azevedo 1956, 53/#123), but this name may also identify Rubicon Peak, per a later publication by the same author (d’Azevedo 2008, 2). Dawmála·díp (Dangberg 1968, 101) is the name of a place near Glenbrook Creek on the east shore of Lake Tahoe. In Washoe, Glenbrook Creek is named DaumaladuphwO’ta (Freed 1966, 82), and Dawmaladup sólño is Spooner Summit (d’Azevedo 1956, 49/#114); both names make reference to fog, which characterizes that landscape. Šuwiña, a Washoe camp at Glenbrook, means “fog on top” (d’Azevedo 2008, 2), but the name does not exhibit the pattern of phonetic resemblance of other names in this neighborhood, or as noted in other examples provided.

Names for the following places in the Sierra Valley landscape illustrate the “name area” phenomenon, as well: Mu’t’sim wát’a, “wild grass river” refers to the delta of the Middle Feather River all the way to the confluence of the North Fork Feather River (d’Azevedo 1956, 68/#170); Mút’sim ‘iheplu is the name of a former Washoe settlement at Sierraville, and also the name for the whole southern part of Sierra Valley (1956, 65/#163). ‘Mát’sim guwek Múwe is the Washoe name for Sierra Valley, and the name means, “a seed – flat place” (1956, 62/#157). The following three place names in the Pyramid Lake area follow the pattern of having a shared root word, which denotes and cues the listener that all three places are situated in the same micro-environment: the name for Pyramid Lake is Á’waku dá’aw (d’Azevedo 1956, 60/#146); ‘Á’waku dalá’eh refers to the Virginia Mountains (d’Azevedo 1956, 49/#114); and Á’waku wát’a is the Washoe name for the Truckee River (d’Azevedo 1956, 51/#118).

### Settlements and Camps

As I explained earlier in the chapter, Washoe people differentiated between their permanent habitation sites and temporary camps or other places they visited less frequently by including the phrase detdé?yi? or “people living here” to the place name (d’Azevedo 1984, 468; Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 260). Northern Washoe permanent settlements identified in this study include: Datsásit mál’im detdéyi? (Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 257) at the confluence of Donner Creek and the Truckee River; ?Át’abi ?wát’a detdé ?yi?, a settlement at Donner Lake (d’Azevedo 1984, 468); K’ubüna[u] detdéyi? in Truckee; Wá’si wáta má?lim at the confluence of the Little Truckee River and Truckee River at Boca; Péle? má?lim detdéyi?, at the confluence of

Trout Creek and the Truckee River in Truckee (Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 257); ?Mucim ?iheplu detde?yi? near Sierraville; ?Mucim bayo suwe?detde?yi? near Beckwourth (Garey-Sage 2003, 171-172); ?Á?waku wát'a detdé?yi? in the Reno-Sparks area; Dísem dá?aw detdé?yi in Long Valley; and Óó?ya? wát'a detdé?yi at Long Valley Creek (d'Azevedo 1984, 468) among others.<sup>146</sup> Table 5 lists all of the We' Imelt' i? permanent settlements by their Washoe names, along with the English translations, and the source of the place name.

Camping areas were also named, such as Ma?goyot'a (Dangberg 1968, 101) a northern Washoe camp near Incline, DaubayOdu'E at the outlet in Tahoe City (Freed 1966, 81/19), and Šu?iṅa the camp at Glenbrook (Dangberg 1968, 101). Other camps and resting places are known, but the names were not encountered in this study.

Unnamed We' Imelt' i? camps were recalled at the following locations: Spooner Lake (Rucks 2003, 6), Sand Harbor (Rucks 2006, 33), Martis Valley (Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 257), Webber Lake (Lindström 1992a, 203-204; Washoe Claims Case Docket 288 1969), Verdi (Lindström 1992a, 196; Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 257), and the Truckee Meadows (d'Azevedo 1956; Townsend and Elston 1975; Lindström 1992a, 158, 194). It may be that toponyms and social memory about these places have been lost as relationships between Washoe families and particular

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<sup>146</sup> A total of four Washoe permanent settlements were documented in the Truckee Meadows area by d'Azevedo: ?Á?waku wát'a detdé?yi? or “cui ui river dwellers” (d'Azevedo 1984, 468); a former settlement near Mountain View cemetery on Highway 40 (d'Azevedo 1956, 58/#136); a settlement on Mattley Ranch (d'Azevedo, 58/#138); a settlement situated south of Steward Street and to the east of Wells Avenue (d'Azevedo, 59/#139); and seven to eight camps on the river to the west of Reno near the garbage dump where families owned the fish blinds, called ma'āṅal, meaning “water house” (d'Azevedo 1956, 59/#140).

landscapes, was disrupted. This study identified a total of 20 northern Washoe settlements, in addition to 19 temporary or intermittent camps. In 1956 d’Azevedo

**Table 5. Northern Washoe Toponyms for Permanent Settlements**

<u>Washoe Toponym</u>	<u>Washoe Translation</u>
daw má’lum t’íyeli detdé’yi’	“the mouth – delta big” <sup>147</sup>
ʔát’abiʔ wát’a detdéʔyiʔ	“fish river dwellers” live here <sup>148</sup>
dat’sa sut ma’lam detde’yi	“mouth of stream - tributary - live there” <sup>149</sup>
mučim detdéʔyiʔ	“grass-place dwellers“ live here <sup>150</sup>
ʔmucim ʔiheplu detdeʔyiʔ	“wild grass” + “a seed” + “head of” + dwellers <sup>151</sup>
dísem dáʔaw detdéʔyiʔ	“seepweed lake dwellers” live here <sup>152</sup>
cóʔyaʔ wát’a detdéʔyiʔ	“tule river dwellers” live here <sup>153</sup>
ʔÁʔwaku wát’a detdéʔyiʔ	“cui ui river dwellers” <sup>154</sup>
ʔmucim bayo suweʔ detdeʔyiʔ	“wild grass” + “water running down together” live here <sup>155</sup>

<sup>147</sup> Blackwood Creek (d’Azevedo 1956, 52/#119).

<sup>148</sup> Donner Lake (d’Azevedo 1984, 468).

<sup>149</sup> Donner Creek (d’Azevedo 1956, 54/#129).

<sup>150</sup> Sierra Valley (d’Azevedo 1984, 468).

<sup>151</sup> Sierraville (Garey-Sage 2003, 171-172; d’Azevedo 1956, 62/#157).

<sup>152</sup> Long Valley (d’Azevedo 1984, 468).

<sup>153</sup> Long Valley Creek (d’Azevedo 1984, 468).

<sup>154</sup> Truckee Meadows (d’Azevedo 1984, 468).

<sup>155</sup> Beckwourth and Willow Creek (Garey-Sage 2003, 171-172; d’Azevedo 1956, 62/#157).

recorded 23 permanent settlements in his Washo Place Names manuscript (Dixon, Schablitzky, and Novak 2011, 260), as well as 23 temporary camping areas; his research was not specific to a particular Washoe regional group, as this study is specific to We'Imelt' i?.<sup>156</sup> A total of 36 camping landscapes in the northern Washoe region were identified in this study, and Washoe toponyms for twenty specific campsites are displayed in Table 6.

#### Places With Multiple Names

The outlet in Tahoe City has two (possibly three) different Washoe names depending on the speaker's physical position with reference to the water and whether it was considered part of Lake Tahoe or part of the Truckee River. The fact that the outlet has three names is interesting and may indicate this particular place embodies greater importance to Washoe communities than other places. Two of the three place names for the outlet – Dawbayódok, if you are “on the down side” and Dawbayóduwé, if you are “on the up side” (d'Azevedo 1956, 51/#118) – depend upon one's position in relation to the specific spot where lake waters flow out of Lake Tahoe into the Truckee River. The third name for the outlet, Debeyúmewe, “coming out” (d'Azevedo 1956, 51/#118) is less specific to the speaker's location and more descriptive of the place in general. The name may refer

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<sup>156</sup> This total does not include a count of individual Washoe campsites. Instead, I quantified camping areas, or general locales where campsites were known or reported. Thus, a camping area may include more than one campsite. A total count of campsites that included archaeological sites categorized as camps or campsites was not appropriate for this study, in which I sought out narratives and testimonials provided by Washoe people in archival documents and in person.

specifically to the dam and the water flowing through the gates (Kate personal communication, 2019).

Other locations with multiple Washoe names include: the Truckee River, whose names are not limited to Ahwacoo watah (Freed 1966; Nevers 1976, 4) and Balnacan

<u>Washoe Toponym</u>	<u>Translation</u>	<u>English Toponym</u>	<u>Sources</u>
Dagásli?		Ward Creek	(Freed 1966, 81/#18; Dangberg 1968, 101)
Dawmá?lim tí'yel	the mouth – delta big	Blackwood Creek	(d'Azevedo 1956, 52/#119; Dangberg 1968, 102)
Daugaiaca Šu?wétik	service berries	McKinney Creek	(Freed 1966, 81/#17) (Dangberg 1968, 102; Rucks 2002, 5)
DukMé?em Mugaulu' wO'tha Mugáwlu	a certain plant + creek a certain plant	General Creek Lonely Gulch Creek Rubicon Point	(Rucks 2002, 6, 8) (Freed 1966, 80-81/#8) (Dangberg 1968, 102; Nevers 1976)
Šu?íṇa Dawmaladup sólṇo	fog on top fog on top	Glenbrook Spooner Summit	(Dangberg 1968, 101) (d'Azevedo 1956, 49/#114; Rucks 2006, 3)
Damálili dá aw	weasel lake	Marlette Lake	(d'Azevedo 1956, 47/#112; 2008, 2)
Wa?abá?am Magóyot	plunging in to water coming out place	Mill Creek Incline Village	(Dangberg 1968, 101) (d'Azevedo 1956, 51/#117; 2008, 2)
Ma?góyot'a		Incline Village	(Dangberg 1968, 101; Nevers 1976, 6)
Gumle'phel wO'tha MasuṇdauwO'tha	slow water	Griff Creek Watson Creek	(Freed 1966, 82/#30) (Freed 1966, 82; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-13)
wO'thañamIña DipnEkhwO'tha Da ow da agonsi	white paint river	Burton Creek Dollar Creek Upper Blue Lake	(Freed 1966, 82/#29) (Freed 1966, 81) (Nevers 1976, 4; Lindström 1992, 196)
Dumdotalótha 'áṇal		Campbell Hot Springs	(d'Azevedo 1956, 65/#164)
Déseṁ 'ló'om		Amedee Hot Springs	(d'Azevedo 1956, 78/#197)

wata (Jacobsen n.d.d.); Donner Lake, which is known by the names Datsásit dá?aw or Behazing wege a (Nevers 1976, 4); and Double Springs Flat known as Címel Díme'· (King 1984a) or T'sime díme (d'Azevedo 1656,8/#14), and Ba?ámbulá?ya, Ba?áambulay? (Dangberg 1968, 102), or Bombolite (Nevers 1976, 4).<sup>157</sup> When I asked my Washoe sponsors and language instructor about places with more than one name, such as the Truckee River, they explained there was a different name for every spot along the river (Angie, Ruby, Linda, and Kate personal communication, 2019).

I also asked about the three names for the outlet. Angie explained to me how Washoe people used to live around the outlet, but one of those places (a gravelly point on the north side) was submerged when the dam was constructed, so one of the names could refer to this place. As I mentioned above, Kate thought the names Debeyúmeuve and Dawbayódok might be describing the gates of the dam where water pours out, since this is where the Truckee River flows out of Lake Tahoe; either toponym can be applied “if you are on the down side” of the outlet (or dam), according to d'Azevedo (1956, 51/#118). Angie and Ruby both acknowledged Washoe people were buried at Tahoe City, which is where the outlet is located. According to Angie's relatives, We' Imelt' i? people lived on an island in the Truckee River, which is no longer visible, and it is possible the riverbed and channel in this region were altered by dredging efforts in drought years to ensure the flow of Lake Tahoe water into the Truckee River for lumbering operations downstream. Today, the first one-quarter mile stretch of the Truckee River is characterized by a variety of channels splitting and converging through

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<sup>157</sup> Other versions of this name include Awegia behzing, or Bahazing wege a; all three versions of this place name were provided by Nevers (1976, 4).



thickets of bushes and willow. Not far past this zone, are a few very large sand bars, large enough to accommodate several dozen river rafters and kegs of beer, or a Washoe campsite.<sup>158</sup> Since the sand bars do bear a resemblance to an island, I asked her if it were possible one of the large sandbars near the outlet might have been the river island on which Washoe people might have camped prior to building the dam. Angie confirmed this was indeed a possibility.

Multiple place names based on position of the speaker is interesting, because it indicates that at one time Washoe people oriented themselves on the landscape in accordance with watercourses, or wát'a, instead of according to the four cardinal directions, or another system of orienteering. The Washoe's water-orientated perception within their range is demonstrated in the various descriptive names for wát'a, such as those specifically noting directionality of flow, and whether the water is flowing into or out of a larger body of water, such as a lake or river.

#### Forgotten, Unnamed, and Undisclosed Places

In some instances, Washoe toponyms are recalled, but the exact locations have been forgotten. Maha' · ku wa't'a, or "sunflower stream," is a creek whose Washoe name is recalled, but whose specific location has been forgotten. Along with Muda' · l bayó · dok, the creek, Maha' · ku wa't'a, is situated somewhere between Tahoe City and Brockway, and neither name refers to Watson Creek or Burton Creek (Bloomer et al. 1997), two of the other creeks flowing into Lake Tahoe along the same stretch of

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<sup>158</sup> Details about the Truckee River stretch nearest the outlet, the sandbars, and river rafters are based on nearly twenty years of personal observation and experience by the author.

shoreline. On the contrary, there are northern Washoe places whose names have been lost, forgotten, or not disclosed, but whose physical locations are remembered, and these include: names for the Martis Valley camp sites; the name for Bear Creek, an important tributary stream and fishery of the Truckee River (Lindström 1992b); and other landscapes of cultural significance to specific Washoe families and persons.

In some instances, places of avoidance are named, like Cave Rock, a power place for some Washoe shamans. There are other instances where places of avoidance have no name recorded, as with the home of a Water Baby who inhabited the inlet south of Ward Creek (Freed 1966, 81; Rucks 2002); it is possible the Washoe consultant or ethnographer chose not to disclose this information, or it could be no name exists. I asked Cheryl, Angie, and Linda if they knew other places inhabited by Water Babies in We' Imelt' i? country, and they explained to me Water Babies were in all water (Cheryl, Angie, and Linda personal communication, 2019).<sup>159</sup> In the Washoe language, unnamed places may also signify places outside the perceived Washoe homeland, or joint-use (shared) landscapes perceived as claimed by others. It is additionally possible unnamed places indicate spaces lacking cultural significance, mythic links, or there was simply no utility in naming them (Hunn 1982, 830, 844; 2008, 78-79, 91; Berlin 1992, 2000). In consideration of all the options presented in this section, unnamed places were included in the study, and in these instances, the English place name was supplemented.

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<sup>159</sup> Although some sources combine the two words and do not capitalize them, I am following the spelling and capitalization employed by the Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California (2009, 10).

Martis Valley and Sierra Valley are known to have been Washoe landscapes, but place names in these areas have been mostly forgotten; both valleys are in the We' Imelt' i? range. At one time there were Washoe families inhabiting Martis Valley (Camp 1960, 205-206; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-12; Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 273, 277, 282, 287) and Sierra Valley (d'Azevedo 1966, 332-333; 1986, 467; Stewart 1966, 190 - 202; Nevers 1976, 3-4, 86; Lindström 1992a, 220; Blue 1999; Lindström, Rucks, and Wigand 2000; Rucks 2002; Garey-Sage 2003, 57; McBride 2017b).

Many Washoe residents of Sierra Valley began to move out of the area in the early 1900s and moved closer to Euro-American communities like Truckee and Reno, or near the Carson [Stewart] Indian School. Washoe cultural knowledge pertaining to landscapes, such as the names for places, may have been gradually lost as families associated with these places moved away, or family members aged prior to passing on cultural information to younger generations. The current study of We' Imelt' i? landscapes confirms many Sierra Valley place names recorded by d'Azevedo (1956) prior to 1956 are not part of the cultural memory of Washoe individuals consulted in this study; a significant number of Sierra Valley place names were unrepresented in ethnographic and archaeological research conducted after the 1970s (Index 6).

Richard Barrington, of northern Washoe descent, stated that when he visited Loyalton in 1902 "there were about two or three hundred Washo" (d'Azevedo 1956, 63) residing there. A smallpox epidemic a short time after his visit significantly reduced the population of Washoe inhabitants in the area. According to Barrington, many Washoe families moved away from Sierra Valley to other locations starting in 1900 (d'Azevedo 1956, 63 per R. Barrington 1955). Northern Paiute and Maidu groups moved into Sierra

Valley for employment opportunities on ranches. As Washoe-Maidu relations were not always friendly in this area, re-visitation of spaces formerly inhabited by We' Imelt' i? families may have been discouraged. The Washoe lost a portion of the northern Washoe range in the Indian Claims Commission (ICC) settlement. The d'Azevedo records (1956, 63) indicate that Skinnerhorn, Alfred Kroeber's Washoe consultant in the ICC, was not intimately knowledgeable about the northern landscape and he did not know the We' Imelt' i? families living in Sierra Valley. With reference to Skinnerhorn, Barrington (d'Azevedo 1956, 63) stated he "didn't know any of them" or "about northern territory. He gave half of it away to the Maidu... There were hundreds of old Indians around here then he could have talked to. Now they're gone."<sup>160</sup> In 1859 Indian Agent Dodge named the leaders representing the three Washoe subareas: 1) Deer Dick (Balew hezi?) in the north southeast of Honey Lake and near Long Valley; 2) Captain Jim (He?nu·k'ehe) in the Carson, Washoe, and Eagle Valleys; and 3) Pos-Souke, or Posok, between the east and west forks of the Carson River, near Woodfords and Markleeville in southern Washoe country (1984, 27-28 from Dodge 1860, 742).<sup>161</sup> Testimonials by Washoe

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<sup>160</sup> Unfortunately, d'Azevedo (1956) misplaced his own thirteen maps depicting 249 named Washoe places; maps three through ten (representing more than 50% of the manuscript contents— pages 37 through 89 of 92 total pages), in particular, would have greatly assisted efforts to illustrate the extent of the Washoe's northern range, or We' Imelt' i? landscapes in the ICC claims case.

<sup>161</sup> He?nu·k'ehe is recorded as headman of a large family group in the Genoa area who was succeeded by Gumelana?, a second Captain Jim. A classmate from Washoe language class introduced himself as descended from Gumelana?; this individual still resides in the Carson Valley-Genoa area. Posok's successor was Captain Pete Mayo. A translation of Balew hezi?, is "Little Paiute" or "looks like a Paiute;" he was the headman of a core family group that camped in Sierra Valley, Honey Lake Valley, and Long Valley. Captain Heel (Dado·'koyi?) succeeded Deer Dick in the We' Imelt' i? region and was also referred to as "the northern Captain Jim" (d'Azevedo 1984, 28-30).

individuals identify all three as distinguished persons who were appointed as regional spokespersons, and they were later bestowed with the title, Captain. In an oral history interview, Harry Hawkins recalled an elderly Washoe man from his youth named George Possek who was over the age of 100 and recalled meeting Fremont (Glass 1967). This study revealed no records of Deer Dick (Balew hezi?), the Captain in northern Washoe country, thus it is unknown what became of this individual or their family. The presence of the Indian Agency and the establishment of Carson Indian School near Carson City in the 1890s made this region “a focal point of Washoe habitation and population;” in this context the Captains of the area were understood by the European settlers as spokesmen for the whole Washoe tribe, but this understanding was not shared by all Washoe (d’Azevedo 1984, 30). Nevertheless, the absence of a Washoe representative to communicate with officials of the US government or military may have hastened encroachment upon We’ lmet’ i? landscapes by neighboring Indigenous communities and European settlers.

#### Undisclosed Names and Esoteric Knowledge

Some spaces are named for plants known and utilized by individual Washoe shamans. It is not uncommon for individuals to request that esoteric family (or individual) knowledge identifying the plant, or its particular use, not be disclosed. During fieldwork and analysis for this study, the author encountered instances where a Washoe place name existed without a translation, specific location, or information concerning the plant’s utility; in these instances it appeared the place names were either absent (representing unnamed spaces), unknown, or forgotten (representing spaces where families had moved

away and cultural knowledge was not passed on). Selective disclosure of resource knowledge might explain why certain place names are recalled, but there is no additional information recorded about the place to ascertain whether this may be the case. The Washoe collaborators in Rucks' ethnographic study of the General Creek-Sugar Pine Point project area requested names and locations of esoteric plants not be disclosed (Rucks 2002, 8); possibly an effort to maintain exclusivity of individual or family knowledge. Rucks presentation of selective disclosure is significant because she brings to light a unique consideration— the possibility that other anthropologists may have either opted to leave information out of reports in efforts to uphold anthropological research ethics and demonstrate respect for the communities they were investigating, or because they were respecting individual or group disclosure requests to leave out sensitive details.

### **Names and the Social Nature of the Landscape**

Some Washoe toponyms contain tidbits of information that reveal a Washoe perception of the landscape and their position in it, as well as the position of others. For example, certain words reflect how the landscape is perceived in a way that is analogous to human or animal bodies, and sometimes the forms of familiar objects. Another component of Washoe landscape perception revealed in names for places are the ways living and non-living organisms (flora, fauna, geographic features) are considered social beings demonstrating human-like characteristics and behavior. For example, mawsh is the Washoe term for “family-owned areas that included springs and camping grounds that were inherited, and where exclusive use rights were observed” (Kolvet and Rucks 2013, 12-14, 20); this word also translates as “face” in Washoe. A rock near Dardanelles is

humorously named Tániw tsigúguš, or “digger’s stomach,” in reference to a neighboring Indigenous group (d’Azevedo 1956, 90/#242).

Washoe place names describe behavior of humans, animals, and plants often describing them engaged in activities such as sitting, standing, or drinking. Sesmi? ʔluwe? is the name of an unmapped place in Dog Valley (Riddell 1960, 82-83; Garey-Sage 2003, 188). One translation of the word, ʔluwe?, is “they are sitting” ([www.uchicago.edu/dictionary](http://www.uchicago.edu/dictionary)), thus the place name Sesmi? ʔluwe? might translate as “blue camas bulbs are sitting” or something similar. Jacobsen (n.d.a.) recorded that a long time ago Washoe people harvested then roasted blue camas bulbs (*Camassia quamash*) in the ground. Rucks, too, documented that some Sierra Valley Washoe people harvested blue camas bulbs (*Camassia quamash*) there during summer (Rucks 2002), however as the testimonial was not accompanied by a date or name, there is no way to distinguish whether this knowledge was referenced in archival documents or was provided by contemporary Washoe individuals. T’áša’ p’awá·wa is another place name derived from the Washoe name for a particular plant, which is also paired with a perceived behavior or action; the name translates “cottonwoods rustling” (d’Azevedo 1956, 73/#188); this place is located at the base of Crystal Mountain near Verdi.

Some Washoe landscapes are analogous to baskets with distinctive forms; occasionally a specific basket shape is recalled to describe the curvature of a meadow or valley and is incorporated into the place name, as in the following example. The creek, Muda’ · l bayó · dok, is located somewhere between Tahoe City and Brockway. The Washoe name was recalled by elder Roy James, however the exact location of the creek

has been forgotten; to confound the issue there are several creeks in the same vicinity.<sup>162</sup>

Based on the name, and from the Washoe perspective, the morphology of this creek resembles a utilitarian shallow basket (called a winnowing tray) that is spilling over with water; the creek name is derived from muda' · lá · cí, a tightly woven winnowing tray, and the word bayó · dok, or “flowing over the summit in this direction” (Bloomer et al. 1997).

It is possible the translation of Muda' · l bayó · dok is something like, “tightly woven winnowing tray flowing over the summit in this direction.”<sup>163</sup> The toponym paints a dynamic picture of the broader landscape the creek is situated within, and also describes manner of water flow.

### **Discussion**

The places, spaces, and toponyms retained in the cultural memory of contemporary Washoe people provide tangible evidence of the extent of their homeland, as well as their knowledge of regional microenvironments, regardless whether the Washoe toponym and place are both retained. Recalling the Washoe names for places validates their claim to culturally significant spaces and perpetuates cultural knowledge about places. Place names and the spaces they identify jointly reiterate, memorialize, communicate, and revitalize Washoe cultural knowledge that references the individuals (human, animal, and monster), fauna, flora, geography, and the array of activities that transpired in these

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<sup>162</sup> Although Roy James did specify the creek, Muda' · l bayó · dok, was situated between Tahoe City and Brockway, he stated it was not Burton Creek or Watson Creek (Bloomer et al. 1997).

<sup>163</sup> A winnowing tray is a utilitarian type of basket resembling a shallow tray with a handle at one end; the edges of the tray are slightly curved inward.



spaces during mythic, historic, and modern times. Washoe toponyms themselves, and the manner in which places are named, draws attention to the vast array of cultural knowledge embedded in the landscape, as well as which places were culturally significant, and the characteristics of the place that make it memorable.

Resource procurement sites, habitation areas situated nearby, and the seasonal trek routes traversing the northern Washoe range reveals a cognitive map that prioritizes orientation on the landscape in accordance with bodies of water and the direction of flowing water. The study findings indicate the Washoe range might be better characterized as an interlinked series of waterscapes, in lieu of landscapes, since water (particularly flowing water) is central to Washoe life. The qualities and directionality of water features are understood as such essential pieces of information, that Washoe people frequently communicated those details right in the place name itself.

## **Chapter 6. Ethno-mapping**

This chapter is divided into three main sections: Indigenous Land Mapping; Considerations for Mapping Washoe Lands; and Building a Northern Washoe Ethno-Map. The first section includes a brief history of mapping Indigenous lands, and an overview of Indigenous maps and ethno-maps, followed by background of Indigenous classification systems and taxonomies, and knowledge systems. The next section outlines the types of considerations that were accounted for mapping of Washoe lands. To map Washoe lands in a manner that reflects their perspectives as accurately as possible, it is critical to understand Washoe concepts of way finding, and to clarify their customs of ownership and property rights. The Washoe traversed an extensive range and certain landscapes were shared with others, including the Northern Paiute, Maidu, and Miwok groups; periodic conflicts occurred in these spaces. Toponyms recorded at different times seem to indicate a more extensive Washoe range, or maybe different boundaries, in the past; whichever the case, the Washoe range is dynamic with regard to space over time. The agendas of cartographic experts who produced historic maps influenced which places were depicted, which names were utilized, and whose political boundaries were recognized. All maps are commissioned with a specific agenda or objective in mind, and thus cartographic biases are present in both historic and modern maps. Thus, in the process of making a Washoe map, it was important to represent an orientation and directionality that is characteristically Washoe, and involve opinions of Washoe individuals in determining how and which features to represent. This way, we could ensure that map representations are in accord with Washoe history, and also their visions of the future; an important mapping consideration was having the ability to revise

or add new information to the map as might be necessary. Finally, the third section of the chapter takes the reader through the process of building the northern Washoe ethno-map (Figure 8). Key topics covered in this section include methodological and theoretical considerations that were employed to reveal a Washoe insider perspective of their homeland as a map, and the different ways places are culturally significant to Washoe individuals, families, and communities. I explain how a coding system was customized to visually inscribe the themes and significant places on the map, and the process of reworking and weaving in historic map data. The end of the section outlines how I determined which features to map, how to embed (and code) associated cultural knowledge, and how to visually and appropriately represent them.

### **Mapping Indigenous Lands**

The mapping of Indigenous lands from the perspective of Indigenous people began at varying times in different parts of the world, and there are indeed many ethnomapping projects. There are different methodologies, definitions, and terminologies that characterize Indigenous mapping efforts in each of the regions and are determined by their respective social, political, and economic contexts; Chapin, Lamb, and Threlkeld (2015) identify the three distinct regions accordingly: 1) Alaska and Canada; 2) the lower 48 states of the US; and 3) Latin America, Central America, and Indonesia as the third region (2005, 621). Mapping of Indigenous lands in Canada and Alaska became established in the fifties and sixties and was an approach devised for negotiating rights and land claims. “Informant-based” Indigenous mapping projects was an approach standardized throughout the region (Chapin, Lamb, and Threlkeld 2005, 623, 626; see

also Weinstein 1993; Usher, Tough, and Galois 1992), as demonstrated by Indigenous mapping projects, such as, Freeman's Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project (1976), and a Resource Use Map Index of the Copper Basin by Stratton and Georgette (1985).

Another example of ethno-mapping in Canada is the work of Margaret Wickens Pearce, a cartographer, who researched and designed a map of Indigenous toponyms across Canada, entitled "Coming Home to Indigenous Place Names in Canada," and a collaborative Penobscot map, named "Ivoka Eli-Wihtamakw Kətahkinawal/This is How We Name Our Lands" (Penobscot Cultural and Historic Preservation, 2015).<sup>164</sup> In the countries of Latin America, Central America, and Indonesia, Indigenous mapping projects were not undertaken until the 1990s when ethnic and tribal communities needed to collect data for land claims; Indigenous mapping methods in these places reflect a participatory mapping influence (Chapin, Lamb, and Threlkeld 2005, 621, 625).

Examples of participatory mapping studies include: Conklin, Pinther, and Lupaih's Ethnographic Atlas of Ifugao (1980); Peluso's counter-mapping project featuring forests in Kalimantan, Indonesia (1995); Eghenter's Indonesian forest mapping study (2000); Martinez Montano's atlas of Indigenous lands of Bolivia (2000); and Offen's Nicaraguan mapping project of Miskitu places (2003).<sup>165</sup> In the lower 48 states of the US, the commencement of Indigenous mapping coincided with advancements in spatial mapping technology, including GIS (Global Information System) and GPS (Global Positioning System). Uninfluenced by participatory or informant-based methods that characterized

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<sup>164</sup> Map available at <https://umaine.edu/canam/publications/coming-home-map/>.

<sup>165</sup> Counter-mapping refers to counteracting domination, supremacy, "and/or exploitation through the use of maps" (Eades 2015, 120; Peluso 1995), by Indigenous communities and groups.

other regions, Indigenous mapping in the US lower 48, as a region, followed a different path; it began primarily as a result of access to advanced mapping technology made possible by the US government. Many US tribes received funding support from the US government and were able to acquire and maintain their own (tribal) spatial mapping technology, training, and staff (Chapin, Lamb, Threlkeld 2005, 621, 626; Bond 2002; Goes In Center 2000; Weber and Dunno 2001; Bailey et al. 2001), whereas funding and technology in the regions of Latin America, Central America, and Indonesia were primary obstacles. Indigenous mapping projects in the US have been critiqued by Chapin, Lamb, Threlkeld (2005, 623) as lacking consistent methods and terminology compared to the other two regions just discussed; in particular, these American Indigenous mapping projects lack a Native participatory element. It is possible their observation is reflecting on the Boasian lineage of US anthropologists, and the Americanist traditions popularized during professionalism of the discipline. These authors also acknowledged the stark fact that most contemporary Indigenous mapping projects were carried out by technical mapping experts and geographers, not anthropologists (Chapin, Lamb, and Threlkeld 2005, 620).

In the late 1800s through mid-1900s, maps were utilized by anthropologists working in the Great Basin, specifically Boas (1934; 1964), Kroeber (1939), and Steward (1955) as accompaniment to ethnographic research; anthropological maps situated study populations geographically and facilitated narrative of subsistence patterns and social organization (Chapin, Lamb, and Threlkeld 2005, 621). Although Chapin, Lamb, and Threlkeld's (2005) assessment is correct in the sense that mapping Indigenous or ethnically-significant areas appears to have become a less popular methodology among

cultural anthropologists than in the past, this has not been the case among archaeologists who employ mapping as a primary data gathering and analysis tool. In the field of archaeology, mapping remains strong although it does not really constitute Indigenous mapping. It is also worth noting that a period of anthropological self-reflection in the 1980s may have prompted greater confidentiality and sensitivity to research communities, which in turn could have resulted in reduced inclusion (or separate documentation) of maps and photographs in publications by anthropologists, as well as a reduction in the number of anthropological studies involving Native American communities. Mapping technicians and cartographic experts, on the other hand, are trained and adhere to different codes of ethics affecting research communities, data collection, storage, maintenance, and access, than anthropologists.

Ethno-mapping, also called Indigenous mapping, counters the efforts and methods of earlier Euro-centric maps, which were produced and utilized for making and communicating determinations of property ownership, access, and use. Cartographers or their employers (sponsors) retained copyrights to print and publish maps they made. Agendas of the cartographer, their employers, or sponsors determined whose place names were privileged for inclusion on the map. The places depicted on a map, as well as the names that identify them, are a reflection of the culture that produced them. In general, maps illustrate political and economic boundaries on the land.

The political and economic realities of map-making raised issues of territoriality among anthropologists involved in the Indian Claims Commission (ICC) hearings, prompting the question of how ideas of territory imposed on Native American communities by early travelers and scholars attributing Euro-American notions of fixed

boundaries and property ownership onto them. This called into question the very integrity of history, cartography, and maps. Anthropologists, like Omer Stewart who was involved in the Indian Claims Commission (ICC) hearings, acknowledged bias existed in terms of making assumptions based on European, not Indigenous maps (1966) in the determination of Indigenous claims settlements. Maps produced by non-Washoe (Euro-Americans individuals—and debates about these maps—constituted the bulk of the Washoe ICC court hearings. During the hearings testimonials were provided by two Washoe men—Richard Barrington and Dick Bender—who, coincidentally, were both of We’ Imelt’ i? descent. The final determination and settlement were based on these hearings. Unfortunately, at that time there was no Indigenous, Washoe-made map to visually represent Washoe territory or the qualitative data (e.g., names and narratives) associated with their landscapes. The maps that did determine the outcome of the hearings were produced by and for Euro-Americans, not Washoes; inherent bias existed in these maps that privileged Euro-American agendas, names, and perspectives of the land, and not those of the Washoe communities. Indigenous mapping projects are unique to each community, landscape, or space being mapped; the objectives and agendas of stakeholders are different in each instance, as is the guidance provided by Indigenous communities about map content. The ethno-map created as part of this investigation of We’ Imelt’ i? landscapes (Figure 8) incorporated Washoe names, demarcated spaces they recollect, continue to visit, and have narratives and cultural memories about, to illustrate which landscapes are culturally significant to We’ Imelt’ i? people with a long-term objective of reinforcing Washoe language revitalization and inter-generational sharing efforts.

### Indigenous Classification Systems and Taxonomies

An Indigenous orientation on the land is reflected in the various conceptual ways of organizing the natural world. In order to better understand what goes into the ethno-mapping approach, it is also important to understand the ethnoscientific approach to understanding human classification systems and how they vary by language and culture. Anthropologists have documented the existence of Native classification and taxonomic systems relating to plant and animal species, different forms of water, and soil types, among other living and non-living things (Descola 1996; Goss 1967). The anthropologist Glenn Shepard, studied roles the senses play in mediating between humans and the environment, society, and the spiritual realm; he refers to this “organic network” as sensory ecology (Shepard 2004, 255). Although all humans possess the same basic senses, the ways they perceive sensory stimuli can vary significantly from culture to culture. For example, not all cultures perceive (acknowledge) the same spectrum of colors, nor do they recognize the same basic tastes. In a comparative taste study of the Matsigenka and Yora, Shepard found both groups merged the tastes sweet and salty. In addition, he found that high concentrations of salt were perceived as either sour or bitter, while high concentrations of sugar were perceived as sweet (2004, 258). In another experiment of how spicy-hot substances were perceived, the Yora determined the spicy-hot substance as toxic or poisonous, while the Matsigenka perceived it as painful (2004, 259). Shepard makes the point that studies of Native classification systems may find studies of this nature helpful in more completely understanding why certain features of the environment are classified the ways they are; it may have to do with how they are perceived at the sensory level as determined by their respective cultures.



Shepard's study of the chemical senses (taste, irritation, odor, and visual/tactile) demonstrates the ways we perceive sensory stimuli are culturally constructed. Not only do cultures perceive and classify sensory stimuli differently, but they may also have a unique system of enumeration, as this study of northern Washoe landscapes demonstrates. The Washoe historically did not have a word for number nine. Contemporary Washoe elders do not understand why, but they do know the word for nine used today was created post-contact by the Washoe themselves, to facilitate commerce with Euro-Americans. The number was created by combining the Washoe words for the numbers eight (ha-wa-wa) and one (lucka), or ha-wa-wa-eeda-lucka, nine (Kate personal communication, 2019).

Indigenous nomenclature is often indicative of the Indigenous perspective of the world and their relationship with the environment (Fowler 1982; Fowler and Leland 1967; Jacobsen 1955; Merriam 1979; Zigmond 1971). However, this does not mean they are arbitrary. Brent Berlin says that naming practices are instead utilitarian, or based on a need to name; names follow regular principles based on onomatopoeia, metaphorical description, and sound symbolism (Berlin 1992; 2006). Berlin also explored the principle of sound symbolism in patterns of naming with the Tzeltal Maya, and wondered if the pattern was widespread across languages (2006). It was Franz Boas (1888; Berlin 1992, 4), who commented:

The frequent occurrence of similar phenomena in cultural areas that have not historical contact suggests that important results may be derived from their study, for it shows that the human mind develops everywhere according to the same laws. The discovery of these [laws] is the greatest aim of our science.

In 1953, Conklin published the first comprehensive study of an ethnobotanical system of classification with Hanunóo culture, in which he emphasized “native categories of plants and their conceptual relationships to one another as a complete, self-contained system.” This approach to cognitive ethnography became known as “American ethnoscience” by the 1960s (Berlin 1992). A central question for ethnoscientists, in addition to determining how things in nature are classified, has been, “Why do human societies classify nature in the ways they do (1992, 5)?” Berlin was able to identify several general principles that inform how and why things in nature are classified and named, and which seem to characterize ethnobiological systems in diverse parts of the world. He also proposed the following six biological ranks corresponding to those of Western biology: kingdom, life-form, intermediate, generic, specific, and varietal (Berlin 1992, 20).

At the most fundamental level, however, it is the most observable and distinctive properties of nature that determine how they are organized conceptually. Among the Aguaruna, there are differences in men’s and women’s knowledge and naming of plants and animals. For example, Aguaruna men have more extensive knowledge of the less familiar “avifauna,” whereas women know more names for varieties of manioc. Women speak about certain species of plants in less detail when speaking to men, whose knowledge is less extensive than their own; the Aguaruna women explain there would be no point in doing so, because the men would not understand or appreciate it (Berlin 1992, 226). I could not find any gender-based variation in place naming among the Washoe, but there is evidence of differential and gender-specific knowledge about plants (Garey-Sage 2003), and with regard to knowledge associated with particular activities and

equipment, such as grinding and lam (Rucks 1995; Kolvet and Rucks 2013). Hunn (1982) further explains the cognitive process of comprehending the world is a process primarily motivated by interest. He goes on to criticize Berlin's use of the labels, "culturally significant" and "culturally insignificant," to categorize plants, on the basis that he himself found a practical relevance for nearly all the plants deemed "insignificant;" some were poisonous, others invasive weeds, firewood, et cetera, but all were important, none the less (Hunn 1990, 831). In 2016 when I first proposed my project involving northern Washoe significant landscapes to the Washoe Cultural Resource Advisory Council (WCRAC) elders, they immediately clarified that all places in the Washoe homeland were significant; thus, I had to explain to them I was specifically interested in knowing what it is that makes places valuable to them.

Washoe names for places demonstrate they think about the landscape in a very personal manner—the same way they do the human body. Má'lam, the word demarcating the confluence of a stream, means "mouth" in Washoe (d'Azevedo 1956, 54/#129), and mawsh, which refers to exclusive access, family-owned and inherited resource areas, camping spots, and springs, means "face" (Kolvet and Rucks 2013, 12-14, 20). These two examples suggest the Washoe think about the land as a living entity, akin to a person, and possibly as an extension of the self. This is commonly found among many diverse languages, among them Tzeltal Maya, where an "open vista" is referred to as a "face" (elawal) (Brown 2008, 162). She also notes, that "locations at particular parts or regions of [a] landform [are] designated by [the] body part/relational noun system." In Lavukaleve, a Papuan language in the Solomon Islands, human body parts are also extended to trees and coconuts (e.g. vu'vul is the human heart as well as the young

coconut), important life-giving aspects of the land as well as the land itself—a peninsula is a tau, or limb (Terrell 2006, 320).

Research of Indigenous classification and naming systems reveals an interesting phenomenon between cultivators and foragers (Fowler 1972a, 1972b; Hunn 1977, 1982, 1990). Among cultivators, names for folk varieties are not typical, and only exist in regard to significant groups of cultivated plants (Berlin 1992, 273). Among non-agricultural peoples, folk species are almost non-existent; this suggests the “cognitive motivation for recognizing subgeneric taxa is tied to the emergence of plant domestication (1992, 274-275), or in other words the cognitive motivations have to do with preference and utility (Do I like this? Can I use this?). Evidence for the “paucity of folk-specific taxa in foraging societies” was also noted in studies by Turner (1974) of the Haida, Bella Coola, and Lillooet of British Columbia; Whistler’s 1976 study of the Wintun and Patwin of California; Eugene Hunn’s study of the Sahaptin of Washington; and Kay Fowler’s 1972 study of Great Basin Numic groups (Berlin 1992, 278). Each of these studies indicated a prevalence of monotypic taxa of generic rank in foraging societies. Berlin (1992, 278) explains, “[it is] my contention that folk specifics and folk varieties may have developed largely in societies where agriculture plays a significant role in the economy and there is a subsequent need to make finer distinctions within a taxon.” The Washoe, for example, recognize multiple species of bulbs, tubers, or Indian potatoes, and they also recognize several species of lupine, wild onion, sunflowers, and fish; whether or not either of these resources constitute folk varieties resulting from incipient domestication or horticulture, was not a goal of this study but would be valuable to know, since the Washoe demonstrate cultural traits of foraging societies, yet they

interact with the flora and fauna in ways that alter and manipulate the landscape or the future productivity of a resource. For example, a yutsim is a communal fishing strategy where water is dammed and the stranded fish are scooped up and tossed ashore; this technique was employed at Donner Creek during late-fall spawns (Lindström et al. 2007, 14). Male animals were selectively hunted. As with deer and fish, the females were left to reproduce. Piñon branches were pruned in the fall to stimulate new growth. A Washoe philosophy that is still adhered to and passed on to the younger generations is the “take one, leave three rule” in harvesting (Rucks 1996, 34).

Hunn (2008, 78-79; 1982, 830) points out the practical significance of “irregularities,” in naming such as open-ended categories, overlapping categories, and unnamed ones. Zapotec culture, for example, does not have a name for the plant kingdom, because it is covert (2008, 91). Hunn criticizes Berlin’s idea of universal taxonomic ranks for plants and animals, and he points out how some taxa are “unaffiliated” or “residual (2008, 94; 1977, 57).” Hunn (2008) explains the folk generic rank is central to each domain and “represent[s] the most perceptually salient ‘natural’ kinds within the experience of the local community” which is then, further divided into specific, and varietal kinds (2008, 93). According to Tambiah (1969), we tend to respond to individuals of a species in like manner. We either eat them or avoid them; this is what Hunn (1982, 833) refers to as “recipes for action.” Washoe make an interesting distinction between the foods they consider “real” and those they don’t. The words *d-èmlu*, “food” and *cemu*, “one, or the one” were documented in Kroeber (1907, 280, 312). In contrast to “fresh foods” consumed immediately, “real food” identified “plant foods that were needed for winter” and could be stored (Hammett, Garey-Sage, and Walsh

2004, 3.9 from d’Azevedo 1986, 477; Rucks 2001, Table 6-2), such as pine nuts, acorns, and patties of roasted wadaksha, or Washington lupine (*Lupinus polyphyllus*) (Bloomer and Lindström 2006, 31-32).<sup>166</sup> Other foods are classified as simply, d-èmlu “food” (Kroeber 1907, 280). The distinction carries over into geographic domains, specifically water. Watah she mu (Nevers 1976, 4) is the Washoe name for the Carson River.<sup>167</sup> The same name, Wá’t’a šému, is alternately noted as the name for both the Sacramento and the San Joaquin Rivers (d’Azevedo 1956, 83-84/#216). The name means “real river,” or “real creek,” based on one of the Washoe names for the Pacific Ocean, Dá’aw šemu, or “real lake” (d’Azevedo 1956, 84/#217).<sup>168</sup> Based upon the distinction of what constitutes “real food” to Washoe people, Watah she mu (Nevers 1976, 4), meaning real creek or real river, may indicate: 1) the most important or largest water courses in the Washoe range, 2) rivers or creeks which provide the most significant food or other resources; 3) rivers and creeks serving as important travel corridors connecting Washoe with other people and resources; and 4) the oldest rivers and creeks utilized in their cultural memory of places.

The ethno-sciences cross-disciplines; they highlight emic, or in this instance, Indigenous perspectives and tend toward collaborative and cooperative endeavors; examples include: ethno-botany, ethno-zoology, ethno-history, ethno-ecology, ethno-

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<sup>166</sup> According to Darla Garey-Sage, Mrs. d’Azevedo recorded the category démlušému, which means “real food” (2003, 49-50).

<sup>167</sup> Watah she mu (Nevers 1976, 4) is also spelled Wát’ashému by Hammett, Garey-Sage, and Walsh (2004, 12 from Nevers 1976, 4).

<sup>168</sup> She mu may also mean “the one,” according to Kroeber who recorded the words d-èmlu, “food” and cemmu, “one, or the one” (1907, 280, 312); the phrase, d-èmlu cemmu, designates “real” or storable foods from fresh, perishable foods.

forestry, ethno-medicine, ethno-astronomy, and ethno-climatology, among others (Rist and Dadouh-Guebas 2006). According to de Ruijter, “[b]ecause ethnoscience aims to understand native conceptions of the universe...it has...a mode of study free from the ethnocentrism imposed by the cognitive processes and interpretations of the culture of the investigator (1989, 109).” In this project, the term ethno-map refers to a map that illustrates Native conceptions of the landscape. Because biological classification systems change through time (Berlin 1992, 272), they are ideal referents for gauging culture change.

Washoe names for places also change through time. D’Azevedo made reference to old and more recent names for places, and he also noted names having “old” words (d’Azevedo 1956, 55). One example is the permanent village at Truckee named K’ubüña ded’éyi; the entry for this mapped place says, “Washo in recent times called this ‘túgiya;” and the word, K’ubüña “[t]hey say has no meaning,” it is just an “old word” (d’Azevedo 1956, 55). There are two names recorded for a tributary of Trout Creek at South Lake Tahoe, Ṭsigóhu W’át’a and Matošehu Watu; the “recent name” is Matošehu Watu (from Freed 1954) and Tsigóhul is an “old name” (d’Azevedo 1956, 20).

When I asked in Washoe language class about the multiple names for the Truckee River, classmates jointly explained to me there was a name for every part of the river. They rattled off all the same names as d’Azevedo and wanted to know if I had encountered any others. D’Azevedo also noted the names Wá’tia t’íyel, Á’waku wá’t’a, Balñatsoñ w’áta, and ‘At’abi wá’t’a (d’Azevedo 1956, 57/#134) that reference specific stretches of the Truckee River. No definitive translation of Wá’tia t’íyel was encountered, but a map in an eligibility and testing project positioned this place about

two miles south of Truckee on the east side of the river (Summit Envirosolutions, Inc. 2005, A-2).<sup>169</sup> Ahwacoo watah, means “trout stream” (Lindström 1992a, 196 from Freed 1966; Nevers 1976, 4; Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 257). The translation of Balnacan wata is “bitter brush” or “buck brush” stream (Garey-Sage 2003, 195; Jacobsen n.d.d.). ‘Át’abi wá’t’a (d’Azevedo 1956, 57/#134) was also translated as “trout stream” (Lindström 1992a, 196; from Freed 1966). Historic and modern English language maps depict the Truckee River as a river with one name, but the Washoe might map it differently, as they have several names for the Truckee River. The Washoe also thought of the Sacramento and the San Joaquin Rivers as one massive “wá’t’a” (d’Azevedo 1956). Named places identify specific activity areas, such as productive fishing spots, campsites, and residential areas of Washoe family groups. The ethno-map of We’ Imelt’ i? landscapes (Figure 8) I produced here identifies and names these places as accurately and inclusively as possible, but also applying conservative judgment with regard to confidentiality obligations for archaeological site locations. There were other We’ Imelt’ i? places with multiple toponyms, and all the names and orthographic versions are contained in the Master Index of Northern Washoe Landscapes (Index 6) with the respective citations.

### Indigenous Knowledge Systems

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<sup>169</sup> Since, Damálum t’íyelí wá’ta, the Washoe name for Blackwood Creek, means “the mouth-delta big” creek (d’Azevedo 1956, 52/#119), it is possible that wá’tia t’íyel (Summit Envirosolutions, Inc. 2005, A-2) means “big” creek.



Ethnoscience approaches provide the opportunity for Native American communities like the Washoe to speak in sophisticated ways about complex theories of modern science. Greater understanding of Native classification systems and taxonomies revealed details about how people know things, how they deal with new knowledge, and how they categorize it. Deloria, Foehner, and Scinta (1999, 7) comment how “perceptions are the primary mode of receiving information.” In critique of how western knowledge is accumulated, they note how anomalies and facts that don’t fit are thrown out; “whatever fails to fit...is simply declared to be non-existent” (1999, 4, 11). The authors explain the tribal method of gathering information is more sophisticated and inclusive than western science, because no data are discarded; not individual experiences, accumulated generational wisdom, dreams, prophecies, visions, or information received from plants or animals. It is all part of a multi-vocal kind of knowledge that is not viewed as discordant to the knowledge holders. While western science regards these sources with skepticism, as unpredictable or not scientifically valid, to tribal peoples they offer a dependable way of looking at the natural world. Customs of Indigenous cultures of the Great Plains employ strategies based on knowledge of animal and insect behavior, to locate buffalo herds; knowing buffalos’ partiality to sunflowers, blackbirds’ tendency to follow herds, and how beetles’ antennae orient toward the herds, is very helpful information to have on the landscape if one is tracking or hunting buffalo (Deloria, Foehner, and Scinta 1999, 70), and no map is required.

Buffalo also roamed the We’ Imelt’ i? landscapes prior to 1830 (Riddell 1960, 20-21, 40; 1952 168-169), and Northern Paiute names record their presence in Honey Lake Valley. A place named Paguts tuduh tawágan, means “Buffalo Wallow,” and may have

been located on the shores of Honey Lake. Situated nearby was a buffalo trail that went southward through the Sierra, connecting Honey Lake Valley with Washoe and Maidu countries (Riddell 1960, 20-21/#47). In fact, one of Riddell's Northern Paiute collaborators, Kitty Joaquin, reported a Washoe man named Wintun Miller lived near Herlong, California at Akú kaive (Northern Paiute for Sunflower Mountain), and he kept buffalo in a brush corral to trade with the Paiutes (Riddell 1960, 27). D'Azevedo associated a Washoe by the name of Buffalo Jim with two places he mapped in Washo Place Names. A Washoe name for Buffalo Jim's cabin site near the town of Omira, near Honey Lake, was not listed (1956, 74/#189), but the large hunting camp where he spent summers is named Dewgumé·mi' or "many springs" (1956, 79/#203); today these springs supply the town of Susanville with water. It is unknown whether Washoe people possess the same knowledge relating buffaloes, sunflowers, blackbirds, and beetles as the Lakota, but in this example there seems to be a coincidental correlation of buffaloes and sunflowers. Overall, the Deloria et al. point out that Indigenous knowledge is not fairly credited, and this is because western science does not consider subjective data as valid data, despite the fact the greatest thinkers of western science were known "to rely heavily on intuition, dreams, and visions" (Deloria, Foehner, and Scinta 1999, 67).

Hunn (1982, 840-842) comments on the need for "postethnoscience ethnobiology" using "ethnoscience ethnography" to document and assess the "practical value of ethnobiological knowledge" by not "just asking for names," but the "who, what, when, why, and hows, that define their practical significance." This study had a similar objective of understanding the practical significance of landscapes to We' Imelt' i? individuals and families. In this way one can determine the "routine action plans,"

embedded in the folk biological knowledge, that determine their role in culture, and how they shape behavior (Hunn 1982, 844). The index and spreadsheet created from this study incorporated some of the whos, whats, whens, whys, and hows defining the practical significance (1982, 840-842) of landscapes to Washoe communities, specifically the We' Imelt' i?, in order to better understand the cultural significance of places from their perspectives. For example, this study revealed the significance of water landscapes for Washoe and specifically We' Imelt' i? families. Travel routes followed rivers, creeks, and springs, family habitation areas tended to be associated with rivers and creeks with winter residence areas typically situated near hot springs, family mawsh (Kolvet and Rucks 2013, 12-14, 20; d'Azevedo 1984, 105-106) sometimes incorporated tributaries or sections of creeks, and watah (Nevers 1976, 4) or wata (Freed 1966, 80; Garey-Sage 2003, 237), sometimes served as inter-tribal boundaries or shared use zones, and habitation areas (e.g. the Walker River, Truckee River, Susan River). The significance of water to Washoe communities may explain why there are multiple names for places like the Truckee River, for example. It is not just the river itself that holds cultural significance to the Washoe, but also the places along the way.

### **Considerations for Mapping Washoe Lands**

It is not part of Washoe custom to make physical maps; they still learn landscapes by spending time on the land with family, learning Washoe names, and learning from and listening to stories told by their relatives. Washoe people acknowledge and respect the limits and bounds of their range, because even though other Native American groups permanently reside adjacent to Washoe lands, other groups also partly use and travel

through these spaces. As d’Azevedo explained, Washoe families inhabited “an essentially open range...ventilated with corridors of tolerated access” that was usually “accommodated by negotiation” or “prior withdrawal of one or the other groups from confrontation.” Within this range certain residence and resource procurement zones were utilized heavily and exclusively by the Washoe; this use was “legitimated by tradition and long tenure recognized by themselves and neighbors as holdings where unsolicited intrusion might be strenuously resisted. D’Azevedo explains that “under conditions of mutual courtesy” adjacent groups might use “marginal” or “peripheral” landscapes for hunting, gathering, or travel, but shared use was “subject to traditionalized understandings of priority or affected by the current state of relations between groups” (1984, 23-24; 1966, 334). To some Washoe families and communities, maintaining peaceful neighbor relations is an important responsibility; this was one of the sentiments expressed in a Washoe prayer offered at the Donner Visitor Center that I witnessed in 2016. The topics of shared spaces and past hostilities will be discussed separately in this chapter.

While the practice of indicating and permanently fixing property or political boundaries by means of a map was a familiar custom of Euro-Americans who migrated westward, it was not characteristic of Washoe society. The Washoe did not utilize a system of writing, and how they conceptualized property, as well as how they identified it, was much different than that of Euro-Americans with whom they came into contact. For Euro-Americans, the purpose of making maps was to mark property boundaries, claim spaces, and designate use. Washoe people and their neighbors who spoke a different language left physical markers and signals right on the landscape to indicate the

limits of their spaces. By utilizing this system they did not need hand-drawn maps; they literally marked the earth, the rocks, the ground, and trees with evidence of their presence and stewardship; they also left behind objects (physical indicators), as described in Chapter Three (Washoe Ethnohistory). Routes of travel were navigated by memorizing landmarks, descriptive place names, and narratives, which tethered people and families to places –some of which were travel routes. Routes could be navigated and specific places could be identified or referenced by the literal descriptions, which constituted the place names themselves; this type of descriptive place-naming is found extensively throughout Indigenous North America (Basso 1996). The Washoe name for Sugar Pine Point, for example, is Dew’kiláyaw Gaʔmam, or “black point into lake” (Rucks 2002).<sup>170</sup> From most vantage points around Lake Tahoe this particular point is visible as a darker, low-lying protrusion of land jutting into the lake. The dark hue of the point is from the forest of Sugar pine and Incense cedars characterizing the vegetation of the point; as some of the tallest trees of the Lake Tahoe Basin, they are easily identifiable. I will return to a discussion of these place names in the following sections.

#### Acknowledgment and Validation of Washoe Property Customs

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<sup>170</sup> Author notes the Washoe meaning of gaʔmam is a portable grinding stick (Rucks 2002, 6), so it is possible the translation of Dew’kiláyaw Gaʔmam in the Rucks report is not complete. The word for lake, dáʔaw (Nevers 1976, 4) or dá’aw (d’Azevedo 1956, 49/#113, 84/#217), is not obvious in the name Dew’kiláyaw Gaʔmam, but it might exist in shortened form, as áyaw, at the end of Dew’kiláyaw. The translation of other place names in this report might indicate the first syllable means “loud,” but I was unable to verify the translation of this place with Kate, my Washoe language instructor, to see whether Dew’k and Duhk might be different sounds.

Washoe methods for identifying property were not acknowledged by Euro-American settlers, and neither was their system of way finding (orienteering); the two strategies together constitute a Washoe mapping system, despite lack of a written form. The Washoe have specific, defined ways for marking and identifying personal or family property and spaces. Resource areas were typically marked in ways identifiable to other Washoe and neighboring groups of people. The presence of camps “established claims to resource catchments and defined ‘owned’ space” (Kolvet and Rucks 2013, 3-4, 12-14, 20). In situ fishing equipment and lam represent family landmarks. The topic of marking claimed spaces was discussed more thoroughly in Chapter Three, Washoe Ethnohistory. Euro-Americans on the other hand, were aware of Washoe and Northern Paiute trails, which they utilized and often developed into wagon roads and highways, probably because these tried and true routes of travel passed dependable sources of water, good places to camp, hunt, and fish along the way. Whether these cultural details were simply ignored or not presented to the courts with sufficient evidence or clarity, the fact remains that Washoe families have a strategy for communicating, marking, and stewarding, places where they have personal stewardship rights. The misperception and misrepresentation of a Washoe understanding of property and ownership, with regard to land and their movements through it, persists today; there are important details which were not explained and thus affected the outcome of the Washoe claims case—they received no land, and only a reduced settlement amount.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the fact that a bounded and exclusively Washoe area did not exist meant to the Indian Claims Commission (ICC) courts that there was no established home range the Washoe people could be affixed to and claim; thus the

ICC would not have to compensate them a dollar amount per acre in the settlement. The lasting result of the mapping contention involving boundaries of the Washoe range continues to have economic ramifications for Washoe families and individuals. The domino effect of translation errors, from which inaccurate maps were produced, and on the basis of which unjust court rulings were made concerning the Washoe land base persist. The wellbeing of Washoe people and families continues to be adversely affected, as they no longer have the extensive range they once had, and they were not fairly compensated for the land usurped by and designated for others. The current situation of the Reno-Sparks Indian Colony (RSIC) voting out Washoe membership in 2012 has resulted in a disruptive situation involving tribal housing and families. In Washoe language class, one couple was updating other Washoe classmates about a recent community (the preferred term to colony) meeting. The gist of the elders' update had to do with Washoe families residing in or owning housing on RSIC land. This was a very emotional update, and I did not interrupt to inquire about specifics at the time, but what I gathered was as a result of the recent voting out of Washoe, some Washoe families were being asked to relocate; there was also concerned discussion about blended Washoe-Paiute families residing there, Washoe families who had resided on RSIC land for decades, and Washoe families instrumental in establishing the tribal entity from its founding. The RSIC was established for the Washoe and Northern Paiute, and later the Shoshone by the US government; it is still unclear to the author the legal bases on which the political entity of the RSIC has effectively excluded one of the three communities of people the acreage for which acreage was originally designated. This situation demonstrates the personal way historical land designations continue to adversely affect

Washoe individuals and families and their wellbeing. The fact is a large portion of the Washoe range, particularly the We' Imelt' i? area, has become some of the most desirable, expensive, and exclusive recreational and residential landscapes in the western United States, developed with gated communities and individual residences, private golf courses, ski areas, private fishing clubs, and more. This begs the question of what this landscape would look like today if the Washoe people had received their entire land claim in the ICC court settlement. In sum, the most detrimental and lasting impacts of the various mapping contentions presented in this section are the economic ones capable of impacting the overall health of Washoe individuals, families, and communities.

In Chapter Five (Naming Places) I demonstrated how the Washoe method of orienteering applies a landscape-based method of way finding that is manifest linguistically (in place names) as descriptions of the places. To be more specific, Washoe place names frequently describe physical qualities of the place or memorialize events that occurred there in the historic or mythic past; this includes visual descriptions, sound descriptions, or descriptions of resources immediately available at the place or within a short distance. In Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache (1996), Basso indicates toponyms referencing past events, as well as those with sensory-focused descriptive names, are both important among the Western Apache. Washoe naming conventions apply regardless of geographic feature type, including creeks, meadows, springs, mountains, permanent settlement areas, camps, et cetera. With regard to naming creeks, for example, the sound, speed, width, or directionality (up, down, through) of flowing water is important, as are the identification of resources found in the immediate vicinity. Dúku dawá'a, or "loud creek" (Dangberg 1968, 102), refers to



Madden Creek, and DiphEkhwO'tha, meaning "white paint river" (Freed 1966, 81/#21) refers to Dollar Creek and indicates Dollar Creek was a place where a white mineral substance was collected.<sup>171</sup>

The Washoe system relies upon descriptive place names and descriptive “name areas” (Davis 1992, 3), that facilitated way finding without utilizing a physical map. D’Azevedo supplied the word d’áwa meaning “name area” and also used the alternate phrasing, “place or area name[s]” to express the same idea (1956, 44/#103). This author’s understanding is that a name area is a more “general” name—one that covers a broader landscape space, somewhat akin to how the Euro-American cultures around the globe reference neighborhoods, subdivisions, and suburbs. For example, Alpine Meadows is the name of a neighborhood community in North Lake Tahoe, formerly known as Deer Park and also Deer Park Springs; the name Alpine Meadows includes both historic areas as well as the modern ski area of the same name. Another example of a name area is the broader landscape or neighborhood surrounding General Creek, near Tahoma, which is called DukMéʔem (Rucks 2002, 6-8). The creek whose course flows through Sugar Pine Point (and the State Park) is referred to specifically as DukhmE'EmwO'tha (Freed 1966, 80), and the point is named Dew'kiláyaw gaʔmam (Rucks 2002, 6). This landscape may extend to the north end of Homewood, the location of Madden Creek, or Dúku dawát'a (Dangberg 1968, 102), as suggested by the list of toponyms with visually similar prefixes: Duk- (Rucks 2002, 6-8) or Dúk (Dangberg

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<sup>171</sup> Lindström, Rucks, and Wigand (2000, 115) noted diphEkhwO'tha, “white paint river,” as a camp at the mouth of Burton Creek, not Dollar Creek as documented in Freed (1966, 81/#21).

1968, 102); Duhk- (Freed 1966, 80); and Dew'k- (Rucks 2002, 6). Following the translation of Dúku dawát'a as "loud creek," it is possible the prefixes (in an assortment of written forms) mean "loud" (Dangberg 1968, 102).<sup>172</sup>

### Conflict and Shared Landscapes

Throughout the Washoe range, landscapes were shared with neighboring groups. In some instances the Washoe had agreements to obtain resources and/or to inhabit particular landscapes of adjacent groups, such as occurred with the Northern Paiute involving Pyramid Lake, part of Honey Lake Valley (d'Azevedo 1956, 60; 1986, 471; Riddell 1960, 32, 73, 75; Lindström 1992a, 194; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-1), the Truckee Meadows (Fowler 1969, 12), Long Valley Creek (d'Azevedo 1956, 60; d'Azevedo 1986, 471; Riddell 1960, 32, 73, 75), and with the Maidu in certain parts of Sierra and Honey Lake Valleys (Dixon 1905, 125-126; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-15; Blue 1999; Simmons et al. 1997). According to one account, the Northern Paiute were permitted to hunt and fish in the Truckee Meadows area by the Washoe residents there, but Northern Paiute use was restricted to land near Peavine Mountain (d'Azevedo 1984, 35).

Although there is a record of inter-tribal warfare and conflict, most instances "represent localized short-lived skirmishes between small parties of peoples whose general associations were peaceful" (d'Azevedo 1984, 23 from Downs 1966a, 51-54, 69). Shared ranges are places characterized as inter-tribal cooperative spaces. In these areas, visiting was common, because there tended to be close kinship connections due to

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<sup>172</sup> However, I did not receive confirmation from Kate, my Washoe language instructor, whether Dew'k and Duhk might be different sounds.

intermarrying. Washoe marriages were originally arranged (Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California 2009, 12), but the custom is not observed today. In instances of polygynous marriages, the wives of non-Washoe heritage would often retain residence with their own people; this ensured protection and good treatment of the non-Washoe wife and offspring, but also solidified and guaranteed inter-tribal use of the land. There are even records of Washoe families occasionally wintering in Maidu villages for one or more winters (d'Azevedo 1984, 20). Another benefit of shared ranges and seasonal movements through these spaces was communication about the status of resources and news of upcoming social events, gatherings, intruders, or raids. Messengers travelled to other settlements with a *ba?logo*, or knotted string; the number of knots communicated the number of days until an event (d'Azevedo 1984, 32).

Cooperative defense was another advantage of shared landscapes. Tensions in shared use areas are mainly associated with periods of scarcity, and when there was competition for resources; but tension in these spaces might also occur following hostile action and result in cooperative raiding (d'Azevedo 1984, 23, 32). Instances of war between tribes in shared ranges is documented by Lowie and most commonly involved northern Maidu groups referenced in historic accounts as "Digger" tribes (1939, 329-330), although there are a few accounts involving Northern Paiutes. The Northern Paiute chief, Nusaga, is recorded as selling a nine-mile stretch of Washoe land in Long Valley to Colonel Wasson in 1858, which may have triggered hostility in this area (d'Azevedo 1984, 151). There is also a report of cooperative raiding or warfare involving Washoe

and Northern Paiute from Pyramid Lake joining forces against the “Giants,” along with a Washoe narrative that recalls this incident (Lowie 1939, 347-348).<sup>173</sup>

### Different Concepts of Property

The discrepancy in the ways Washoe and Euro-American people claimed, marked, and conceived of property, particularly with regard to mapping it, placed the Washoe at a disadvantage, especially in the Indian Claims Commission (ICC) hearings. With regard to personal property, the Washoe were not historically credited with possessing a concept of property, private property, or property ownership, as the ICC claims case proceedings and settlement demonstrated. A detail of Washoe society that is still underemphasized in the majority of anthropological literature is that Washoe families did have personal stewardship rights. Habitation spaces and mawsh (Kolvet and Rucks 2013, 12-14, 20; d’Azevedo 1984, 105-106) were both revisited annually by the families who tended them; this residence pattern with stewardship rights that closely resembles ownership but

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<sup>173</sup> The narrative, “The Giants,” begins with a thirteen-foot tall Giant who seizes a fishing spear from a Washoe who is fishing the Truckee River from his fishing house between Wadsworth and Sparks. First he gives the Giant one fish to eat, and after eating it, the Giant demands all the fish! The fisherman hollers to his comrades and they help chase away the Giant. At that time a “dozen Giant camps” were located just south of Pyramid Lake (this was prior to Northern Paiute occupation of the area, and when they were residing at Walker Lake). The Washoe “war chief” calls on Walker Lake Paiute assistance to wage war against the Giants, whose footprints they observed beside the river “as long as an Indian’s arm and his steps were bout twenty feet long” (Lowie 1939, 347-348). Throwing rocks, the Giants’ only defense, were no match for Washoe and Northern Paiute arrows, and four or five Giants were killed; the rest retreated from the area. With the Giants gone, the Northern Paiute moved from Walker to Pyramid Lake, they repaid the Washoe with “buckskins,” and permitted Washoe to “fish from Pyramid Lake whenever they wanted to” (Lowie 1939, 348).

ceases with a lapse in responsibility.<sup>174</sup> A resulting effect of Washoe seasonal residence and resource tending pattern was that some individuals became intimately familiar with the micro-landscapes associated with their family group(s) and the group's seasonal movements. Due to seasonal movements to and from permanent settlements, social gatherings, and on hunting and gathering forays, it is conceivable a single Washoe individual would possess an intimate knowledge of several interconnected micro-landscapes through which they traversed seasonally throughout their lifetime; however, as noted before, this personal knowledge was never written down or mapped. As the Washoe language is a primarily spoken language, and there was no standard, written format, individual knowledge about micro-landscapes was remembered and passed on in personal stories, narratives, and songs; in fact, multiple orthographies still exist today.

#### Dynamic Boundaries

Recollection of Washoe place names for—and narratives associated with—distant landscapes and the prominent geographic features that characterize them demonstrates that at some time in the past Washoe individuals travelled through and were familiar with environments stretching beyond the range recognized by contemporary Washoe individuals. This fact, coupled with narratives and individual references, indicate the Washoe extended range was much larger in the past. The southern Washoe boundary was further south, the western limit was further west and on the other side of the Sierra

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<sup>174</sup> The term mawsh refers to “family-owned areas,” inherited springs and campsites, used exclusively by the family (Kolvet and Rucks 2013, 12-14, 20).

Crest, and the northern boundary may have included all of Sierra Valley northward to Susanville at one time.

The boundaries of Washoe territory were conceptualized as dynamic spaces, instead of defined and fixed ones, and their places of residence were also dynamic and flexible; individuals, couples, and families could split off from groups or settlement areas to join others at will (Downs 1966b; Nevers 1976). An advantage to the Washoe strategy of caching culturally important information in the landscape through descriptive place-naming and narratives (that together produce the mental map), is that the caching method makes it easier to remember lots of relational information when a person's memory is prompted by being there, or by thinking about the place. Another advantage of embedding cultural knowledge in the landscape, is when a change or alteration is in order, it is simpler to do; altering a spoken description or narrative about a place is less labor intensive than altering boundaries once they have been mapped, published, copyrighted, and agreed upon as fixed political borders. It is possible, in the Washoe case, a utilitarian need to mark (draw or write) these flexible types of boundaries never arose, but mapping is an essential part of the contemporary world the Washoe communities are part of, and a detailed map of Washoe territory is needed and could benefit the communities in several ways. Maps are illustrative and communicative tools the Washoe can utilize to: reclaim spaces; to edit or redefine areas or boundaries; to set the record straight in their view; to teach and pass on cultural knowledge; to demonstrate their landscape tenure; and to inscribe their intimate, family-based knowledge of micro-landscapes.

Over the years outside researchers of the Washoe have produced maps of their range, mainly to affix them to a particular swath of bounded land; to separate Washoe land from the land utilized by adjacent Native American groups, such as the Northern Paiute, Miwok, Maidu, or Shoshone; or to evaluate and calculate a monetary amount for settlement in a court of law for lands usurped. In general, the act of usurping landscapes from others runs counter to Washoe custom; and in their case no permission was granted, no agreements were made, and sharing or jointly using the spaces was not addressed, as they were accustomed. The function of Washoe maps, which were mental maps, was primarily travel and subsistence-related; the mental maps facilitated travel in and between micro-landscapes where various resources were regularly encountered by means of a memory-activated way-finding system built into the place names.

#### Translation and Identification Discrepancies

Earlier maps depicting Washoe landscapes or referencing encounters with Washoe individuals or groups contain frequent mistakes or biases associated with the cartographic agenda. The mistakes resulted from confusion, misunderstanding, and mistranslation of the Washoe language in the process of mapping the geography, and identifying and recording data about the numerous Indigenous communities of California and the Great Basin (such as the Northern Paiute, Miwok, Nisenan, and Maidu). These kinds of mistakes were the result of language barriers and listening-derived; they were often essentially errors of mishearing due to unfamiliarity with the language, which then made their way into linguistic transcription. Additional confusion on the part of Euro-Americans resulting from intermarriage, extended visitation, and cooperative efforts

among the Washoe, Northern Paiute, Miwok, and Nisenan groups may have contributed to confusion and misunderstandings; once these types of mistakes were mapped, they were reproduced in other maps, which continued to be consulted and cited. Although not cartographically related, there is an interesting Washoe historical error I can present as an example. There were a handful of Washoe Captain Jims and Captain Petes from different parts of the Washoe range, from different points in history, who were referred to interchangeably at times as a result of the confusion; the different leaders, however, are discernible by their Washoe names, as explained in Washoe language class (Kate personal communication, 2019). The confusion persisted as a result of a naming practice; Washoe names are rarely referenced outside the extended family group. The resulting maps did not always identify Native American groups with the appropriate landscapes, and the maps did not always give an accurate or complete sense of the spaces in which they moved about or claimed as theirs; a problem that exacerbated the boundary disputes that typified the Indian Claims Commission (ICC) hearings.

### **Building a Northern Washoe Ethno-map**

One objective of this study was to produce a northern Washoe landscape ethno-map, which would provide an opportunity for We' Imelt' i? Washoe to collaboratively re-create a map of their own as part of a critique and challenge to previous maps of their range created by non-Washoe cartographers. To this end, participation and feedback of individuals and families assisted in providing northern Washoe interpretations, translations, and family specific and community knowledge of landscapes. Guidelines for ethno-mapping are general and tend to be dictated by, or tailored to, the specific



project, as expressed earlier in this chapter. A recent collaborative digital mapping project involving Indigenous Itelmen communities of Kamchatka (Thom, Colombi, and Degai 2016, 14) underscored the value of having Itelmen community members decide “what gets mapped,” as far as what was shared versus what remained private. They employed Google Earth and its integrated platforms for adding quantitative cultural data, so issues of privacy and access were necessary considerations. The same considerations and mapping techniques were not employed for this study or ethno-map; a GIS map was employed instead of mapping technology with public access, like Google Earth. Planning how to organize the cultural knowledge (qualitative data) for consistency and how best to organize the data in a relational sense were important components of the northern Washoe ethno-map. Organizing qualitative data into spreadsheet format by place enabled expedient searches and analysis. The Itelmen project translated qualitative data visually onto a Google Earth assisted ethno-map. They trained members of the communities to participate in the mapping project, which also enabled the Itelmen communities to operate and control the ethno-map and cultural contents themselves. Other short- and long-term considerations of the Itelmen project included methods of system maintenance, data storage, data ownership, the need for access controls, and the ease of migrating data (Thom, Colombi, and Degai 2016, 14-17, 27); these were also considerations in making the northern Washoe ethno-map. Thus, the Itelmen collaborative mapping project underscores the value of community engagement in producing the map and deciding how cultural knowledge is represented digitally.

The current study of significant We’ Imelt’ i? landscapes did not utilize Google Earth due to privacy and access considerations, and it also did not involve training of We’

Imelt' i? community members on GIS software used to create the map. The Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California has its own GIS mapping technicians in the Environmental Protection Department, and I met some of these individuals on a natural resource, multi-agency stakeholder tour of Meeks Meadow and Blackwood Canyon in 2017.<sup>175</sup> The Washoe Tribe's Environmental Protection Department combines modern and traditional Washoe practices. Similar to the Kamchatka ethno-mapping study, qualitative We' Imelt' i? landscape data was organized into a spreadsheet (Index 6. Master Index of Northern Washoe Landscapes), and then data was converted to attribute tables used to produce the Ethno-map of Northern Washoe Landscapes (Figure 8), a GIS map. Referencing the landscape index, a typology of We' Imelt' i? landscapes was organized based on landscape (geographic feature) type, landscape significance, and landscape use. A coding system to represent distinctions between landscapes types on the ethno-map corresponds to the typology (Figure 1 and Figure 2); and the coding is also contained in the Master Index of Northern Washoe Landscapes (Index 6). Organizing data into a spreadsheet format facilitated the process of coding landscapes. Another built-in feature of the spreadsheet index is that it allows for information to be readily added to or edited as times, generations, and preferences change; the index allows for cultural dynamics and does not "freeze" information in time and space. Different layers, or versions of the index can be used to generate future maps tailored to specific needs or projects. As part of the data management plan for this study, the We' Imelt' i? landscape

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<sup>175</sup> Per my employment with California State Parks, I was invited to join Natural Resource experts on the tour as a UNR PhD student researching the cultural significance of northern Washoe landscapes.

information contained in the Master Index of Northern Washoe Landscapes (Index 6) will be retained by the Washoe Tribe in the Office of Historic Preservation (OHP) upon completion of this project. The Washoe Tribe's Office of Historic Preservation will manage utilization and access to the Ethno-map of Northern Washoe Landscapes (Figure 8), and they will also have the ability to update it as they determine.

A body of theory for ethno-mapping does not exist, *per se*, but the origins of Indigenous mapping and ethno-mapping according to Brennan-Horley et al. (2010) come from behavioral geography. Mental maps have been utilized as research tools since the sixties, however they were typically done freehand or sketched on paper, as Brennan-Horley et al. (2019, 95) explains:

A mental map is an individual's cognitive representation of place (Taun 1975). Similar terms, including sketch maps and cognitive maps, cover similar conceptual ground, but essentially they are all used to elicit the importance a respondent gives to particular spaces, sites, and nodes in networks, the strength of the relationships between these, and how these factors combine to create one's orientation, goals, or mental geography of place (Lynch 1960; Matei, Ball-Rokeach, and Qiu 2001).

In anthropology, a similar tradition of thought became manifest as cognitive ethnography, or American ethno-science (Berlin 1992), as discussed in the first section of this chapter. Recent GIS mapping technology provides new opportunities to systematize, compare, and analyze mental maps, which was not possible in the past. Mental mapping with the assistance of GIS provides innovative ways to demonstrate and "tell complex stories of connection belonging, and place" that are extracted from cumbersome qualitative data (Brennan-Horley et al. 2010, 102).

The endeavor to conduct a project of interest to the Indigenous northern Washoe community and employ decolonizing and deconstructing methodologies (Smith 1999;

Harley 1989) throughout the study and mapping process required northern Washoe elders' involvement to validate northern Washoe worldviews, values, and traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) about significant landscapes, and to incorporate Washoe language and voices. It also provided opportunity for them to set the historical record straight from a We' Imelt' i? perspective. The purpose of conducting archival research was to locate, review, and record material referencing Washoe landscapes, individuals, and communities, and then produce a dataset, which could be reviewed and edited by the Washoe project sponsors (Angie, Cheryl, Ruby, and Linda). The data could then be used to produce an ethno-map of northern Washoe landscapes representing a Washoe orientation, and embedded with ethno-historic content of Washoe people who have familial ties and social memories of northern Washoe (We' Imelt' i?) places (Basso 1996; Palmer 2005; Schneider 2015; Connerton 1989, 2009; Climo and Cattell 2002). In this study an ethno-map: 1) follows a Washoe-oriented approach to mapping and naming landscapes; 2) has a We' Imelt' i? focus that visually illustrates their perspectives; 3) depicts the We' Imelt' i? homeland and places they identify as significant; and 4) includes Washoe names, translations, voices and collaboration (inserted to explain, or edit details). Ethno-mapping, as an ethno-scientific approach, was employed in this study to visually communicate the ways Washoe people orient themselves on the landscape, and how they classify and name regional landscapes, ecosystems, and topographic features (Hardesty 1977; Berlin 2006, 1992; Hunn 2008, 1990, 1982, 1977).

During the course of my research, culturally important landscapes in the northern Washoe range were investigated; the consultation involved families and individuals who identify themselves as We' Imelt' i?, or northerners, as well as other Washoes who had

memories and knowledge of places in northern Washoe territory. My project sponsors, Ruby, Linda, Cheryl, and Angie, were assigned to me by John, the Washoe Tribal Historic Preservation Officer and on the basis of their individual and regional We'Imelt' landscape expertise. Different recollections of places were collected to create a multi-layered GIS map illustrating the northern Washoe landscapes and spaces identified by the study. Washoe names for places were compiled, indexed, and incorporated in the map; places on the ethno-map are labeled with Washoe names, the English translations, and the English names. Different layers on the ethno-map illustrate features of different size classes. Specific locations are labeled as points. A second layer identifies watercourses and trekking routes (as lines). The third layer illustrates more expansive geographic features (ie, canyons), resource or camping areas; esoteric spaces; and landscape neighborhoods (as polygons). A fourth layer shows different landscape uses and significances using symbols and coding.

The archival data reviewed and compiled into indices for analysis included photographs, oral histories, anthropologists' research collections pertaining to the Washoe, and cultural resource reports.<sup>176</sup> Themes that emerged from archival research and data guided which ethno-historic data were included in the ethno-map (Figure 8. Ethno-map of Northern Washoe Landscapes). Northern Washoe elders were consulted to make the final determinations regarding which places were mapped, what information about places was shared, and the manner in which qualitative cultural details (family knowledge) were displayed on the ethno-map. Prominent themes in the archival data

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<sup>176</sup> The individual indices are not included in this report, but the data pertaining to northern Washoe landscapes is contained in Index 6 (Appendix C).

included: habitation spots (permanent and seasonal); places associated with families and relatives (settlements, camping places, places where social gatherings took place, mawsh, burial sites); travel corridors, trek routes, and trails; waterscapes including rivers, creeks, lakes, and springs accessed for fishing, hunting, harvesting plants, and for bathing or health; places associated with mythic events and beings; places associated with historic events and characters; non-water related landscapes visited for resource procurement activities, such as hunting, fishing, plant and mineral collecting; and prominent or distinctive geographic landmarks. These were the principle features to map, so a coding system based on a typology of We' Imelt' i? landscape type, significance, and use was developed (Figure 2. List of Codes for Washoe Type, Use, and Significance). In addition to geographic feature type, the We' Imelt' i? landscapes collected in this study were coded according to use and/or significance. The dual typology facilitated organization and analysis of Washoe landscape data, as well as mapping and presentation of the study results. A total of 269 Washoe landscapes, organized alphabetically, were indexed and coded (Index 5. Master Index of Washoe Landscapes). Of the 269 Washoe landscapes, 94 were situated in northern Washoe territory as determined by published maps (Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California 2009, 4; Dixon, Schablitzky, and Novak 2011, 256) that delimited a We' Imelt' i? area, or specifically referenced as places visited, traversed, or used by northern Washoe individuals and families.<sup>177</sup> The Washoe names of some

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<sup>177</sup> Due to its size, Index 5 was not included in the report; it contains data about 269 Washoe landscapes. A sixth index containing only the northern Washoe places (Index 6. Master Index of Northern Washoe Landscapes) was compiled and utilized to guide the production of the Ethno-map of Northern Washoe Landscapes (Figure 8).

important places had been forgotten, but the index enabled the reconnection of data in a few instances.

Just as there were important We' Imelt' i? landscape features and details to map, there were features that were impossible to map, and others that were important to avoid mapping. For example, it was impossible to accurately map places whose names were recalled, but whose exact location had been forgotten (e.g., Daugaiaca) (Freed 1966, 81/#17; Toll and Elston 1980, 11/P-1). In accordance with archaeological ethics, We' Imelt' i? landscapes identified as being archaeological sites in cultural resource reports were not mapped, intentionally, in order to maintain confidentiality of locations, maintain site integrity, and prevent looting. Burial places and cemeteries were not mapped, out of respect for the deceased and their descendants; some of these places were recorded archaeological sites (Lindström et al. 2002; Fowler et al. 1981; Unknown author, 1965). In some cases, an alternative to pinpointing a culturally sensitive location was to highlight the larger landscape area instead of ignoring or not mapping the area altogether. The same protocols were followed for sites whose exact location was forgotten, no longer part of Washoe cultural memory, or where multiple testimonials of location existed. In the last situation, the polygon approach helped to highlight landscapes and spaces with discrepancies or more than one location listed. The existence of discrepancies in qualitative landscape data supports the hypothesis that actual discrepancies in cultural knowledge may exist between We' Imelt' i? individuals and families. These discrepancies may indicate where dynamic processes are taking place with regard to cultural memory of landscapes.

### Themes that Emerged from Archival Research

Key themes which emerged from archival research included the following Washoe landscapes including those used for habitation, travel, interment, and social gatherings, specifically: permanent settlements, camp sites, travel corridors or trek routes, cemeteries, and stopping (resting) places. Notable waterscapes are the rivers, streams, lakes, and springs throughout their range. Mountains, peaks, and summits were frequently referenced, indicating their relative significance, as were places referenced in Washoe narratives and origin stories, and burial areas or cemeteries. Historic maps illustrate the Washoe range, and some include a core and an extended range.

With regard to an extended range (or possibly a larger aboriginal range), the Washoe did recall names for places located a distance from their current and historic home ranges, including the Pacific Ocean and Mt. Shasta, at least in the 1950s when the information was recorded. The Washoe name for the Pacific Ocean, is Dime' dagóy, which means "father of water" (d'Azevedo 1956, 84/#217). Wá't'a šému is the name for the Sacramento River and the San Joaquin River (d'Azevedo 1956, 83/#216); possible translations are "real" river or "real" water, based on Dá'aw šemu, or "real lake," another Washoe name for the Pacific Ocean (1956, 84/#217), or river "one, or the one" (Kroeber 1907, 280, 312).<sup>178</sup> The names Pe'wét'seli' Dalák and Dalá'ak Dew Dímlem, or "mountain flaming," were both provided as names for Mt. Lassen (d'Azevedo 1956, 80/#205).<sup>179</sup> Two translations were recalled for Dawdált'sul, the Washoe name for Mt.

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<sup>178</sup> Nevers (1976, 4) also recorded Watah she mu as the name for the Carson River, and this is the name still used.

<sup>179</sup> A third name for Mt. Lassen, Dalá 'ak We'lú-hu, was provided by another Washoe individual (d'Azevedo 1956, 80/#205).



Shasta: “spotted mountain” and “weasle [weasel] mountains” (d’Azevedo 1956, 80/#206). One Washoe narrative links Mt. Shasta with the character, of Weasel (Damolali), who abandoned an infant relative there on the mountain. A Washoe individual relayed to d’Azevedo that at one time Washoe people travelled to Mt. Shasta to pay homage, and another individual of Washoe descent was familiar with a narrative that recounted how “Weasel got his white fur from Mt. Shasta” (d’Azevedo 1956, 80/9#206).

### Reworking Historic Maps and Archival Data

The ethno-map created with data collected as part of this study is composite in the sense that it combines the ethno-historic details gathered from historic and modern maps, historic images, oral histories, ethnographic field data, as well as contemporary ethnographic and narrative accounts, which were indexed and incorporated into one multi-layered map; this information is also indexed. The most valuable resources, however, were historic maps produced by anthropologists, which depict and record Washoe places and names, including those by: Dangberg (1968, 25); Freed (1966, 79); and Stewart (George F. Wright papers, 90-37). Historic maps contained in cultural resource reports provided relevant ethno-historic content, as well, and included reports authored by: Lindström (1992b, Figures 1-5); Lindström et al. (2002, Figures 7 and 14); Lindström, Rucks, Wigand (2000, 56, 60, 63); Lindström et al. (2007, 13, 15, 21-22, 30, 33, 38, 63-64, 71); Goodwin (1971, 3 maps); Toll and Elston (1980, 20-21); and one

1965 map by an unknown author (d'Azevedo collection 99-39).<sup>180</sup> Later in his career, d'Azevedo produced other maps of the Washoe range (2008, 3; 1986, 468), which yielded Washoe place names for habitation areas, in particular, but nothing as extensive as the thirteen maps to accompany Washo Place Names (1956). Diversity in the types of historic maps depicting Washoe landscapes that were consulted for this study illustrate the multiple intrusions into Washoe spaces at different times by local industries. Table 2.1 and Table 2.2 show the array of historic maps accessed for this study that depict Washoe landscapes; the table contains the map date, title, and source for each map.

Instead of using historic maps to focus on boundaries like Omer Stewart did, this project identified Washoe landscapes in the archival data, and then used historic and contemporary maps to locate significant spaces and their Washoe names. In light of possible translation or other errors, as discussed earlier in this chapter, all spellings of Washoe people and place names are contained in the index. Previous research pertaining to the Washoe highlighted the central (or valley) and the southern Washoe communities, while documentation of the northern Washoe communities is sparse and fragmented into multiple archival media formats. A project goal was to compile fragmented Washoe

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<sup>180</sup> The map's (1965) unknown author was a Sacramento State College student on an anthropology class field trip. Don Jewell, the instructor, directed the students "to meet a Great Basin Indian and collect at least a single item of ethnic information" (d'Azevedo collection, 99-39). Afterward, Jewell sent student papers to d'Azevedo. The date of August 10, 1965, is written on the map, in addition to the title, "Washoe Campsites Prior to 1910." Mr. Marcus Robinson is listed as the 81 year-old "informant" who assisted with the map. The map is based on his memories of the lake before 1910 when he was 26 years old. On the map locations of hunting and fishing sites, temporary sites, large fish seines, destroyed and submerged sites and burial areas are identified. Information provided by Robinson was drawn onto a copyrighted 1963 recreational map by Reedy and Hoffman of Lake Tahoe stamped with the logo, "Outdoor Trails, Bob Reedy."

landscape and place name data into one spreadsheet, or index, and this facilitated analysis, coding, and guided construction of the ethno-map (Figure 8). The Master Northern Washoe Landscape Index (Index 6) contains documentation of northern Washoe landscapes; it includes both the English and the Washoe names for places (where known), with orthographic variants, and other associated data, relating people and families to the landscapes.

**Table 2.1. Ethno-historic Maps and Figures Depicting Washoe Landscapes**

<b><u>Date</u></b>	<b><u>Map Title and Source(s)</u></b>
1955	Untitled. Composite Map of Washo Territory by O. C. Stewart. (George F. Wright papers, 90-37, S5/F1/M1)
1966	Washo Sites Around Lake Tahoe. (Freed 1966, 79)
1968	Carson Valley and Lake Tahoe Area (Dangberg 1968, 25)
n.d.	Untitled. Boundary Disputes Over Washo Territory. (Siskin, 1938; O. C. Stewart, 1939; S. A. Barrett, 1917; Swanton, 1952; R. B. Dixon, 1905; Omer C. Stewart, 1954; Powell, 1890; A. L. Kroeber, 1925; Royce, 1897. (George F. Wright papers, 90-37, S5/F1/M2)
1866	Washo Boundary 1866. Franklin Campbell, US Indian Agent for Nevada, 1866. (George F. Wright papers, 90-37, S5/F1/M5)
n.d.	Untitled. Map of the Great Basin from Fremont's Report, pp. 275-276. Pet. Ex. 7-6, National Archives, R. G. 77. (George F. Wright papers, 9037, S5/F2/M1)

Part of the need to create an indexing system was spurred by the otherwise overwhelming challenge of organizing and coding the multiple formats of qualitative Washoe landscape data and the numerous English and Washoe names in order to facilitate searching, referencing, analysis, mapping, and report writing. Keeping track of the multiple orthographies and their individual citations quickly became an overwhelming task without the indexing structure. The same index was used to generate

a smaller index specific to northern Washoe landscapes, the focus of this study (Index 6. Master Index of Northern Washoe Landscapes). Organized in alphabetical order by place name, the indexing method allowed compilation of landscape data from multiple historic and contemporary maps and qualitative data in other media formats into one resource (Index 6). From the Master Index of Northern Washoe Landscapes (Index 6), a composite map embedded with the ethno-historic landscape data was constructed using a coded system with representational symbols illustrated in Figure 2. GIS format allows for different landscape details of the map to be depicted separately or together, or the generation of new maps, as dictated by circumstance; and it is possible to revise the index or attribute table data (metadata) at any time in the future.

The spreadsheet file containing the layered map data is also referred to as the attribute tables, and the tables were uploaded into GIS software to build the ethno-map. During the last stages of fieldwork a California State Parks GIS map technician, and wildlife biologist by classification, was funded with Sierra District resource monies that assisted the production and completion of the Ethno-map of Northern Washoe Landscapes (Figure 8), for this project. The map of northern Washoe landscapes created from the study contains three data layers organized by size of the geographic feature or place. The first layer identifies specific places within larger landscape areas in the northern Washoe range, including permanent settlements, lakes, springs, caves, or mountains, and they are labeled as points on the map. Important waterways, such as streams and rivers, as well as travel corridors and trek routes, comprised a second layer of significant landscape features; these more extensive features were designated with lines.

**Table 2.2. Historic Maps from Cultural Resource Reports Depicting Washoe Landscapes**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Map Title and Source(s)</b>
1992	Project Location Map, Alpine Meadows Ski Area Water Pipeline (Lindström 1992) <sup>181</sup>
1987	USGS Quadrangle map ca. 1987. (Lindström 1992)
1940	USGS Quadrangle map ca. 1940. (Lindström 1992)
1909	Map of Railway and Terminals of the Lake Tahoe Railway and Transportation Company. (Lindström et al. 2002) <sup>182</sup>
1985	Territorial Boundaries. (Lindström 1985, 18)
2000	Major Lumber Operations in the Lake Tahoe basin. (Lindström, Rucks, and Wigand 2000) <sup>183</sup>
2000	Schematic map showing estimated extent of historic logging in the Tahoe Basin. (Myrick 1962)
2000	Schematic map of large-scale cutting. (Lindström, Rucks, and Wigand 2000)
2007	Washoe Named Places near Truckee. (Lindström et al. 2007) <sup>184</sup>
1874	Topographic Map of Lake Tahoe, 1874. (Lindström et al. 2007)
1876-77	Expeditions of 1876 and 1877 under the Command of 1 <sup>st</sup> Lieutenant George M. Wheeler, Corps of Engineers, US Army. (Lindström et al. 2007)
2007	Lumbering History of the Truckee River Basin. (Lindström et al. 2007; Wilson 1992)
2007	Map Showing Final Location of Telephone Line from Section 7, T17N, R17E to Section 10, T17N, R16E, 1923. Courtesy of Sierra Pacific Power Company Archives, Reno, NV.
1880	Map of Nevada County, 1880. (Lindström et al. 2007)
1955	USGS Quadrangle map, 1955. (Lindström et al. 2007)
1955	USGS Quadrangle map, 1955. Photorevised 1969. (Lindström et al. 2007)
1938	Metzker's Map (ca. 1938). (Lindström et al. 2007)
1971	Map, Logged Areas. (Goodwin 1971)
1971	Map, Archaeological and Ethnographic Sites. (Goodwin 1971)
1965	Map, Washoe Camp Sites Prior to 1910. (unknown author 1965) <sup>185</sup>
n.d.	Archaeological and Ethnographic Sites. (Toll and Elston 1981)

A third map layer highlights even larger landscapes of significance, and these include sites for social gatherings, larger geographic features (canyons), expansive camping areas, shared use zones, and “name area[s]” (Davis 1992, 3) like Magóyot (d’Azevedo

<sup>181</sup> Maps and figures in Lindström 1992 (1992, Figures 1, 4, 5).

<sup>182</sup> Maps and figures (Lindström et al. 2002, Figures 7, 14).

<sup>183</sup> Maps and figures (Lindström, Rucks, and Wigand 2000, 56, 60, 63).

<sup>184</sup> Maps and figures (Lindström et al. 2007, 13, 15, 21, 22, 30, 33, 38, 63, 64, 71).

<sup>185</sup> This map identifies historical locations of Washoe fishing and hunting sites, as well as locations of large fish seines, destroyed spaces, and sensitive areas. Information provided by Robinson, a Washoe individual, was sketched onto a copyrighted 1963 Lake Tahoe trail map.

1956, 51; Toll and Elston 1980, 17), and DukMé?em (Rucks 2002, 6-8).<sup>186</sup> Colored ovals represent larger landscape spaces in the third map layer. In addition to the identification of general landscape areas, the third map layer served an additional function; places whose exact location was confidential, such as archaeological sites, or other culturally sensitive places on the landscape, in some instances could be represented on the map as colored ovals.

It was important to me the Washoe Tribe retain a copy of the GIS map file (attribute tables) for their use without having a copyright agreement, which could restrict their future use. Great effort was made to ensure the mapping attribute tables produced as part of this study, would be housed solely with the Washoe Tribe, versus other entities, who might permit utilization, alteration, or publication of project landscape data in the future or employ the information to support non-Washoe agendas. Data sharing considerations are part of the basic process one follows to build a GIS map; and the first step is creating the map's attribute tables (in Excel spreadsheet format) that are uploaded into the GIS software, which generate the visual end products –the actual GIS maps. The completed ethno-map and attribute tables containing the qualitative project data pertaining to northern Washoe landscapes are retained in a locked and password protected folder only accessible by the author.

## **Conclusion**

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<sup>186</sup> D'Azevedo utilized the alternate phrasing, "place or area name" (1956, 44/#103).

An ethno-scientific theoretical approach and methodology were intertwined in my project in order to: obtain a northern Washoe insider perspective of their homeland; understand how Washoe people think about place; and how they orient themselves on the land. I then used the data gathered to create an ethno-map highlighting northern Washoe landscapes, and embed it with the specific cultural details that make a place valuable (basically a social memory map of northern Washoe places). To compile and organize the variety of qualitative landscape data reviewed for this project, a master index of Washoe places was created. From the master index, a northern Washoe index of landscapes was extracted. Northern Washoe landscapes were determined based on their location in accordance with previously published maps delimiting northern Washoe territory (some of which name places), and these landscapes were also determined based on references of them being We' Imelt' i? spaces, or being associated with northern Washoe individuals and families. Analysis of Washoe place names and naming conventions was necessary to know which geographic features were named, and to understand their sense of orientation on the land. A history and background in Indigenous mapping in general, and pertinent to the Washoe, guided the types of and extent of qualitative data gathered, how it was or if it was presented in Washoe landscape indices (1-6), the attribute table, and the Ethno-map of Northern Washoe Landscapes (Figure 8) and also guided data management and copyright considerations.

Two Washoe elders I interacted with at WCRAC meetings expressed to me separately how important this mapping project was, and at the time, I perceived these as remarks of encouragement, because early on I probably appeared nervous and uncomfortable. However, after some reflection and discussion with other regional

ethnographers and archaeologists who work with the Washoe communities, I think the comments were genuine. One of these colleagues commented the Washoe Tribe had been trying to produce a GIS map of their own, but so far they had been unsuccessful in coordinating the resources to complete the project and the research; it was too large an investment of time for a small staff already overwhelmed with responsibility. Another colleague was ecstatic that I had compiled indices to accompany the ethno-map; they were specifically enthusiastic about the convenience of having Washoe place information and references together in one spreadsheet, which could help to streamline research. Although I did my best to explain to the Washoe elders the type of map I wanted to produce with this study, it is possible that a learning curve may exist for the Washoe elders with regard to GIS mapping and its capabilities.

Ethno-map is a label that characterizes the We' Imelt' i? landscape map produced in this study. The term ethno-map is derived from ethnographic mapping, the process of mapping Indigenous lands as a research tool and accompaniment to ethnographic research or interviews (Brennan-Horley et al. 2010). Most ethno-mapping projects, this one included, emphasize inclusion and involvement of Indigenous individuals and voices (Thom, Colombi, and Degai 2016; Eades 2015; Chapin, Lamb, and Threlkeld 2005; Chapin and Threlkeld 2001; Brody 1998; Riewe, 1992; Freeman 1976). In this study ethno-map refers to a Washoe-oriented map, in the same sense that the chairman of the White Mountain Apache Tribe, Ronnie Lupe, who commented to Keith Basso, "Why don't you make maps over there [...] Not whitemen's maps, we've got plenty of them, but Apache maps with Apache places and names. We could use them. Find out something about how we know our country" (Basso 1996, xv).



Ethno-map is also a nod to ethnoscience. As discussed previously, a primary research objective was to understand Washoe ways of thinking about the landscape, specifically in the We' Imelt' i? region, and then to build a map illustrating the findings, labeled with Washoe toponyms to identify the places and spaces in their living memory and illustrate how they perceive the land, how landscapes are categorized, and to show which places are useful and worth remembering. Ethno-mapping is not a new activity, as evidenced in the many studies discussed in this chapter; however, as I also noted, Indigenous mapping projects vary by project, community, and region; there is no standardization of methods or terminology among the various styles of maps, and the amount of Indigenous participation seems to vary by project. This ethno-map of northern Washoe landscapes (Figure 8) is slightly different than other community and participatory maps, where the communities themselves gathered the data and produced the map with basic training and minimal oversight by mapping experts. On this project, the We' Imelt' i? community did not directly participate in gathering data or building the ethno-map. However, the four Washoe project sponsors (Angie, Linda, Ruby, and Cheryl) and another elder (Chris), verified and commented on landscape data compiled from ethnographic and archival sources reviewed for this study, which was rich with cultural knowledge in the form of place names, stories, and photographs provided by or representing relatives of We' Imelt' i? people. Whereas some Indigenous mapping projects employed online mapping tools and platforms as more affordable options that

could be accessed and operated using community members' cell phones, this mapping project did not.<sup>187</sup>

The printing and copyrighting of Indigenous maps is a politically charged topic (Eades 2015; Bryan and Wood 2015; Chapin and Threlkeld 2001; Riewe 1992), and in some cases Native communities have been excluded from map ownership, receiving credit for providing cultural knowledge contained in the map, reproduction and copyrights. There are serious considerations for building an ethno-map, and irresponsibility could result in loss of land or monetary settlements. What if an Indigenous map with individual and community information fell into the hands of state officials or others who might not have the interests of Indigenous communities in mind? To protect against this happening in the future, the attribute table will be retained by the tribe; this provides them with the ability to reproduce, edit, and use the map (and map data) as they desire, and on terms they determine. Following the same rationale, and also because its size prevents its easy reproduction, the attribute table is not included as part of this dissertation. Several of the indices from which the attribute table was produced are included here. A hardcopy of the Ethno-map of Northern Washoe Landscapes (Figure 8) was too large to include in this report, as a larger map scale was required to accommodate the expansive project area in one map, but smaller sections of the ethno-map are illustrated throughout the report, and each map feature is individually described in Chapter Seven.

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<sup>187</sup> The Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California is a recognized tribal entity that receives adequate funding and employs staff in its Environmental Protection Department trained in GIS applications.

## **Chapter 7. Northern Washoe (We' Imelt' i?) Landscapes**

Ninety-four culturally significant landscapes in the We' Imelt' i? homeland were identified in the study, and they are presented in the following paragraphs. Each of the ninety-four landscapes is illustrated on the accompanying ethno-map of We' Imelt' i? landscapes (Figure 8), and the numbers included in this chapter correspond to the map. Place numbering begins at Lake Tahoe and moves counter-clockwise from Tahoe City around Lake Tahoe back to the Truckee River outlet in Tahoe City.<sup>188</sup> From the outlet, place numbering changes course and continues along the Truckee River to and past the town of Truckee, through Verdi, then to Sierra Valley, Honey Lake Valley, Long Valley, Reno, past Steamboat Springs, and ending at Mt. Rose. The presentation of the landscapes generally reflects a Washoe perception of the land; it begins with a focus on Lake Tahoe, the water feature central to the Washoe lifeway, then follows the course of the Truckee River to Verdi where the numbering shifts and loops north and east through the valleys and back to the Truckee Meadows region.

### **Landscapes of the We' Imelt' i?**

#### **Lake Tahoe (1)**

Lake Tahoe is central to Washoe culture, geographically and symbolically (Rucks 2002; Garey-Sage 2003, 28; Bravo 1991, 3). The Washoe name, Da ow, referred to Lake

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<sup>188</sup> Southern Washoe landscapes are not illustrated in the ethno-map, because the study specifically highlights northern Washoe landscapes, but some places in southern Washoe territory are included to provide examples or illustrate specific points.

Tahoe. The name, Da ow a ga, means “edge of the Lake” (Nevers 1976, 4; Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 257). Although Washoe lived at Minden, Genoa, Carson

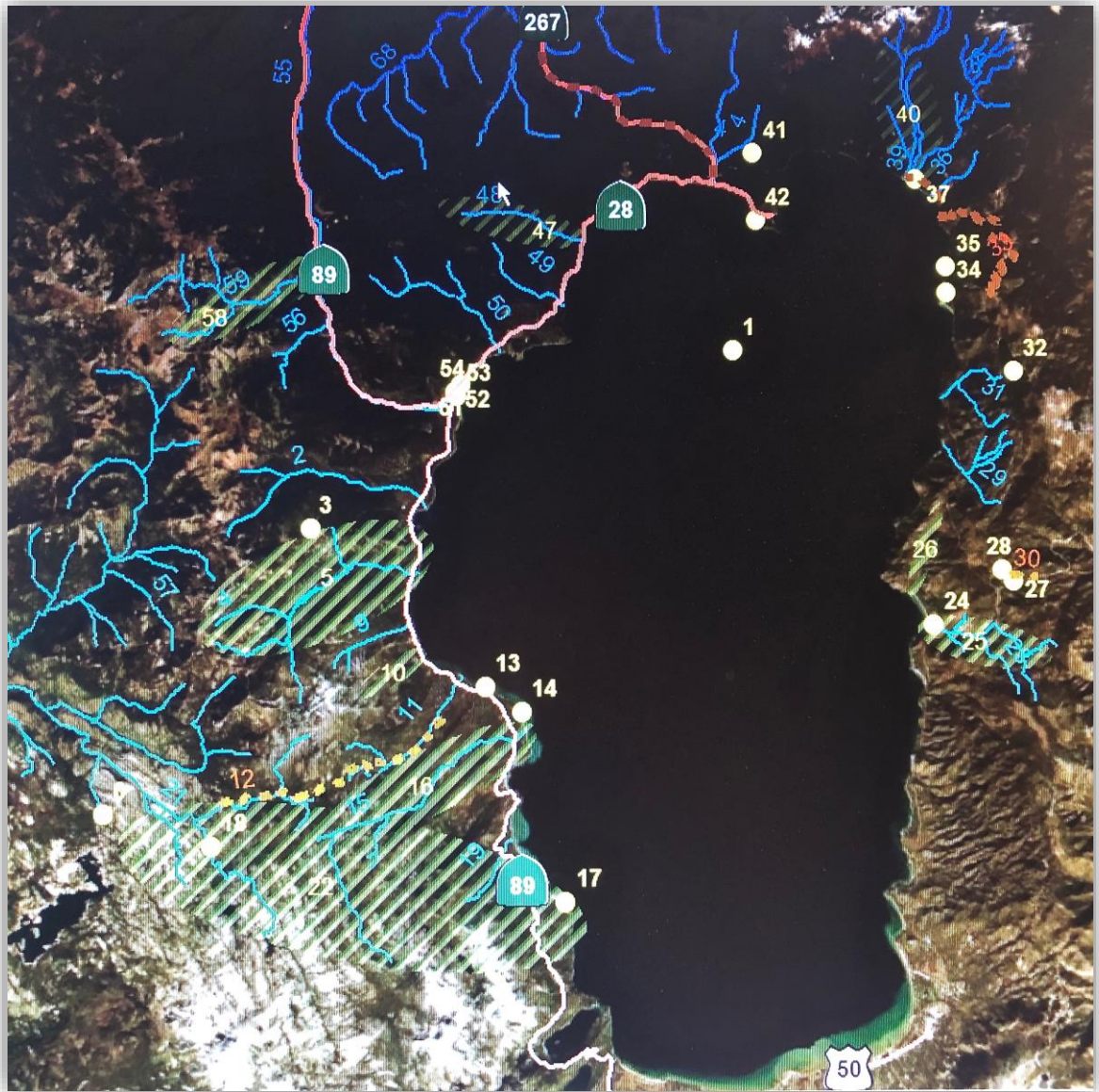


Figure 8. Ethno-map of Northern Washoe Landscapes. Numbers on the map correspond to the landscapes discussed in the text of this chapter; map numbers are provided in parentheses.





Freed 1960, 351; 1966, 75; Price 1962b, 40). Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak (2011, 260) explained, “Washoes distinguished...places they lived from places they regularly visited (where they maintained short-duration or intermittent camps) by adding the place-name label *detdéyi*, meaning “people living there.” Place names referenced in the study featuring the word, *detdé?yi*, were permanent Washoe settlements. D’Azevedo (1956) translated the Washoe word, *detdé?yi*, as “dwellers, ” and during the 1950s, d’Azevedo recorded “twenty-three year-round settlements in Washoe country” (Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 260 from d’Azevedo 1956). Five of the home bases were associated with the Donner Party and in *We’ lmelt’ i?*, or northern Washoe country (Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 260-261).

Seasonal treks were made to Lake Tahoe or other resource-abundant locales. Leonore Bravo, a Euro-American teacher at an all Washoe school in Woodfords, California in the 1930s described the typical seasonal movements of people to and from permanent settlement areas per her observation paraphrased in the paragraphs below.<sup>189</sup> Young Washoe men and women went to Lake Tahoe to ice fish the tributary streams in spring. Fish moved from lake depths to the streams the end of May to begin spawning, and by June, fish were abundant and harvested in quantity. Fish were so numerous they could be harvested with baskets or bare hands (Bravo 1991, 103).

A wave of elders and families with children came to the lake next, and a big gathering took place of Washoe from the whole territory. At Washoe gatherings, freshly caught fish were roasted on coals or dried on racks of willow (*Salix sp.*) (Rucks 2002, 33

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<sup>189</sup> Bravo was a resident of Woodfords, California and a teacher at the Woodfords School from 1937-1939 (Bravo 1991).

from Lindström, Rucks, and Wigand 2000), and the evenings were filled with dancing, singing, game playing, gossiping, courtship, and visiting (Bravo 1991, 103). When summer spawning season ended, Washoe fished the tributary streams with spears or hooks and lines. Sometimes smaller streams were diverted or dammed with willow or nets, and certain plants were used to stun the fish (Bravo 1991, 103). After the tributary streams were fished, the Washoe travelled above Emerald Bay into Desolation Valley to the high elevation lakes and meadows, or the headwaters of rivers in their range for unexploited fishing grounds and gathering (Bravo 1991, 103). In late fall, people moved to streams where mat tash hu, Mountain whitefish (*Prosopium williamsoni*) (Lindström 1992a, 22) were spawning; fall spawning runs were one of the last fall harvests, and mat tash hu were split, dried, and stored for winter food (Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 255, 262, 284, 287).

Washoe people continued their treks to Lake Tahoe after settlement of Euro-Americans. Kroeber noted that “Lake Tahoe is central to Washo territory, and was and is still resorted to in summer” (Kroeber 1953, 570; Lekisch 1988, 149). Some Washoe worked summer wage labor jobs at the lake. Bravo (1991, 7) talked about a woman from Woodfords who was an excellent basket maker; this woman transported her baskets to Lake Tahoe in the summer and sold them to tourists and other Washoe (Bravo 1991, 7). Washoe elder, Ruth Abbie, recalled when she worked up at Lake Tahoe in summers. Ruth was hired from her parents’ home in Schurz, Nevada. She worked for a lady who had a real estate office at the lake, and one time she was invited to stay at her employer’s lakeside residence (McBride 2017b).

Parts of the Lake Tahoe landscape were shared use areas for fishing, hunting, and gathering seasonal resources. There are multiple travel corridors into and out of the Lake Tahoe Basin, which originated as Washoe and Paiute trails; the Watson Creek and Truckee River corridors are examples. Similar to northern Washoe families, some Northern Paiute people travelled to the northern regions of Lake Tahoe for camping, fishing, and hunting. During the 1980s, the Washoe were called into conflict with Northern Paiutes over the control of hunting and fishing grounds near Lake Tahoe (Tahoe Daily Tribune 2/23/81, 6A; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-16).

Lake Tahoe landscapes comprise the setting for several Washoe narratives; one such narrative features Ong, a giant mythical bird, which flew around and carried off Washoe people. Ong had a giant nest in Lake Tahoe just off the shore from Cave Rock. As the story goes, Ong was shot down by a Washoe hunter and falls into Lake Tahoe where his giant bones turned to stone. According to Washoe elders, Ong's pile of bones can still be seen from high up (Bravo 1991, 131). Other documentations of this narrative describe Ong's nest on an island in Lake Tahoe; the now-submerged island is visible to pilots flying over the lake.

Another story about the creation of Lake Tahoe was told to Bravo by her Washoe friend, which I will paraphrase. Before there was a lake, there were just mountains and a valley with creeks and springs where people got water. A Water Baby who looked like a little girl with golden hair, lived at one of the springs. Pawetlah drank at the spring each day.<sup>190</sup> At this point in the story, the narrator explains to the audience there are no more

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<sup>190</sup> According to Lowie (1939, 322), Water Babies, are a "species of evil waterbeings; in Washoe they are called metsuṇ'é. Washoes are fearful of Water Babies and try to avoid



Pawetlahs; they were little furry animals like beavers that liked water, and were full of mischief. Anyhow, Pawetlah wanted Water Baby's golden hair, but she always said no when he asked. One time Pawetlah caught Water Baby asleep; he stole her hair and ran away with it! Right away water started gushing from the spring. First, water filled the hollow where the spring was, and then water filled the entire valley, leaving just the hilltops sticking out. Pawetlah kept running. He ran up canyons and into the trees to escape the rising water (Bravo 1991, 131). Soon all the people would drown, if the water didn't stop rising. Just as Pawetlah reached the top of the tallest tree on the tallest mountain, Pawetlah's brother yelled at him and demanded that he drop the Water Baby's hair before everybody drowned. Pawetlah listened and dropped the Water Baby's hair, and with that, water stopped gushing from the spring, and the high waters began to drain away, leaving Lake Tahoe. The receding waters detailed in the narrative also explained how many smaller alpine lakes above Lake Tahoe were formed (Bravo 1991, 132).

#### Ward Creek and Stanford Rock (2-3)

In the vicinity of Sunnyside on the west shore of Lake Tahoe are Ward Canyon and Ward Creek. Early Euro-American settlement of this area included the Bissell mansion, a

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dreaming about or encountering them; seeing one can cause sickness, nosebleeds, or unconsciousness, due to their tremendous, supernatural power. Water Babies are multi-gendered beings that inhabit water sources, such as springs, creeks, and lakes; they are also featured in Washoe creation narratives, such as the one relayed above. At night Water Babies travel the lakeshore, they leave infant-size footprints in the sand, and they make sounds that resemble babies crying. In addition to being very small beings, Water Babies have long hair reaching past their knees. The only place in the We' Imelt' i? homeland known to be inhabited by a metsuṇ'é and avoided is the inlet south of Ward Creek on Lake Tahoe's west shore (Freed 1966, 81/#18; Toll and Elston 1980, 12/P-6).

Catholic and an Episcopalian church, Bissell's water-powered sawmill, and Pomin's Tahoe Park Cottages (Scott 1973, 289-300; Toll and Elston 1980, 5/H-6). *Dagásli?* was the Washoe name for Ward Creek noted by Freed (1966, 81) and Dangberg (1968, 101); a translation was not found. Freed recorded a campsite on the lake at Ward Creek with bedrock mortars located a short distance upstream. The Washoe fished this creek for trout, but the inlet immediately to south was the "home of a water baby" and avoided (Freed 1966, 81/#18; Toll and Elston 1980, 12/P-6).<sup>191</sup> In 2002 Washoe collaborators identified a desirable trout fishing stream with a camp and milling station upstream. They reconfirmed the inlet just to the south was avoided because of a Water Baby, per Washoe ancestor, Hank Pete (Rucks 2002, 6). South of Ward Creek is Blackwood Creek and Blackwood Canyon. Stanford Rock is a prominent point situated a few miles from the west shore of Lake Tahoe, in between Blackwood and Ward Canyons. Freed attested there were caves at the base of Stanford Rock where Washoe hunters stayed (Freed 1966, 81/#16; Toll and Elston 1980, 11/P-2).

#### Blackwood Creek (4-6)

According to Washoe collaborators, linguist Jacobsen recorded the name for Blackwood Creek, *Ćá:ćubi? wát'a*, as told to him by Roy James. *Ćá:ćubi? wát'a* means "something soft and spongy creek" (Rucks 2002, 6). An alternate spelling of this place is *Ťsá:t'sbi? wá?t'a*, and it has a different translation— "mountain goat stream" (d'Azevedo 2008, 2/#123). Devil's Peak is a landmark in Blackwood Creek and the Washoe name is

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<sup>191</sup> After visiting the place in person, I confirmed the creek immediately to the south of Madden Creek is Blackwood Creek.

*Daléšiw* (d'Azevedo 1956, 53/125). Freed (1966), Lindström (1992a, 196), and Rucks (2002, 6) noted Blackwood Creek as a major Washoe fishery, fishing site, and place known for desirable fishing. In early spring, fishing here consisted of cutthroat trout, and other fish spawned later in the season (Freed 1966, 81). George Snooks, brother of Jackson Snooks, recalled camping at Blackwood Creek and Canyon (Siskin n.d.; EDAW, Inc. 2004, 6-3); the Washoe camp was north of the creek (Freed 1966, 81/#15]; Toll and Elston 1980, 12/P-7). In addition to fishing, Downs (1966, 81) and Garey-Sage (2003, 167) documented gathering Indian rhubarb (*Darmera peltata*), sometimes also called (*Peltiphyllum peltatum*), and wild asparagus, which grew in the Blackwood Creek area (Rucks 2002, 32 from Lindström, Rucks, and Wigand 2000). The Blackwood Creek area is also called Dawmá?limtíyel (or, written as two words, Dawmá?lim t'í·yel), in the Washoe language (Dangberg 1968, 102).

Blackwood Creek's English name refers to H. C. Blackwood, who settled here in 1866; he settled at the mouth of the creek (Lekisch 1988, 9). Euro-Americans utilized the Blackwood Creek area as a camping, stopping and staging area for westward treks along the Georgetown route (Rucks 2002, 6). As early as 1869, there is documentation (Scott 1957, 64) Blackwood may have shot a Washoe for setting a fish trap in Blackwood Creek, which may have caused Washoe to avoid the area (Rucks 2002, 11). Residential settlement of the area was concentrated along the lakeshore in the neighborhoods of Idlewild and Tahoe Pines, where stately residences such as McConnell House, the Fleischaker mansion, the Kaiser (Fleur du Lac), and the Kohl estates were constructed (Scott 1957, 65-69; 1973, 306-310; Toll and Elston 1980, 5/H-7).

### Daugaiaca (7-8)

Freed recorded and mapped Daugaiaca, a place located near oak trees where Washoe came from the lake to camp (Freed 1966, 81/#17; Toll and Elston 1980, 11/P-1). Based on Freed's map, Daugaiaca is positioned on the other side of the Sierra Crest in the vicinity of Foresthill and Colfax, an environmental zone where oak trees grow, but the exact location of this place is unknown or has been lost. Examining the topography, it appears this location could be reached by travelling through Ward or Blackwood Canyons to the Sierra Crest, passing Hell Hole and French Meadows Reservoirs. Freed's map (1966) identifies a place over the Sierra Crest located part way between the crest and the communities of Foresthill and Auburn (Freed 1966/#17; Toll and Elston 1980/P-1).<sup>192</sup>

### Madden Creek and Homewood Canyon (9-10)

The creek that flows into Lake Tahoe at the north end of Homewood between Trout and Oak Streets is Madden Creek. The creek was "named for Dick Madden, a Squaw Valley stamper" who settled next to this creek (Lekisch 1988, 83 from James 1956, 178, 319). In Washoe, the creek is named Dúku dawát'a, or "loud creek;" Dangberg also recorded the Washoe name for Homewood Canyon, or Málka (1968, 102).

Penny Rucks interviewed Marie Kizer, a Washoe elder who was raised near Homewood. Marie recalled her parents going to visit two elderly Washoe ladies who lived on the other side of Homewood (Rucks 2002). According to Marie, Washoe people

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<sup>192</sup> Throughout the report, the notations "/H-1, /P-1, and /#1" in citations indicate and correspond to numbered locations on maps I reference by Freed (1966), Toll and Elston (1980), and d'Azevedo (1956).

who resided in the Homewood area for employment made forays to the upper end of General Creek for fishing and plant gathering (Rucks 2002, 13). The community of Homewood was established in the 1880s and 1890s as a marina and vacation destination. The Homewood Resort hotel was constructed in 1913 (Lekisch 1988, 62). Washoe collaborators also recalled the mother and father of Hank Pete used to stay near here (Rucks 2002). Annie Soll, mother of Bill Dewhurst and caretaker for the Hellman-Ehrman mansion, remembered Washoe people stayed at Chambers to do laundry and other tasks. She recalled the Washoe women would sell their baskets and pine nuts; she also remembered the Ehrmans gave them food (Rucks 2002, 13).

#### McKinney Creek and Georgetown to Lake Bigler Indian Trail (11-12)

McKinney was a miner, hunter, and trapper from Illinois who is rumored to have built the first cabin at Lake Tahoe in the 1850s; it was located on the edge of McKinney Creek back and away from the “beaten path of the Indians, whose trail followed the lakeshore” (Lekisch 1988, 78-79). McKinney operated one of the first resorts on the lake, McKinney’s Hunter’s Retreat, a popular destination during the 1880s and 1890s. Chambers Landing was the name given to McKinney’s Hunter’s Retreat under the later ownership of Dave Chambers in 1930. Mr. Chambers combined McKinney’s Hunter’s Retreat with the adjacent Moana Villa creating Chambers Landing (Rucks 2002, 12).

McKinney’s was a popular resort in its own right for travellers headed to the Georgetown Trail; the trail ran from behind McKinney’s to Georgetown via Rubicon Springs (Lekisch 1988, 102). The Georgetown Trail was also known as the Georgetown-Lake Bigler Indian Trail, and was a former Washoe trail leading from Lake Tahoe to

“lakes in the Coast Range” (Scott 1957, 85, 477; Toll and Elston 1980, 6). Rubicon Springs, was a health resort built in 1877, purchased by Ralph Colwell in 1909, then sold to Sierra Power Company in 1930 (Rucks 2002; Scott 1957, 85; Toll and Elston 1980, 6). The springs were a resting place for Washoe trekking to the Georgetown area (Rucks 2002). In reference to the Washoe, Lekisch (1988, 102) stated, “Rubicon Springs was a camping place where they drank from the springs for medicinal purposes.” The Colwells at Rubicon Springs employed the maternal grandmother of Jackson Snooks, Sally Pedo (Rucks 2002; Cohodas 1979, 41; EDAW 2004, 6-3).

The Washoe name for McKinney Creek, Šuʔwétik wát’a, means “service berry creek” (Dangberg 1968, 102). Washoe people came to this creek to fish, gather serviceberries (*Amelanchia alnifolia*) and medicinal plants (Rucks 2002, 31 from Lindström, Rucks, and Wigand 2000).<sup>193</sup> The alternate spellings, Cu’wE’thUkhWO’tha and Suʔwetik wata, were provided by Freed (1966, 80-81; Nevers 1976; Garey-Sage 2003, 263), who mentioned a Washoe camp located on this stream. Hank Pete, a Washoe ancestor, considered this creek to be a desirable fishery; he also referenced medicinal plants sought near McKinney Creek, although Rucks’ Washoe collaborators thought he meant General Creek, instead (2002, 10).

Washoe people collected mamʔgawlu, a plant used for deer hunting magic at McKinney Creek; the plant was only collected by shaman and effectively put deer to sleep over the course of a few hours (Freed 1966, 80-81; Garey-Sage 2003, 240-241, 263; Jacobsen n.d.d.). The roots of the plant were utilized, but there is no indication of the

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<sup>193</sup> Berries were identified as Western serviceberries (Rucks 2002, 31 from Lindström, Rucks, and Wigand 2000).

genus or species of this plant, and there is no recorded description of the plant (Garey-Sage 2003, 240-241, 263). The Washoe name for Rubicon Point, south of McKinney Creek is derived from the plant, Mugawlu, also spelled Mam?gawlu (Garey-Sage 2003, 240-241, 263; Jacobsen n.d.d.). Nevers (1976), Freed (1966, 80-81), and Jacobsen (n.d.d.), attributed the place name, Mugawlu, to both Rubicon Point and a camping location south of Meeks Bay.<sup>194</sup> Dangberg recorded Mogaulu, as the place name for Lonely Gulch Creek (1927, 412-413), in addition to the alternate form, *mugáwLu*; she noted this plant was used as gambling medicine (Dangberg 1968, 102).<sup>195</sup> Nevers' (1976, 7) map includes the place name Magulu watah in the location of Lonely Gulch Creek near Rubicon Point; it is possible there was a typographical error, and the name should read, Mugalu watah, which sounds similar to the rest of the written versions already presented above.<sup>196</sup> In 2003, Garey-Sage recorded Mam?gawlu wata as the name for Lonely Gulch Creek (2003, 263). Garey-Sage (2003) also referenced the forms Mugaulu' wO'tha and Mugawlu wata as names for a camping spot two miles south of Meeks Bay where Washoe fished, but where they had to keep night fires to protect themselves from the bears (Nevers 1976, 7, Freed 1966, 80; Toll and Elston 1980, 12). In addition to mam?gawlu, Garey-Sage (2003, 237) recorded the name for a jointed

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<sup>194</sup> Rubicon Point is also located south of Meeks Bay.

<sup>195</sup> It is not clear how *mugáwLu* (Dangberg 1968, 102) worked as a gambling medicine, and whether it put the gambler to sleep, or somehow impaired cognition.

<sup>196</sup> There is the possibility of a typographical error, as I encountered other instances of mis-labeling on this particular map, such as the name for Cave Rock placed too far north at Glenbrook Creek. These are not likely to be Nevers' errors, as a different map illustrator's name is written in the lower right corner (Nevers 1976, 7). The map scale and legend with corresponding Washoe place names are too small to be read without assistance of a magnifying lens and could have been overlooked during editing.

medicinal plant collected near McKinney Creek called, damukOkoi. Washoe collected a third medicinal plant in this area, called bEziEzInthE'khi used for eye trouble and sore throat (Freed 1966, 80-81).

This area also marks a boundary between camps and areas traditionally assigned to the northern and valley Washoe (Rucks 2002, 6). According to Freed (1966, 75) and Nevers (1976, 6), northern Washoe lands extended northward from McKinney Creek on the west shore and Glenbrook on the east shore of Lake Tahoe (Bloomer et al. 1997, III-12). This boundary was recognized in organizing teams for games of palóyapi telí'liwa palóyap (Lowie 1939, 304, 315), traditional Washoe football (Rucks 2002, 5).<sup>197</sup> At athletic events two competing groups were determined based on paternal descent. The t'anlelélt'aiyadi were the group from the west, and in games they painted themselves completely red. The p'alaá'ci, or pé'ulelt'ai'yadi, were the other group; they put white paint on their bodies, as well as two straight white lines under each eye (Lowie 1939, 304).<sup>198</sup>

The McKinney area was a center of Washoe social, cultural, and economic adjustment, second to Camp Richardson and Bijou, post-1900, per Rucks' Washoe collaborators (2002, 12-14). Marie Kizer remembered the McKinney Creek area

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<sup>197</sup> Games of Washoe football engaged seventeen to eighteen-year old men who were fast runners. Each team included three players whose only clothing and equipment consisted of a g-string. A football field was approximately 300 feet in length. Goals consisted of two sticks, ten feet tall and positioned four feet apart. The ball, called a kómol, was six inches in diameter and filled with sagebrush bark. From the center of the field, the captain would toss the ball up and players would kick it toward the goal (Lowie 1939, 315 from Hudson 1902, 304).

<sup>198</sup> The author was unable to locate a translation of the second team's names and whether this group represented Washoe people from the east and or south.



provided friendlier relations for employment and summer-long camps for Washoe families through the 1930s and 1940s (Rucks 2002, 25-27). Marie Kizer remembered the Millers (Rubelle Miller and her children) were one of the Washoe families who resided and owned land in the Chambers-McKinney area, but eventually sold it (Rucks 2002, 25-27).<sup>199</sup> Jackson Snooks, a Washoe from Woodfords, also referenced McKinney and Chambers Creeks (Rucks 2002, 5).<sup>200</sup>

### Tahoma (13)

A combination of the words Tahoe and home are where this place gets the name, Tahoma; it is not a Washoe toponym (Scott 1957). Washoe people in residence at Tahoma for employment made forays to Upper End General Creek for fishing and plant gathering per Marie Kizer. Annie Soll, caretaker for the Hellman-Ehrman estate in Tahoma, explained Washoe stayed at Chambers doing laundry and other jobs. Washoe women sold their baskets, as well as pine nuts; she remembered the Ehrmans gave them food (Rucks 2002, 13, 21-24). Annie Soll's daughter, Bill Soll Dewhurst, reported Washoes went door-to-door selling pine nuts to the Ehrmans and the Solls through the 1930s (Rucks 2002, 13, 21-24). According to Marie Kizer, one Washoe family was deeded land in the Tahoma area, but they lost the property (Rucks 2002, 25-27).

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<sup>199</sup> Three geographic landscape features bearing the Miller name are located near the upper reaches of McKinney Creek: Miller Meadows, Miller Lake, and North Miller Creek. It is unknown whether these places are associated with the Washoe Miller family.

<sup>200</sup> There is only one creek that flows by Chambers Landing; McKinney Creek. A creek by the name of Chambers does not exist. Due to proximity of the lodge and creek, and to the subsequent naming of the lodge (McKinney's Hunter's Retreat then Chambers Lodge), locals retained both names in reference to the lodge, streets, and surrounding neighborhood, called McKinney-Chambers.

Frank Pomin constructed Pomin's Tahoma Lodge in 1913 (Rucks 2002, 13). Marie Kizer's parents worked at Pomin's Resort in Tahoma.<sup>201</sup> The Kizer family cabin was located near Pomin's Resort, and Marie was born nearby. Their camp included the cabin and a canvas tent, but the cabin was torn down after the first Pomin passed (Rucks 2002, 25-27).<sup>202</sup> Tahoma's first postal stop called, "Sunbeam," was located on the Bellevue Hotel's pier, and David Kaiser was postmaster (Rucks 2002, 13).<sup>203</sup>

#### Sugar Pine Point and General Creek (14-16)

The most visibly prominent point on the west shore of Lake Tahoe characterized by a predominance of sugar pine trees (*Pinus lambertiana*) is Sugar Pine Point. The name was also given to the 1,975-acre state park with almost 8,000 feet of lake shoreline, which was established in 1965, Ed Z'Berg Sugar Point State Park (Lekisch 1988, 115). The lower reaches of General Creek, and the lagoon at the mouth of the creek, are within the state park.

The Washoe name for Sugar Pine Point is Dew'kiláyawga?mam, meaning "black point into lake," per Roy James to Jacobsen (Rucks 2002, 6). Washoe knew the General Creek area and named it DukMé?em; although the creek was good fishing, they never camped at this place for long (Rucks 2002, 6-8). Fishing occurred at the upper reaches

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<sup>201</sup> The author is unclear whether these are the same or two separate places.

<sup>202</sup> Marie's family did not return after. Marie rarely goes back today, except to drive around Lake Tahoe or camp in campgrounds with her daughter (Rucks 2002).

<sup>203</sup> Due to the frequency of misspellings in the historical literature, it cannot be ascertained whether David Kaiser and Marie Kizer were related. However, it is certain Marie Kizer was a relative of Louisa Keyser, more widely known as the basket weaver, Dat so la lee.

and at the mouth of the creek, called DukhmE'EmwO'tha (Freed 1966, 80). Sugar Pine Point and General Creek are in close proximity to the McKinney Creek geographic boundary that delimited areas traditionally utilized by northern Washoe from areas utilized by valley and southern Washoe (Rucks 2002, 5).

Upper General Creek was visited for day trips to fish and gather plants. Some of the plants were medicinal, and a request was made not to disclose names of plants collected there (Rucks 2002, 8). Various plant foods were collected near General Creek by Washoe people: simt'á:gim, sugar pine nuts; t'á:gim, pinyon nuts; simíši, Lodgepole pine; má:daš, ponderosa pine; nanómba, sugar pine sap (a women's medicine); šigím̄ba, a sweetener (Rucks 2002, 8); and dabolboli?, an eye medicine (Garey-Sage 2003, 233).<sup>204</sup>

Marie Kizer, a Washoe elder, remembered visiting General Creek with her aunt and uncle to line fish and gather plants; she remembered they went straight back from Pomin's. Marie's Aunt Emma and Stanley Bagley fished General Creek all the time, and Aunt Emma gathered medicines, which were ready mid-August (Rucks 2002, 10). The General Creek area was known as a good place to find pine nutting poles and for plant gathering. Washoe travelled to the upper reaches of the creek to fish (Rucks 2002, 7 from Kizer 2001 and Mabel James 1993). According to one of Freed's Washoe collaborators, General Creek was a good fishing stream (Rucks 2002, 8).

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<sup>204</sup> Washoe individuals, Richard Barrington and Jackson Snooks, reported sugar pine nuts were harvested and used as food opportunistically when piñon nuts were unavailable (Rucks 2002, 8).

Rubicon Point and Peak, Lonely Gulch Creek, Rubicon Springs, and Rubicon River (17-22)

The point jutting into Lake Tahoe between Meeks Bay and Emerald Bay is known as Mugawlu in Washoe (Freed 1966, 80-81, Nevers 1976, Jacobsen n.d.d.), or Rubicon Point. The landscape holds cultural significance, because the plant, Mugawlu, used in gambling and magic is collected here (Dangberg 1927, 412-413; 1968, 102; Garey-Sage 2003, 263). D’Azevedo recorded the toponym T’ágiya as Rubicon Park (d’Azevedo 1956, 53/#123), but the term “Park” might be a misreading of the word “Peak,” because fifty years later he associated T’ágiya with Rubicon Peak in a listing of the other places discussed here, but he does not mention Rubicon Park (d’Azevedo 2008, 2).<sup>205</sup> By 1905 this Washoe landscape became the grounds of the Rubicon Park Lodge (later Frost’s Homestead), resorts that operated until 1915 (Scott 1957, 115-117; 1973, 360; Toll and Elston 1980, 7/H-16). During the same era, the site of Lonely Gulch Creek, Mam?gawlu wata (Garey-Sage 2003, 263), became the site of the Newhall mansion (later the Kilner estate), a 530-acre lake front property with a boathouse and pier, which was demolished in 1949 (Scott 1957, 117; 1973:360; Toll and Elston 1980, 6/H-15).<sup>206</sup> The landscape near this creek is a place where Washoe would fish and camp temporarily, and testimonials describe how they tended their campfires throughout the night to protect

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<sup>205</sup> It also seems plausible the discrepancy between places referenced by the one name, T’ágiya, resulted from a typographical or other notation error involving the words Park and Peak.

<sup>206</sup> Nevers offered an alternate spelling of Magulu watah (1976, 7). Instead of Lonely Gulch Creek, Dangberg recorded it as Rubicon Creek with the toponym tá:gi (Dangberg 1968, 102).

against bears, who fished the same creek (Freed 1966, 80; Toll and Elston 1980, 12/P-11).

The Washoe acknowledged the rockiness of the Rubicon landscape in the toponyms for the entire area. T'ágiwá't'a, or "knife stream," names the Rubicon River (d'Azevedo 2008, 2), and T'ági p'agá'aw identifies Rubicon Springs (d'Azevedo 1956, 53/#121, #122). This place may have also provided a productive quarrying and/or hunting landscape, as the beginning of the name T'ági, or "knife," hints (d'Azevedo 2008, 2). Water from Rubicon Springs was bottled and sold, and the area near the springs was developed into a health resort by 1877 to 1920 that was a popular resting and staging area for travelers and hunters trekking on the Georgetown to Lake Bigler Indian Trail (Rucks 2002; Scott 1957, 85; Toll and Elston 1980, 6/H-10).<sup>207</sup> The trail begins a short distance behind McKinney's Resort and follows McKinney Creek up and over the Sierra, terminating at Georgetown (near Foresthill). The Rubicon landscape is situated in an area, which was observed as a boundary area between the northern and southern Washoe groups, however this study reveals it was utilized and certainly associated with the northern Washoe. D'Azevedo noted T'ági p'agá'aw (Rubicon Springs) was on the "route to [the] Georgetown acorn area" (1956, 53/#122), and Freed also documented the trail as "one of [the] main routes to California for welmelti" (1954/#10, #11).<sup>208</sup> Today

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<sup>207</sup> Hunters used this trail, which led to the lakes of the Coast Range. Scott 1957, 85; Toll and Elston 1980, 6/H-10).

<sup>208</sup> The mention of an acorn destination hint this trail may have been the same trail that led to Daugaiaca (Freed 1966, 81); and Daugaiaca may be the acorn destination associated with the trek route.

the unforgiving and rocky Rubicon landscape is known for the Rubicon Trail, a four-wheel-drive trail that generally follows the old Georgetown Trail.

The topic of Washoe acorn harvesting came up during one Washoe language class, and the discussion quickly shifted to the topic of acorn flour biscuits, as we were all hungry and waiting for the potluck style dinners we shared after instruction. Only one or two classmates had tried acorn soup; they described the flavor as very bland and similar to poi, the Polynesian taro root soup made. Two elders were familiar with acorn biscuits, and one elder explained to us how acorns from the black oak tree (found south of Washoe territory) were bitterer than those from white oak trees. Additionally, it was shared the biscuits made from their flour were not as fluffy and were less flavorful than biscuits made with acorns from the white oak tree, which indicates a possible preference for the acorns available within their range, versus those they associate with neighboring groups to the south, including the Paiute and Miwok.

#### Glenbrook and Glenbrook Creek (23-26)

In 1968 Dangberg recorded a Washoe camp at Glenbrook called Šuʔiŋa (Dangberg 1968, 101). She also recorded the Washoe place name for Glenbrook Creek – Dawmála· dip, which meant “fog” (Dangberg 1968, 101). Freed (1966) recorded the same name, DaumaladuphwO'tha, for Glenbrook Creek (1966, 82; Lekisch 1988, 55). Washoe elder, Winona James, recalled Glenbrook in her oral history interview (King 1984f).<sup>209</sup> In 2002 Washoe collaborators still identified Glenbrook Creek as a desirable fishery (Rucks 2002,

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<sup>209</sup> The ‘dip’, in Dawmála· dip would be pronounced similar to ‘dup’, as in DaumaladuphwO'tha (Jenanne Ferguson personal communication, 2019).

7). As discussed earlier, Glenbrook is the southeastern boundary of northern Washoe lands (Freed 1966, 75; Nevers 1976, 6; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-12).

Glenbrook was the most important lumbering establishment on the lake; there were four sawmills in operation during the 1870s (Lekisch 1988, 56). Chinese laborers working at Bijou and Glenbrook utilized the meadows for growing vegetables in the 1890s, and the nearby meadows are named, “Chinese Gardens” and “China Gardens” (Scott 1957, 216, 270; Lekisch 1988, 23). Prior to its sawmills and vegetable gardens, the Glenbrook meadows, Glenbrook Creek, and Slaughterhouse Canyon (within walking distance), would have made the camp at Glenbrook an attractive camping spot situated among abundant resource zones. As reported to Freed (1966, 82/#25A), Washoe walked from Glenbrook camp to Slaughterhouse Canyon to fish (Toll and Elston 1980, 17/P-39).

#### Spooner Summit, Spooner Lake, and Secret Harbor Creek (27-30)

A Washoe campsite is located at Spooner Lake (Rucks 2006, 3), and there is also a historical marker at Spooner Summit memorializing a Washoe trek route through the area (Rucks 2006, 38).<sup>210</sup> Washoe families still camp at Spooner Lake. In fact, Angie attends a family reunion and camping outing at Spooner Lake that takes place every summer in July (personal communication, 2019). According to elders, Angie and Ruby, the Spooner Summit area is a desirable place for gathering the plants, shoogil (*Wyethia mollis*) commonly known as mule’s ears, shoogil eatsa (*Balsamorhiza sagittata*) or balsamroot, and dehgoosh (*Perideridia sp.*), also known as yampa (Rucks 2006, 34;

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<sup>210</sup> Following Rucks’ guide (2003, 6), the camp is located on the Spooner Lake Loop Trail.

<http://washo.uchicago.edu/dictionary>). Leaves of shoogil have multiple household uses, such as wrapping food to roast; the seeds are also an important Washoe food. Shoogil eatsa has valuable medicinal properties and the seeds provide food (Rucks 2006, 33). Roots of dehgoosh are dried for winter, as they are a valuable Washoe food and medicine (Rucks 2006, 20).<sup>211</sup> The three plants can be found in the Spooner Lake and Marlette-Hobard Backcountry (2006, 37). To ensure they leave behind more than they harvest, Washoe people have a general rule they follow, “take one, leave three”; this is still taught (Rucks 2006, 34). Secret Harbor Creek flows into Lake Tahoe at Secret Harbor; it is a branch of North Canyon Creek on the summit (Summit Valley) and essentially flows down from the area between Spooner Lake and Marlette Lake. Dangberg recorded the Washoe name for Secret Harbor Creek, Dawmáʔlim demšégil; according to her notes, the name references a confluence (Dangberg 1968, 101) and demšégil means bobcat (US Forest Service and Wašiw Wagayay Maṅal. n.d.).<sup>212</sup>

#### Marlette Creek and Marlette Lake (31-33)

Marlette Creek flows into Lake Tahoe at Chimney Beach. Pagácima was the Washoe name documented by Dangberg (1968, 101). Freed (1966, 82) recorded a Washoe campsite on “the little flat where the creek [Marlette Creek] turns west. This stream was

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<sup>211</sup> This food is known by the names yampa, yampah, or Indian potatoes; there are three edible species of *Perideridia sp.: parishii, howellii, and bolanderi* (Rucks 2002, 31 from Lindström, Rucks, and Wigand 2000).

<sup>212</sup> It is possible this is only a partial translation of the Washoe name, Dawmáʔlim demšégil, as the word, máʔlim, occurs in other Washoe place names, such as: Datsásit máʔim detdéyiʔ, the settlement at confluence of Donner Creek and the Truckee River; and Wáʔsi wáta máʔlim detdéyiʔ, the settlement at the confluence of the Truckee and Little Truckee Rivers at Boca (Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 257).



considered good for fishing;” the name noted was Phagathsami (Freed 1966, 82). A place south of Sand Harbor named, Da mah da yel lee, was illustrated in Nevers’ map (1976, 7), which referenced the same location or another geographic feature nearby; perhaps near Secret Harbor Creek.<sup>213</sup> Marlette Meadow became Marlette Lake after the creek was dammed in 1872. The name, Marlette’s Lake Reservoir, was printed on the Wheeler map of 1881 (Lekisch 1988, 86). Lindström (1992a, 196) reported a fish camp at Marlette Lake above Lake Tahoe where the creek begins. D’Azevedo recorded a Washoe trail in this area that led from Incline to Little Valley (d’Azevedo 1956, 47/#112).

#### Sand Harbor and Memorial Point (34-35)

Memorial Point and Sand Harbor are located south of Incline Village, Nevada, and there is a short interpretive trail linking the two locations, only about a fifteen-minute walk. Memorial Point is a prominence overlooking the east shore of Lake Tahoe and Sand Harbor beach. The wide and sandy beach is a year-round tourist destination operated by Nevada State Parks.

A local newspaper from the 1980s reported the northern Washoe formerly camped at Sand Harbor (Tahoe Daily Tribune 2/23/1981, 10A; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-12). According to Freed (1966, 82), Sand Harbor was a Washoe “resting spot and not a full-fledged camping site.” Washoe historian and elder, Joanne Nevers, has family

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<sup>213</sup> The name for Secret Harbor Creek, Dawmá?lim demšégil (Dangberg 1968, 101), bears a resemblance to the place name, Da mah da yel lee (Nevers 1976, 7); a possible semantic relationship.

connections to the Memorial Point to Sand Harbor area of Lake Tahoe. She recalled the “place where elders brought her to camp with relatives when she was a girl. Ancestors she can name, who were born before any Euro-American had ever seen this lake, also camped here. Family members continue to collect water from a spring in this area” (Rucks 2006, 33). Angie, one of my We’ Imelt’ i? sponsors, shared memories of fishing with her father in this place when she was a girl. She remembered how the two of them would launch the boat at Sand Harbor and head toward Cave Rock to fish, and she would row the boat there and back, while her dad fished—she remembered the rowing was hard work (Angie personal communication, 2019). In 1958 the first state park on the Nevada side of Lake Tahoe was established – Sand Harbor State Recreation Area (Lekisch 1988, 103; Strong 1984, 91).

#### Incline Village, Incline Creek, Mill Creek, and Third Creek (36-40)

The town of Incline Village began in 1882 on Incline Creek (Lekisch 1988, 65), but after the lumbering boom, the Incline area and north shore of Lake Tahoe stayed unpopulated until the 1960s (Bloomer et al. 1997). According to Bloomer et al. (1997, III-15), there is record of Northern Paiute individuals and groups visiting the north and east shores of Lake Tahoe, especially Incline.

At a camp called Ma?góyot’a (Dangberg 1968, 101) near Incline, northern Washoe fished, gathered wild rhubarb (Nevers 1976, 6), and collected berries (Rucks 1996a, 5; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-13). Northern Washoe camped near the mouths of Incline Creek and Third Creek (Freed 1966; Bloomer et al. 1997:III-12), which are approximately 500 feet apart. The fishery at Incline was a unique and desirable fishing

location (Rucks 2002). Washoe also named the creek next to Incline; it was called Waʔabáʔam, or “plunging in to water” (Dangberg 1968, 101). The next creek over from Incline Village to the east is Mill Creek; the next creek over going west is Second Creek. Waʔabáʔam could be either of these two creeks. Hobart set up a sawmill at the mouth of Mill Creek in 1880, and a railroad eventually ran south to Sand Harbor and north to Second Creek at Crystal Bay (Myrick 1962, 425-429; Lekisch 1988, 90). In an oral history interview, Incline Village was one of the places Washoe elder, Bernice Auchoberry, remembered (King 1984a).

#### Stateline Point and Brockway Spring (41)

Brockway Spring is located on the mountainside above Stateline Point. Dangberg mapped Brockway Spring on her map with the Washoe name, ʔLóʔom (Dangberg 1968, 101), with the translation, hot springs; however, Brockway Spring is not one of the hot springs. It is possible there is one term in Washoe for both types of springs, but this is not confirmed. Due to the allure of the hot springs and the famous personalities who stayed there, most people are unaware there is also a Brockway Spring. The natural spring is on the hillside, and the hot springs are along the beach just south of Stateline Point. Regardless of the confusing linguistic technicality pointed out here, the Washoe did name this place, and they collected bracken fern for making baskets on the ridge above the hot springs and under Stateline Lookout (Rucks 1996a, 5; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-13).

#### Brockway Hot Springs and Mot lum watah (42-43)

Campbell's Hot Springs, a lake shore resort, was constructed in 1869 at the natural chalybeate hot springs (Lekisch 1988, 10), and was known by several names, such as: Brockway Hot Springs, Brockway Resort (Bloomer et al. 1997), Hot Springs Hotel, and Brockway Hotel and Hot Springs. At several places clustered along the lakeshore, hot water bubbled "out of a flat rock that sloped down" to the edge of the lake (Scott 1957, 321; Toll and Elston 1980, 7/H-23). Popularity landed the hot springs in a boundary dispute between California and Nevada; both states claimed the one-half mile strip of shoreline, and Nevada won (Scott 1957, 319-328; Toll and Elston 1980, 8). The resort and hot springs are still privately owned, and access to the hot springs is only available to resort guests.

The northern Washoe camped at Brockway (Tahoe Daily Tribune 2/23/1981, 10A; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-12). In addition to a camping spot, Washoe ties to Brockway and the hot springs include the name for a creek at Stateline Point mapped by Nevers (1976, 7), called Mot lum watah; the meaning of the name was not documented. Nevers' map only showed a dot on the center of Stateline Point, so it was difficult to associate the name with the appropriate creek. Modern maps do not show a creek on Stateline Point, proper; maps only show Griff Creek to the west, which flows into Agate Bay to the south of the point, and First and Second Creeks, which flow into Crystal Bay on the north. It is possible that the creek, Mot lum watah, ceases to flow, as no creek path is visible on satellite imagery. Washoe elder, Marie Kizer, remembered her aunt, Emma Bagley, would drive her car to Brockway to sell baskets to tourists (Rucks 2002).

Griff Creek in Kings Beach (44)

The town of Kings Beach is named for Poker Joe King, “who is said to have obtained Robert Sherman’s property west of Griff Creek in an all-night poker game in 1925 (Lekisch 1988, 69; Scott 1957, 333), despite the fact today’s Kings Beach sits east of the creek. Freed’s map showed a Washoe place called, ‘GumlE’phel wO’tha, a creek which he noted as a “resting spot only” and “not a full campsite” (Freed 1966, 82/#30; Toll and Elston 1980, 12/P-13). Lindström reported a fish weir located in Kings Beach (1992a, 93-94). According to the map, this creek is Griff Creek, and in town it flows adjacent to Secline Street into Lake Tahoe. Jim Mandeville was raised in a pioneer ranching family who settled Tahoe Vista in 1914. Mandeville recalled Washoe living in the vicinity of Brockway and told stories of exploring the Indian camps as a boy, while they were away (Bloomer et al. 1997, III-23 from Jim Mandeville personal communication, 1993).

The shoreline of Lake Tahoe in between Tahoe Vista and Kings Beach was probably the location of several Washoe camps. Site CA-PLA-9, an archaeological site described by Heizer and Elsasser (1953, 5) yielded “finely worked chert and obsidian projectile points and obsidian blades” on the ground surface; and they commented, “[i]t is not unreasonable to suspect that here is a shore area about four to six miles long which had innumerable campsites...” (Heizer and Elsasser 1953, 5). A map in a report by Toll and Elston (1980, 12-13) locates two sites near Lake Tahoe between Tahoe Vista and Kings Beach. The site is situated between two creeks, Griff Creek (‘GumlE’phel wO’tha) and an unnamed creek to the west, which flows through a marshland and into Lake Tahoe at a popular beach.

The Creeks, Muda’ • l bayó • dok and Maha’ • ku wa’ t’ a (45-46)

Washoe elder Roy James provided the name of a creek located between Tahoe City and Brockway called Muda' · l bayó · dok (Bloomer et al. 1997).<sup>214</sup> The name comes from the Washoe words muda' · lá · ci, meaning “closely woven winnowing tray”, and bayó · dok, which means, “flowing over the summit in this direction” (Bloomer et al. 1997). Bloomer ‘s (et al. 1997) Washoe consultants mapped a second creek between Tahoe City and Brockway, called Maha' · ku wa't'a. The name, “Sunflower Stream,” is derived from the Washoe words for sunflower, maha' · ku, and river or stream, wa't'a (Bloomer et al. 1997).

#### Watson Creek (47-48)

Omer Stewart included Watson Creek in the Washoe range (Stewart 1966, 190-202; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-12). The Washoe name for Watson Creek, MasuñdauwO'tha, was recorded by Freed (1966, 82; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-13). A Washoe encampment on Watson Creek was recorded by Freed (1966, 82; Bloomer et al. 1997) and Garey-Sage (2003, 162). According to Freed (1966, 81), MasuñdawwO'tha, the Watson Creek campsite, was located a distance back from Lake Tahoe. Washoe from Carson and Reno sometimes camped here all summer (Freed 1966, 81; Toll and Elston 1980, 12/P-9).

Washoe knowledge pertaining to Watson Creek was detailed in Bloomer's report entitled, “Basalt Quarrying on Watson Creek: An Archaeological and Ethnographic Study in the Northern Lake Tahoe Basin” (Bloomer et al. 1997). Washoe elders were consulted as part of the study. Three sites presented in the Watson Creek study were

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<sup>214</sup> The name does not refer to Burton Creek or Watson Creek, whose Washoe names are provided separately in this chapter.

associated with the ethnographic Washoe, including: Site 05-19-712, Site 05-19-706, and Site 05-19-728 (Bloomer et al. 1997). Bloomer's (1997) study did not yield evidence of the camp Freed mapped and recorded in 1966, but Washoe elders provided a name for the mouth of Watson Creek, Ma' · suṇ wa' t'a. The name means "slow water" and is derived from the Washoe words, masuṇ (slow) and wO' tha (river) (Bloomer et al. 1997, III-13). Garey-Sage's 2003 ethnobotanical study with Washoe women elders identified Watson Creek as a place where they collected sesmi, or blue camas (*Camassia quamash*) (Rucks 2002, 31 from Lindström, Rucks, and Wigand 2000). Sesmi was also known as a "vomiting plant" (Garey-Sage 2003, 216; Freed 1966, 78, 82). Jacobsen identified the plant as soap root, which grows near water in the mountains. He noted people, cattle, and sheep would get sick and vomit if they ate the plant. Jacobsen's consultants noted Washoe people ate this root long ago after roasting it in the ground (n.d.a.). The name appears to be related to *sesméwe?*, the Washoe word for vomit ([www.washo.uchicago.edu/dictionary](http://www.washo.uchicago.edu/dictionary)).

#### Dollar Creek (49)

The mouth of Dollar Creek was identified as the former location of a Washoe encampment. Washoe people who camped here built dams and reservoirs on the creek (Rucks 1996a, 6; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-13) to obtain fish; they also gathered séwit yá:gil, gooseberries (*Ribes roezlii*), sunflower seeds, cu'wE'thUkh, serviceberries (*Amelanchier alnifolia*), and white clay utilized for body decoration (Freed 1966, 81;

Garey-Sage 2003, 378, 382).<sup>215</sup> Freed (1966, 81/#21) recorded the Washoe name for Dollar Creek, as DipnEkhwO'tha, and noted the "creek used to be here" (Toll and Elston 1980, 12/P-10). According to Freed (1966, 81), the point was called, DiphEkhwO'tha, meaning "white paint river."

### Burton Creek (50)

The modern neighborhood of Lake Forest near Star Harbor is where Burton Creek used to flow into Lake Tahoe, and this space was the location of a Washoe encampment (Rucks 1996a, 6). In the area where Burton Creek used to flow into Lake Tahoe there is a protrusion of grassy land that extends out into the lake resembling an island. One of the earliest European uses of the Burton Creek landscape was a summer boardinghouse and campground called Burton's Island Farm and Hotel, which was known for growing the "largest garden vegetables and profuse hay in the Tahoe region" (Scott 1957, 355-358; 1973, 163-166; Toll and Elston 1980, 6/H-12); a campground still occupies this spot. The Washoe named this place wO'thañamIñ or wO'thañamIña, and they recall it was a resting spot and not a full campsite (Freed 1966, 82/#29). The Mountain whitefish (*Prosopium williamsoni*), ma tash hu, in Burton Creek ran earlier here than Trout Creek near South Lake Tahoe (d'Azevedo 1956, 54; Freed 1966, 81; Lindström 1992a, 22, 196). In addition to fishing, people collected grasshoppers in Burton Meadows, sunflower seeds (Garey-Sage 20013, 157), and there is also a reference to "big green

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<sup>215</sup> Séwit means porcupine in Washoe, therefore the literal translation of séwit yá:gil, is porcupine berries ([www.washo.uchicago.edu/dictionary](http://www.washo.uchicago.edu/dictionary)).



worms...that live on trees [that] were collected and roasted in hot sand” (Freed 1966, 81/#20).

### Tahoe City (51)

Established in 1863 on the northwest shore of Lake Tahoe, the community of Tahoe City developed near the Truckee River outlet, and was populated primarily by Squaw Valley miners seeking livelihood after the brief boom and bust. The Tahoe Inn was constructed in the 1880s (Bloomer et al. 1997). A fish hatchery was established in 1868 (Scott 1973, 231; Toll and Elston 1980, 5/H-3; Bloomer et al. 1997), a state campground opened in 1899 (Lekisch 1988, 133), and a turn of the century resort opened in 1901 – the Tahoe Tavern Resort, which had its own railroad and steamer pier (TRPA 1971, Historical Sites Map #4; Scott 1973, 243-288; Toll and Elston 1980, 5/H-5).<sup>216</sup>

For Washoe people, Tahoe City was identified as a place they came to pay respect and thanksgiving (Bloomer et al. 1997). The famous Washoe basket weaver, Dat-so-la-lee (Louisa Kizer), wove baskets and resided in a house right at the outlet (Scott 1973, 237; 1957, 54; Toll and Elston 1980, 5/H-3; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-23). Amy Washoe James, an ancestor of elder, Lana Hicks, was born in Tahoe City on September 5, 1905; her mother was Mattie Tom (also known as Alice Tom Washoe), and her father was Jimmie Washoe of Carson City. Amy attended Stewart Indian School and was a well-known storyteller and historian. Amy was also known by the name of Amy Cohen,

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<sup>216</sup> The original Tahoe Tavern property contained the entire lakeshore from the Gatekeeper’s Cabin to just past Granlibakken Road. The Tavern was demolished in 1964, and its contents were auctioned. Tavern Shores and Tavern Inn condominiums ([www.tavernproperties.com](http://www.tavernproperties.com)) were constructed in later years.

because of her close association with Abe Cohen, the Washoe basket collector and sponsor of Dat-so-la-lee. Amy Washoe James spent summers at Lake Tahoe and Truckee, and winters in Carson City (Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 279-280).<sup>217</sup>

A Washoe couple, Captain Pete and Agnes camped next to the Watson Cabin every summer and were friends of Bob and Stella Watson, who moved into the cabin in 1909 (Toll and Elston 1980, 5/H-2).<sup>218</sup> Captain Pete and Agnes' Washoe canvas tent was set up on the left side of the cabin if one is facing the lake. In 1924, Mr. Watson and other residents of Tahoe City relocated a large Washoe grinding rock from the outlet channel to the front of the Watson Cabin for their Washoe neighbors, and the large grinding rock still sits in front of the cabin mouth (Scott 1973, 190; Toll and Elston 1980, 11).<sup>219</sup>

Adjacent to the beach and directly behind Watson Cabin is a cave Washoe people visited to collect swallows' eggs (Freed 1966, 81; Toll and Elston 1980, 11; Angie and Cheryl personal communication, 2018). According the Washoe elders, Swallows Cave was referenced as a named Washoe place (d'Azevedo 1956). In an interview with Penny Rucks (2002), Marie Kizer reported she "never heard of other Washoes camping" at Tahoe City, and according to her, "not many people stayed north of Homewood" (Rucks 2002, 25-27); Marie was born and raised in Tahoma.

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<sup>217</sup> Washoe ancestor, Amy Washoe James, passed on narratives shared by her relatives regarding events associated with the Donner Party, which are presented in the Truckee and Donner Lake sections of this report.

<sup>218</sup> More information available at [www.northtahoemuseums.org/museums/watsoncabin](http://www.northtahoemuseums.org/museums/watsoncabin).

<sup>219</sup> From 2006 to 2008 the author researched Watson family archival materials, provided daily tours of the Watson Cabin Museum, and became intimately familiar with Tahoe City heritage, while employed at the North Lake Tahoe Historical Society.

### Truckee River Outlet (52-54)

The Truckee River outlet is located in Tahoe City, California, and it is Lake Tahoe's only outlet. There are two Washoe names for the outlet, depending on one's location; Dabayorddawsí and Dabayord dawet (Nevers 1976, 4). Nevers provided a second spelling for Da ba yor da wet in the same work (1976, 7). Another spelling of Dabayó·duwe?, and the translation, "flowing away over the edge" was provided by Dangberg (1968, 101; Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 257). Dawbayóduwe' is the name for the outlet "if you are on the up side" (d'Azevedo 1956, 51/#118), or on the north side of the mouth (Toll and Elston 1980, 11/P-5). Freed recorded and mapped a Washoe camp by the name of DaubayOdu'E, "running over," at the outlet (Freed 1966, 81/#19; Toll and Elston 1980, 11/P-4). D'Azevedo (1956) supplied the name for the Truckee River "coming out", as Dawbayódok; this is the name "if you are on the down side" (d'Azevedo 1956, 51/#118).<sup>220</sup> This was the only occurrence of a place having different names based on a person's physical location in this space. All water sources feature prominently in Washoe culture, including lakes, rivers, creeks, springs, ponds, and marshlands. The direction of water flow appears to be a notable detail when referencing, or naming sources of water, such as in the words bey:gel, beyumi?, beyuti?, and beyu?uš (washo.uchicago.edu).<sup>221</sup> The author did not find a translation for bayó or

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<sup>220</sup> The up and down sides, translations provided by d'Azevedo (1956) may be abbreviated versions of up river and down river; in this case up side refers to the north side of the outlet (the lake side), and down side refers to the south side of the outlet (the river side).

<sup>221</sup> According to the Washo Language Project's online lexicon, bey:gel means "to flow around in a circle", beyumi? is "to flow out", beyuti? means "to flow down," and beyu?uš is "to flow" (washo.uchicago.edu). The phrase bayó · dok means, "flowing over the summit in this direction" (Bloomer et al. 1997).

dabayó, however they are likely associated with flowing water, as in the place names: Dawbayóduwe' and Dawbayódok, two names for the outlet (d'Azevedo 1956, 51); Muda' · l bayó · dok, a creek located between Tahoe City and Brockway (Bloomer et al. 1997); ?Mucim bayo suwe ?detde?yi?, a We' Imelt' i? settlement on Willow Creek near Beckwourth (Garey-Sage 2003, 171-172); DeiubeiyulElbeEthi a camping area at the confluence of the Truckee River and Donner Creek (Freed 1966, 81); and Dabayó po'ewe, a fishing camp near a waterfall on a river whose name was unknown or possibly not disclosed (Davis 1992, 5).

Rucks (1996a, 6) and Bloomer et al. (1997, III-13) referenced a Washoe encampment at the Truckee River outlet. Heizer and Elsasser (1953, 5) recorded two archaeological sites in the vicinity of the outlet; the campsites are located across the Truckee River from one another. Heizer and Elsasser (1953, 5) identified one of the two sites (CA-PLA-7) as a probable fishing camp by (Toll and Elston 1980, 11). Both campsites are probably fishing camps. The fact that there are two camps at the outlet, suggest the importance of fishing there.

### Truckee River (55)

The Truckee River flows from California into Nevada, and the Washoe named it, Balnacan wata. Balnacan refers to “bitter brush and buck brush” (Garey-Sage 2003, 195; Jacobsen n.d.d.). A nature manual assembled by the US Forest Service and Washoe Language School included balñac'añ as bitterbrush (*Purshia tridentata*) (US Forest Service and Wašiw Wagayay Mañal n.d.). According to Bravo (1991, 2), the Washoe perspective was they were “entitled to possess the drainages of the Carson, the Truckee,

and Long Valley Creek.” We’ Imelt’ i? had camps along the Truckee River at Reno, Verdi, Lawton Hot Springs, Dog Valley, and Martis Creek. A large We’ Imelt’ i? settlement was situated at the confluence of Donner Creek, another at the confluence of Trout Creek, and a third on the sunny side of the hill above the Truckee River (Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 257). Other settlements existed at Steamboat Hot Springs (Wa bam ma lo om), Washoe Lake (Tso ya wata), and in the Mt. Rose foothills (Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 259). The Truckee River fishery was one of the most precious assets highlighted in the Washoe claims case (Washoe Claims Docket 288 1969, 451, 479).

Fremont (1848, 9-10) noted Indian fish lodges and fish dams on the Truckee River in mid-January of 1843 and 1844; he reported Indians living well who fished for trout after trapping them behind weirs (Lindström 1992a, 202-203). Richard Barrington, northern Washoe elder from Sierraville, reported spearing and netting cutthroat trout during March runs in the Truckee River (Lindström 1992a, 203-204; Washoe Claims Case Docket 288 1969). Richard Barrington additionally reported fall fishing in pools on the Truckee River near Reno; Washoe people used “willow bunches” to “drive fish into nets” (Lindström 1992a, 203-204; Washoe Claims Case Docket 288 1969).

Freed (1966) and Nevers (1976) provided the Washoe name, Ahwacoo watah, “trout stream,” for the segment of the Truckee River near Pyramid Lake (Lindström 1992a, 196 from Freed 1966; Nevers 1976, 4; Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 257). According to Lindström (1992a, 174-175), “Indian” camps were reported at one time on the Truckee River below Mustang, but were obliterated by gravel pits, dredging, and bank erosion during the removal of the Vista Reef. Washoe-Paiute shared fishing sites

exist in the Lower Truckee River Canyon (Lindström 1992a, 194; d’Azevedo 1986, 471; Fowler and Fowler 1970, 120; Powers 1877, 27). The Glendale site (26WA2065), near Idlewild Park on the Truckee River between Reno and Sparks (Kingsbury 1926, 373; d’Azevedo 1956, 158; Miller and Elston 1979, 17; Lindström 1992a, 196) was probably part of a Washoe winter camp.

#### Bear Creek and Five Lakes Creek (56-57)

One of the main tributaries of the Truckee River is Bear Creek (Lindström 1992, 5). The historic names for this landscape, Deer Creek, Deer Park, and Deer Park Springs, reference the three key resources—fish, deer, and springs that characterize the area known today as Alpine Meadows. There is no Washoe name recorded for this place, but two elders from Markleeville recalled Washoe people “lived and travelled throughout” this area (Lynda Shoshone to Susan Lindström, June 25, 1992; Lindström 1994), and Bear Creek was an important fishery in the early summer and late fall (Lindström 1992, 5). Situated above the valley Bear Creek flows through, are several small alpine lakes and streams; Five Lakes is the contemporary name for a specific area featuring five lakes interconnected by a west-flowing stream, called Five Lakes Creek or Dawgáyaša (d’Azevedo 1956, 53/124; Lindström 1992, 5).<sup>222</sup> The Bear Creek landscape was disturbed by early recreation and logging operations during the 1880s. Established in the 1880s by the Scott family who initially acquired the alpine meadowland for summer grazing, the Deer Park Inn and Springs (Scott 1957, 19) was “a mountain meadow

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<sup>222</sup> The Five Lakes Trail is a popular hiking trail, which leads to the lakes and creek.

retreat.” In 1883, the Truckee Lumber Company had a camp on Bear Creek, and they constructed a two-mile track for use in logging with horses; referred to as a "horse railroad." For this logging technique, logs were dragged through a log chute (Myrick 1962, 437; Knowles 1942, 35; in Lindström 1992, 7).

#### Olympic Valley and Squaw Creek (58-59)

Archaeological evidence of a Washoe permanent settlement was unearthed along Squaw Creek, which flows through Olympic Valley and into the Truckee River. The culturally insensitive name of the creek dates back to the mining and grazing heritage of the valley; and unfortunately it is the official name for the creek. There are many theories about the origin of the name, but a particular reference by Scott (1957) seems most plausible. The account situates an encounter in 1849 or 1850 by emigrants who observed a summer encampment inhabited solely by women and children who were subsisting on a diet of gophers and grasshoppers. According to the account, “the bucks were away on a hunting trek to Long Valley, sixteen miles to the southeast over the granite ridge from Lower Hell Hole and the Rubicon River” (Scott 1957, 6). Contemporary Washoe elders identified the landscape as a Washoe habitation space, as indicated by the number and variety of cooking hearths uncovered in the excavation. Pollen tests indicate Washington lupine, called wadaksha in Washoe was steamed and roasted here utilizing hot rock cooking strategies. Tubers and wild onions were harvested with digging sticks in the adjacent meadows, and alpine areas were accessed for hunting (Bloomer and Lindström 2006). Two of the hearths from the permanent settlement site along Squaw Creek were numbered, mapped, stored, and reassembled as part of the Washoe hearth display (with

the galis dungal) inside the Donner Visitor Center in Truckee in 2016. Several Washoe families came to the visitor center to assist and observe the reconstruction of the Olympic Valley cooking hearth. A video of the 2006 excavation project, which includes Washoe individuals, plays next to the exhibit space.

### Truckee (60)

Pollard's Station, a small community established in the 1860s at the west end of Donner Lake developed around the hotel and stage stop; it was the first Euro-American settlement in the Truckee Basin. Pollard's Station was destroyed by fire in 1867 and rebuilt. The station burned a second time, but instead of rebuilding it, community members migrated east to join the community of Coburn's Station. In 1868, the community of Coburn's Station officially changed its name to Truckee. Frequented by lumbermen and miners, Truckee earned a reputation to rival the raucousness of mining towns, such as Bodie, however Truckee's residents and migrants did not boast equivalent luxuries.<sup>223</sup> The red light district was situated along Jibboom Street, next to Trout Creek and one of the former Chinatowns.

Truckee is within the northern Washoe region (Stewart 1966, 190 -202; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-12). The name for the Washoe settlement at Truckee was K'ubüna[u] detdéyi?. The settlement was situated on the "sunny side of the hills where there are two

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<sup>223</sup> The mining town of Bodie is situated in the Eastern Sierras, and it acquired the reputation for being one of the wealthiest and rowdiest mining towns in the entire western US. Compared to the town of Truckee, a lumbermen's settlement, Bodie offered much fancier and more extensive accommodations. The town of Bodie was transformed into a California State Park in the 1960s and it is on the National Register of Historic Places.



flats on either side of river” (Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 257). In 2014 a Washoe elder speaking publically at Donner Memorial State Park gestured toward camping and fishing places they knew, and a location nearby where an ancestor was interred. In addition to K’ubüna[u] detdéyi?, three other named Washoe settlements were located near Truckee: a settlement at the confluence of Trout Creek and the Truckee River called Péle? má?lim detdéyi?, a settlement at the confluence of Donner Creek and the Truckee River called Datsásit má?im detdéyi? (Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 257); and ?Á?abi ?wát’a detdé ?yi? (fish river dwellers), a settlement at Donner Lake (d’Azevedo 1984, 468). A particular We’ Imelt’ i? individual associated with Truckee, was Dam so sava, or “Wind Talker,” a guide who led miners west out of Truckee and over the Sierra Nevada mountain range. Moustache Tom, Dam so sava’s son, was employed at a butcher shop in Truckee. Moustache Tom’s wife was employed as a domestic; her name was Emma Tom, and she was buried near the old ski run in Truckee.<sup>224</sup> Emma and Moustache Tom were the great-grandparents of Lana Hicks, and they were well respected by the white residents of Truckee, who considered them to be hard working, good people (Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 277, 282).

Truckee history is riddled with racial tension, as it was a place where Euro-Americans, Native Americans, and Chinese comprised the local labor force for logging, mining, ice harvesting, and other business endeavors. During the late 1800s the Chinese population of Truckee was one of the largest on the west coast, but the Chinatown was razed four times prior to 1879, and the armed Chinese residents were marched out of

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<sup>224</sup> This may be the same burial site remembered by the Washoe elder who offered a prayer near Donner Lake in 2014.

town in 1886 by a group of local businessmen ([www.truckeehistory.org/history-of-the-truckee-area.html](http://www.truckeehistory.org/history-of-the-truckee-area.html)).<sup>225</sup> It is unknown how the racial climate of Truckee affected northern Washoe families residing there and in nearby settlements. We’ Imelt’ i? families had previously learned to be cautious of the newcomers, following the testimonies of their ancestors who recounted events and ordeals of the Donner Party in northern Washoe lands (Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011).<sup>226</sup>

### Donner Lake (61, 65)

Nevers (1976) documented two names for Donner Lake, Behazing wege a, and Bahazing wege a (Nevers 1976, 4; Bloomer et al. 1997). Awegia behzing was the name recorded by Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak (2011, 257). All three variations of the name for Donner Lake refer to Donner Lake and originate from the Washoe word for aspen (*Populus tremuloides*), “behé·ziṅ t’áša?” (US Forest Service and Wašiw Wagayay Maṅal n.d.). One other recorded name, Datsásit dá?aw, means “Porcupine Sometimes Lake” (Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 257).

According to d’Azevedo, a northern Washoe settlement called, ?Át’abi? wát’a detdé?yi?, was located at Donner Lake. The name means, “fish river dwellers” (d’Azevedo 1984, 468). Another settlement, named Datsásit mál’im detdéyi?, was located at the confluence of Donner Creek and the Truckee River (Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 257); it was known this settlement was occupied year-round “even in

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<sup>225</sup> Substantial fires occurred in Truckee the following years: 1868, 1869, 1871, 1873, 1875, 1878, and 1891 ([www.truckeehistory.org/history-of-the-truckee-area.html](http://www.truckeehistory.org/history-of-the-truckee-area.html)).

<sup>226</sup> Narratives are discussed in association with the respective northern Washoe landscapes presented in this chapter.

deep snow when just the roofs of galis dangal were showing. Galis dangal is the name for a Washoe winter house; the conical structures are framed with lodgepole pine upright poles and covered with thick, cedar bark planks. The structures stand ten to twelve feet high, and per the previous account, appear able to withstand the weight of heavy snow; galis dangal last several years without collapse. This was possible because there was plenty of wood there and also they could gather an abundance of food for winter”; however it is unknown whether this settlement remained occupied the winter of the Donner Party Tragedy, 1846. Northern Washoe people living in this region were skilled and efficient on their snowshoes, called shumelli, and they were adept at hunting and fishing in deep snow at higher elevations (Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 261-262).

Washoe elder Lana Hicks, a descendent of Amy Washoe James and De Vem A Shell Shille, shared the following narratives (Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 258). De Vem A Shell Shille, also spelled De ven oshil shille, was an important Washoe medicine woman and the great-grandmother of Amy Washoe James, who recalled listening to family narratives from her elders, which detailed events of the Donner Party. Washoe family scouts had been observing the stranded members of the Donner Party and knew they were starving. Amy Washoe James also recalled a story told to her by her great-grandfather, Dam so sava, “one who talks to the storm.”<sup>227</sup> A group of Washoe scouts had watched the strangers camping near Donner Lake knew they were starving, and attempted to give them a deer, but were shot at. The scouts offered them food a

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<sup>227</sup> Dam so sava was an individual who possessed the ability to “call upon the wind or chase a storm away” (Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 274-275).

second time and were shot at again. Later, the scouts realized the strangers were cannibals, as they were warned to stay away or be eaten themselves. The four We' Imelt' i? men who watched the Donner Party were: 1) Da co pege, or George Wissen, was Grandma Annie's father; 2) Ma hu nung a, "pretends to be an old man," was Alice Washoe's (Mattie Tom's) father; 3) Tagum Bosi gi, "frying pine nuts," Julia Wissen's father; and 4) Da ma goo she, "he has fleas," Julia Wissen's uncle.<sup>228</sup>

Others provided similar narratives of encounters with the Donner Party. Washoe elder, Ruth Pierce Abbie, also remembers hearing stories about the Donner Party told by her great-grandfather, known by the names Pidil lee and John McClelland. Pidil lee remembered family scouts returning to the camp near Donner Lake bearing news of white people eating each other. Due to fear of being eaten, he recalled moving shortly thereafter to Truckee (Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 279). Frank Morgan's great-grandfather told of a direct and personal encounter he had with one of the stranded Donner Party members. The snow was ten to twenty feet high, and Frank's great-grandfather saw smoke coming out of a hole in the snow and tracks all around the hole. He peeked in, saw an old man, and went down and saw a dead man with chunks missing from his side. Frank's great-grandfather fed the starving man fish and fashioned a pair of snowshoes for him. According to Joanne Nevers' grandmother, Annie Wesson, it was known there were "strangers" camping in between Truckee and Donner Lake, which was odd considering the area normally received heavy snowfall. A relative of Joanne's

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<sup>228</sup> Da ma goo she, was also known as, "Old George" by the white residents of Truckee. Da ma goo she lived in Truckee with his two wives (Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 276).

grandmother Annie told of a “horse train” that passed their camp one night with lights on; they were perplexed and afraid. Other relatives observed people fishing in a stream near Donner Lake (Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 274, 279).

Relatives of Grandmother Annie left dried rabbit meat and wild potatoes near the Donner camp, and one man threw fish across the ice to the strangers. Another We’ Imelt’ i? man went too close to the camp, was shot, and died from the wound. The pattern of offering, followed by refusal and violence continued for days, and the We’ Imelt’ i? men helplessly witnessed strangers “eating the meat off of the other strangers who had died.” A male relative of Grandmother Annie recounted a particular occasion when he visited the strangers’ camp and was offered a human hand! The relative was so disturbed by the encounter he refused to return to the area, even to fish (Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 276).

Washoe narratives and trauma associated with the Donner Party persisted, even after the rescue parties had retreated. Based on narratives told by Grandmother Annie’s relatives, after the camps had been deserted, they returned just one time. On this trip, any objects they found were buried away from the campsite where they wouldn’t be discovered, as the remains were considered taboo. In Washoe culture, burning and burying made spirits go away, so they would not disturb people. Grandmother Annie’s relatives told of a box of money they buried; at the time, they didn’t know what money was and described it as a box containing shiny objects; later, when they went back for the box, they were unable to locate it and suspect someone else who heard about it retrieved the box first. In We’ Imelt’ i? narratives, the strangers who camped near Donner Lake

were named mushago, “people to be feared;” they were also referred to as, tannu yeth, or “no people” (Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 276-277).

Spring of 1847 was when James Reed and the First Relief Party arrived at the Donner Camps to rescue survivors. Patrick Breen’s diary entry dated February 28, 1847 includes report of an Indian who passed by their camp at Donner Lake wearing snowshoes. The Indian gave Breen food comprised of roots resembling onions, but which tasted like sweet potatoes with lots of fibers. James Reed’s diary entry for the same date, February 28, 1847 states three men from the Donner Lake camp were stopped two miles short of the cabins, because they saw ten Indians. Unarmed, the men spent the night without fire, as they were fearful the Indians had killed the others back at camp and would come for them next. On April 17, 1847, a member of the Fourth Relief Party reported three Indians shouted at them while they were inspecting the Donner camp looking for survivors. According to this report, the Indians fled leaving bows and arrows behind (Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 270-271).

#### McGlashon Hot Springs (62)

Bag ow is the Washoe name for McGlashon's Hot Springs (Nevers 1976, 4; Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 257); it is also sometimes spelled as McGlashan Hot Springs. A precise location for the hot springs was not found, but the McGlashan Springs are situated on the 160-acre McGlashan parcel and were sold by the Truckee Donner Public Utility District to the Tahoe Donner Association in 2011 for \$775,000. The artesian springs were the original water source for Truckee and are situated at the southern edge of Tahoe-Donner neighborhood, on the mountainside above Donner Lake

and Interstate 80 (Shueh 2011). Whether Bag ow is a name for McGlashan Hot Springs, the artesian springs, or both remains undetermined.

### Donner Creek (63)

Mountain whitefish, ma tash hu, were exploited at a large habitation site at Donner Creek and the Truckee River (d’Azevedo 1956, 54; Freed 1966, 81; Lindström 1992a, 196). According to d’Azevedo (1986, 467) and Lindström (1992a, 220), Washoe permanent settlements tended to be located in valley floors at 4,500-5,500 feet in elevation. The settlement at Donner Creek was a place where year-round habitation was claimed “even in deep snow,” and Washoe individuals living here fed the starving Donner Party members (d’Azevedo 1956, 54). Dixon, Schablitzky, and Novak recorded a Washoe settlement, Datsásit mál’im detdéyi?, situated at the confluence of Donner Creek and the Truckee River (2011, 257), which describes the same place. Freed (1966, 81) recorded a second name associated with the confluence of Donner Creek and the Truckee River, DeiubeiyulElbeEthi; Goodwin (1971, 23) noted the place as a camp area, called DeicbeiyulbEthi, with a slightly different spelling.

Ethnographic and archaeological records support continuous use of Donner Creek as a habitation and fishing location from prehistoric to historic dates. Archaeologists recorded two prehistoric wetlands sites along Donner Creek, CA-PLA-09 and CA-PLA-099 (Rondeau 1982; Lindström 1983; 1992a, 157; Bloomer et al. 1997); and one of the sites yielded a grooved stone artifact, which may have functioned as a fishing net weight (Rondeau 1982; Susan Lindström personal communication, 2014).

### Trout Creek in Truckee (66)

Within the Washoe homeland there are two Trout Creeks: one in South Lake Tahoe, in the Hungnalelti region; and another that flows into the Truckee River at Truckee, in We' Imelt' i? country. This study focuses on the We' Imelt' i? Washoe settlement located at the confluence of Trout Creek and the Truckee River near historic downtown Truckee. Near Jibboom Street, the creek was substantially diverted and does not follow its original course, but the date of the diversion was unknown. Another disruption to Trout Creek in 1897 may have been caused by the formation of the Trout Creek Ice Company.<sup>229</sup> The Washoe name for the settlement in Truckee at the confluence of the Truckee River and Trout Creek is Péle? má?lim detdéyi? (Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 257).

### Martis Valley and Martis Creek (67-68)

In severe winters, the northern Washoe had winter camps in Martis Valley near Truckee (Camp 1960, 205-206; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-12). Helen and John Nevers, relatives of Joanne, were born along Martis Creek in Martis Valley. Washoe elders referenced Martis Valley as the location of Washoe family camps, but the Washoe name was unknown (Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 257, 277). The fishing spots and camps were demolished by the construction of new roads, highways, and homes. Consistent usage of family camps in Martis Valley may have been disrupted by early logging operations in the vicinity, such as Schaffer's large mill constructed in 1871.<sup>230</sup>

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<sup>229</sup> From [www.truckeehistory.org/history-of-the-truckee-area.html](http://www.truckeehistory.org/history-of-the-truckee-area.html).

<sup>230</sup> Part of the historic millpond was retained and incorporated into the lake feature near the golf course at Lahontan ([www.truckeehistory.org/history-of-the-truckee-area.html](http://www.truckeehistory.org/history-of-the-truckee-area.html)).



### Emigrant Trail Cutoff (69)

According to Bloomer et al. (1997), USFS Road 16N63 was originally a Washoe and Paiute trail from Martis Valley “east over the divide to the lake in the Tahoe Vista area;” the Indigenous name for the trail was Timilick (Lekisch 1988, 133). When I initially asked my Washoe sponsors about this trail, none of them were familiar with the name, Timilick, and they commented it did not sound like a Washoe name (Angie, Cheryl, and Linda personal communication, 2019). A few months later, following distribution of a printed list of proposed locations for the ethno-map to the Washoe elders, an elder named Chris suggested removing from the list a trail from Lake Tahoe to Martis Valley, with the name Timilick (Scott 1957, 335, 341; Toll and Elston 1980, 7/H-17; Lekisch 1988, 87, 133; Bloomer et al. 1997), because it was not a Washoe word. Ruby responded separately with a translation of the word, TIH-MIH-LIHK, meaning “put your legs up there.” During the years 1849 to 1852, the trail became part of the Emigrant Trail (Bloomer et al. 1997). Highway 267 from Truckee to Kings Beach also follows a portion of the historic Emigrant Trail Cutoff (TRPA 1971, Historical Sites Map #2; Scott 1957, 335, 341; Toll and Elston 1980, 7/H-7).

### Prosser Creek and Little Truckee River near Boca (70-71)

A few miles northeast of Truckee, Prosser Creek joins the Truckee River. Washoe elders recall a settlement either along or at the mouth of Prosser Creek. As with Martis Valley, the Washoe name for this place as unknown by contemporary We’ Imelt’ i? elders (Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 257). Lindström reported a Washoe fishing camp near the confluence of the Little Truckee River and the Truckee River (Lindström 1992a,

196; Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada 1976; Rusco 1981; Stornetta, Toll, and Elston 1981). A Washoe settlement on the Little Truckee River at the town Boca was noted by Garey-Sage (2003, 158), and Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak (2011, 257) reiterated a settlement in this location and provided the Washoe name, Wá'si wáta má?lim detdéyi?; the Washoe translation was not listed.

The small community of Boca developed in the same location near the confluence of the Little Truckee and Truckee Rivers. Activities in Boca were centered on the ice harvesting and lumbering industries. In 1866, a lumber mill commenced operations at Boca. A brewery was established at Boca in 1883 on the Truckee River, and it utilized the icy river waters to brew their popular beer. Taking advantage of the locally harvested ice, the Boca Brewing Company shipped cold beer in barrels, by train, across the country by the thousands.<sup>231</sup> A relative of Joanne Nevers, Charlie Nevers, was employed at Boca, but he moved on to Washoe Valley and Eagle Valley (Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 277); Mr. Nevers' place of employment was not mentioned.

#### Verdi and Dog Valley (72-73)

The town of Verdi is located in California, near the Nevada state line. Lindström reported a fishing camp located at Verdi (1992a, 196; Inter-Tribal Council 1976; Rusco 1981; Stornetta, Toll, and Elston 1981), as did Bloomer (et al. 1997). Verdi was documented as a We' Imelt' i? fishery, and there was also a “camp in the settlement area”

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<sup>231</sup> More Boca Brewery details at [www.truckeehistory.org/history-of-the-truckee-area.html](http://www.truckeehistory.org/history-of-the-truckee-area.html).

near Verdi, but no Washoe name for the settlement (Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 257).

In severe winters, Dog Valley (near Verdi) was one of the places northern Washoe maintained winter camps (d’Azevedo 1966, 332-333; 1984, 33; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-12). Himu dihasho is the Washoe name for Dog Valley, and the name is partly derived from the word for willow, himu. Sesmi? ?luwe? was provided as the name of a second, unidentified place in Dog Valley (Riddell 1960, 82-83; Garey-Sage 2003, 188).<sup>232</sup>

Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak (2011) correlated the settlement of Himu dihasho with a particular event recorded in documents written by Donner Party members. Donner Party members report while they were camped on a hill near the Truckee River, nineteen of their oxen were “shot by an Indian;” William Eddy then shot the Indian. According to Washoe family narratives, the Donner Party passed their settlement at Himu dihasho the last week of October 1846, while most of the inhabitants were away preparing for winter at Lawton Hot Springs (Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 269-270).

#### Sierra Valley, Sierraville, and Webber Lake (74-75, 64)

In 1966, Stewart included Sierra Valley as part of the Washoe range (1966, 190 -202), although northern Washoe and Maidu jointly used parts of Sierra and Honey Lake Valleys (Bloomer et al. 1997, III-12, III-15; Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 125-

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<sup>232</sup> One translation of the word, ?luwe?, is “they are sitting” (www.uchicago.edu/dictionary). It is possible the name, Sesmi? ?luwe?, means, “blue camas bulbs are sitting” or something similar.

126). Sierra Valley was a home base and permanent We' Imelt' i? settlement location (d'Azevedo 1986, 467; Lindström 1992a, 220; Garey-Sage 2003, 57). Muçim detdé?yi?, was a northern Washoe settlement in the Sierra Valley recorded by d'Azevedo, and the name means “grass-place dwellers” (1984, 468). Garey-Sage noted what is possibly the same settlement, called ?Mucim ?iheplu detde?yi?, near the town of Sierraville at the southern end of Sierra Valley; she provided the translation for ?mucim –wild grass (Garey-Sage 2003, 171-172). To the west of the Sierraville area and situated between Independence Lake and Jackson Meadows Reservoir are Webber Lake and Webber Peak. Richard Barrington, a We' Imelt' i? Washoe elder from Sierraville, remembered summer fishing camps at Webber Lake (Lindström 1992a, 203-204; Washoe Claims Case Docket 288 1969). Dat'sásta da'aw (d'Azevedo 1956, 54/#127) is the Washoe name for Webber Lake.

During severe winters, Washoe occupied winter camps in the eastern Sierra Valley (d'Azevedo 1966, 332-333; 1984, 33; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-12). Washoe elders reported to Rucks (2002, 31; Lindström, Rucks, and Wigand 2000), some residents of Sierra Valley went to Lake Tahoe, and some went to Pyramid Lake; both groups returned to Sierra Valley in summer to harvest their principle food, blue camas (*Camassia quamash*), known as sésmi in Washoe (Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 287).<sup>233</sup> Culturally significant plants of the Sierra Valley, like blue camas, are not familiar to Washoe elders I collaborated with, although the name sésmi is remembered. The plant is

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<sup>233</sup> Sésmi were harvested and roasted by northern Washoe people (Rucks 2002, 31; Lindström, Rucks, and Wigand 2000; Garey-Sage 2003, 216; Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 287). Freed's consultants noted sésmi? were gathered at ?Lá·m wát'a and Watson Creek (1966, 78, 82).

recorded as a principal food source for the northern Washoe (d'Azevedo 1956) by elders Johnny Wiger and Frank Morgan (Bloomer et al. 1997, III-8) who described roasting the bulbs prior to ingesting them, as did Jacobsen (n.d.a.). Both Freed (1966, 78, 82) and Jacobsen (n.d.a.) asserted that eating blue camas induces vomiting in humans and livestock. Washoe elders today do not possess family knowledge or personal experience involving timing and method of harvesting, and how to prepare and eat it, but the plant is repeatedly mentioned as a plant used in the past (Rucks 2002, 31; Lindström, Rucks, and Wigand 2000). According to John, Angie, one of my We' Imelt' i? sponsors, attended a recent Native plant workshop hosted in Sierra Valley to learn about plants like sésmi from ethnobotanists. Sierra Valley was a place where Washoe people participated in rabbit drives. Ruth Abbie, a northern Washoe elder, remembered her grandfather hosted rabbit drives on a farmer's property in Sierra Valley; great feasts always followed the rabbit drives (McBride 2017b).<sup>234</sup>

#### Loyalton (76)

Omer Stewart (1966, 190 -202) mentioned Loyalton as being part of the Washoe range (Bloomer et al. 1997, III-12). Washoe people lived at Loyalton and other locations, such as Reno, in the wintertime (Bravo 1991, 3). The present study yielded no Washoe place names for Loyalton, however there were Washoe elders with cultural memories of this place. In an oral history interview, northern Washoe elder Bernice Auchoberry (King 1984a), described how Washoe people from Loyalton travelled to Címel Díme', or

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<sup>234</sup> The reference to, and friendly association with, a farmer in Sierra Valley indicates Ruth's grandfather may have been employed as a seasonal laborer on the farm.

Double Springs Flat, south of Gardnerville. Elder, Winona James also referenced Double Springs Flat, in an oral history interview (King 1984f).<sup>235</sup> Johnny Wiger and Frank Morgan, northern Washoe men from Loyalton, knew the methods for roasting and preparing soap plant, or wild onion, in the ground before eating them (Bloomer et al. 1997, III-18); the traditional Washoe food grows in Sierra Valley near Loyalton.

Honey Lake Valley, Honey Lake, and Amedee Hot Springs (77-79)

The northern Washoe range extends to Honey Lake (Stewart 1966, 190 -202; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-12), one of three lakes in a “chain of large, stream fed valleys” (Lindström 1992a, 194). Of these large valleys, Honey Lake Valley was a place Washoe had winter settlements (Stewart 1966, 190-202; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-12; Garey-Sage 2003, 57). Leonard Lowry recounted Washoe camps and villages used to be in Honey Lake Valley (Blue 1999).

Honey Lake and Honey Lake Valley were shared among certain northern Washoe, Northern Paiute, and Maidu groups. Documentation exists of northern Washoe and Northern Paiute shared usage of fishing and gathering sites near Honey Lake eastward to Pyramid Lake (d’Azevedo 1956, 60; 1986a, 471; Riddell 1960, 32, 73, 75; Lindström 1992a, 194; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-1). Particular northern Washoe and Maidu families utilized areas of Sierra Valley and Honey Lake Valley (Dixon 1905, 125-126; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-15).

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<sup>235</sup> The annual Washoe Pine Nut Festival, Tagum Gumsabay, took place near or at Double Springs Flat, Címel Díme’ (King 1984a).

Honey Lake was a place where several different Native American groups came into contact, and not always peacefully. Hostility existed between some northern Washoe and Pit River groups, the *Sisá • wi?* and *Dá guni?* (d'Azevedo 1984, 35), are specifically noted.<sup>236</sup> Certain Pit River groups had reputations for raiding Washoe camps in Honey Lake Valley, and sometimes, the affected northern Washoe and Northern Paiute individuals joined in retaliation (Bloomer et al. 1997, III-15). Leonard Lowry's oral history interview (Blue 1999) and the Honey Lake Maidu ethnographic study by Simmons et al. (1997), document how intermarrying was common, as was adoption, among some Washoe, Northern Paiute, and Maidu groups who occupied and shared resources in the Honey Lake and Honey Lake Valley landscape. Due to hostile relations, and practices such as wife stealing, revenge killing, kidnapping, and enslavement, many children were orphaned and adopted by extended family, friends, or neighbors regardless of tribal affiliations (Blue 1999; Simmons et al. 1997). The process of untangling genealogies in this area of northern Washoe homeland, to associate families with places, was extremely challenging and not always possible.

For winter, Washoe residing in Honey Lake Valley relocated to the east side of the valley, near *Désem 'ló'om*, or Amedee Hot Springs (d'Azevedo 1956, 78/#197). From this place they could access "trails over the ridges to Last Chance Valley and to Sierra Valley." To the south of *Désem 'ló'om* are the towns of Milford and Doyle, and Washoe families camped throughout this area on the mountain slopes, in proximity to streams or springs. Honey Lake Valley is positioned on the southern periphery of oak

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<sup>236</sup> Historically, the name Pit River was applied to more than one Native community in the area; the Achumawi and Atsugewi in particular.

tree country, and productive oak trees grew north of Milford and Doyle, but did not produce to the south (d'Azevedo 1956, 76-77/#196). As a result, Washoe access to acorn harvests would have been restricted to southern landscapes, as several neighboring tribes inhabited places on the north and northeast end of the lake; relations with these groups were sometimes hostile. A Washoe place named máliṅ beyúmewe' is located two miles north of Milford, and the name translates "acorn come down" (d'Azevedo 1956, 78/#200). D'Azevedo's notes describe the area as a place where "many oak trees grow down to the edge of the valley," referring to Honey Lake Valley, and states the "trees bear and were sources of acorns for Washo in the area" (d'Azevedo 1956, 78/#200).

Another finding of this study that helps illuminate the history of Washoe associations with northernmost landscapes was establishment of the Greenville Indian School near the town of Greenville in 1890. In 1897 the school was purchased by the US government and converted into the Greenville Indian Agency serving the Native residents of Butte, Plumas, Yuba, and Sierra counties; the school was renamed the Greenville Indian Industrial Boarding School and operated from 1897 to 1927 according to records retained by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.<sup>237</sup> As recalled by Washoe elders who were students of the Steward Indian School in Carson Valley, the forced assimilation of Washoe and other Native children in the Honey Lake and Sierra Valley areas disrupted families and their residence patterns. In his oral history interview, Leonard Lowry

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<sup>237</sup> Records of the Greenville Indian School are contained in the Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs housed at the National Archives and available online at [http://www.archives.gov/pacific/archives/san-francisco/finding\\_aids/holdings-guide-03.html#75](http://www.archives.gov/pacific/archives/san-francisco/finding_aids/holdings-guide-03.html#75). Microfilm records of the Greenville School 1907-1927 are available at the National Archives (micro copy M1101, Rolls 58-59) and at the Family History Library in Salt Lake City (microfilm numbers 1724276-1724277).



recounts several stories about children from this school and names them, including a very unfortunate incident where four or five schoolgirls ran away during the middle of winter in a storm for refuge from an overly stern schoolmistress. According to the story, some of the girls were related, they were from several tribes (Washoe, Northern Paiute, Achumawi, and Atsugewi), and not all of the girls survived the incident; one of the survivors lost a limb from frostbite (Blue 1999).

#### Beckwourth and Beckwourth Peak (80-81)

Doca? kileti? was the Washoe name d'Azevedo recorded for Beckwourth (1956, 66-67/#166); the name translates "a medicine - sticking out." There is also a Washoe toponym for Beckwourth Peak, noted as Dew'lú-l'k'il, which means, "sparkling or scintillating" (d'Azevedo 1956, 67/#169). Another place near here called dót'sa' kilá'am was noted as part of Sierra Valley known for the abundance of sésmi; dót'sa' kilá'am means "a medicine root point" (d'Azevedo 1956, 66-67/#166). Washoe elders and one woman married to a Washoe elder know about the medicine, doc'a, or Balsamroot (*Balsamhiza deltoidea*) (US Forest Service and Wašiw Wagayay Mañal, n.d.). At one language class, I was complaining about an ant infestation I was battling in a house museum I care for, and asked the elders what they used to combat them, as for public health reasons, I was restricted from using a chemical application. They immediately responded that I should try doc'a; and if I could find this root, I should grind it up, put it into a Ziploc baggie, puncture the baggy with holes, and then place it in the problem area. My classmates assured me it would rid the space of any pests, and that they used this

method in drawers, closets, and in their RV.<sup>238</sup> An ethnobotanical study conducted in collaboration with Washoe women elders revealed an abundance of the plant, *sesmi* (blue camas) at a location they remembered by the name of Doca kilaʔamʔ (d'Azevedo 1956; Garey-Sage 2003, 216).<sup>239</sup> Although it is possible there are two names for the same place, the names may also represent two places in the same landscape, or “name area” (Davis 1992, 3), characterized by doc'a, or Indian balsamroot (*Leptotaenia dissecta* var. *multifida*) (Garey-Sage 2003, 360). Willow Creek is located near Beckwourth and a Washoe settlement was recorded near here by the name, ʔMucim bayo suweʔ detdeʔyiʔ, or “water running down together” (d'Azevedo 1956, 62/#157). This name, like that of the Sierra Valley, originates from the Washoe word for wild grass, ʔmucim (Garey-Sage 2003, 171-172). There are Washoe families and individuals who were residents of this settlement, including Dayósoṭ, or One-Eyed George –Susie Leggan's father, and Hámuḡol hámu, known by the name Charlie Hing Hong (d'Azevedo 1956, 66-67/#166). There is also record of a large settlement on the hill behind the schoolhouse in Beckwourth, where a Maidu-style roundhouse was formerly located. Per d'Azevedo's Washoe collaborators, “friendly” Maidus from Janesville moved into the area for ranch work after the whites.<sup>240</sup> Washoe residents of the second settlement near Beckwourth

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<sup>238</sup> As it turned out, the ant problem dissipated, and I did not need to try the doc'a (US Forest Service and Wašiw Wagayay Maṅal, n.d.) method of pest control.

<sup>239</sup> Freed (1966, 78, 82) and Garey-Sage (2003, 215-216) present the alternate spelling, sésmiʔ for the plant, *Chlorogalum pomeridianum*, Kunth var. *pomeridianum*.

<sup>240</sup> According to the source, unfriendly Maidu groups came from the Quincy area (d'Azevedo 1956, 66-67/#167).

included the family of Mrs. Barrington, Annie Richards, and Susie Leggan (d'Azevedo 1956, 66-67/#167).<sup>241</sup>

#### Long Valley and Long Valley Creek (82-83)

Particular Northern Washoe family groups also had winter settlements in Long Valley (Stewart 1966, 190 -202; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-12). The Washoe name for Long Valley, Dísem dáʔaw detdéʔyi, was recorded by d'Azevedo; the name references a settlement where “seepweed lake dwellers” lived (1984, 468).<sup>242</sup> Long Valley was noted as a home base and permanent settlement (Riddell 1960, 21/#5), also characterized by the presence of wild grass, ʔmucim (2003, 57, 171-172).

Long Valley Creek joins the Truckee River near Lockwood, Nevada. The Washoe name for Long Valley Creek is Čóʔyaʔ wáʔa detdéʔyi, which translates, “tule river dwellers” (d'Azevedo 1984, 468). According to Bravo's understanding of the Washoe homeland as it pertains to boundaries, was watershed-based; she stated “Washo occupy the Carson and Truckee Rivers and Long Valley Creek which empties into Honey Lake” (Bravo 1991, 2).

Ethnographic records of Riddell and d'Azevedo describe Washoe and Northern Paiute fishing in Long Valley Creek (d'Azevedo 1956; Riddell 1960; Lindström 1992a, 159). In these records, Lindström (1992a, 194) found documentation of shared Washoe-Paiute fishing sites at Long Valley Creek (d'Azevedo 1956, 60; 1986, 471; Riddell 1960,

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<sup>241</sup> D'Azevedo noted that Susie Leggan killed a Maidu individual at this place (d'Azevedo 1956, 66-67/#167).

<sup>242</sup> The author is uncertain which lake the translation “seepweed lake dwellers” refers to.

32, 73, 75). Čóʔyaʔ wát'a detdéʔyi is one of over 250 Washoe places and landmarks associated with wetlands documented in d'Azevedo's Washo Place Names (1956; Lindström 1992a, 195).

Long Valley was one of the familiar places recalled by Leonard Lowry in his oral history interview (Blue 1999). Mr. Lowry remembered Doyle, California was another place where many Washoe used to reside (Bloomer et al. 1997; Blue 1999). The great-grandfather of Ruth Pierce Abbie, Pidil lee, was also known by the name of John McClelland, who was a rancher he worked for in Long Valley; Pidil lee was named after the rancher.<sup>243</sup>

#### Truckee Meadows and Peavine Mountain (84-85)

Another home base and permanent settlement area for northern Washoe (Stewart 1966, 1960, 202; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-12) was the Truckee Meadows (Garey-Sage 2003, 57). Wai ga nuk is one of the names recorded for Truckee Meadows (Nevers 1976, 4), and Washoe maintained winter settlements here (Stewart 1966, 190 -202; Bravo 1991, 3; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-12). Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak (2011, 287) also recorded Welganuk for Truckee Meadows, which means, "wet place." According to d'Azevedo (1984, 468), the ʔÁʔwaku wát'a detdéʔyiʔ, or "cui ui river dwellers," lived in the Reno-Sparks area.

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<sup>243</sup> Pidil lee, John McClelland, was one of the Washoe witnesses to the Donner Party events (Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 278), which are included in the Donner Lake segment of this report.

Northern Paiute usage of the Truckee Meadows was tolerated, in addition to places near Peavine Mountain, where hunting deer and gathering plants was permitted (Park 1922-1940; Fowler 1969, 12; d’Azevedo 1984, 35; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-15). Matasikaka, or “upside down,” is the Washoe name for Peavine Mountain (Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 287). D’Azevedo (1986, 471) and Fowler (1969, 12) documented Washoe-Paiute shared fishing sites. D’Azevedo (1956), Smith (Townsend and Elston 1975), and (Lindström 1992a, 158, 194) referenced the existence of multiple fish camps in the Truckee Meadows.

Reno was a place recalled by Winona James and Leonard Lowry in their respective oral histories (King 1984f; Blue 1999). Northern Washoe elder, Alida Nevers, attended middle school in Reno (McBride 2017a). According to George Snooks, Washoe went from Reno to McKinney Creek-Chamber’s Lodge for big gatherings of Washoe traditional football, where they rivaled Washoe from south of McKinney Creek, or Šuʔwétik wát’a (Weinberg 1984, 201; EDAW, Inc. 2004, 6-3; Dangberg 1968, 102).<sup>244</sup> The Reno-Sparks Indian Colony is also part of the northern Washoe landscape; it is also referred to as Reno Colony (RSIC). RSIC is a federally recognized tribal entity with acreage in Reno-Sparks city limits designated for Washoe, Northern Paiute, and Shoshone members. Washoe elders and RSIC members, Lawrence Aster and Effie Dressler, collaborated with Bloomer et al. (1997) on the Watson Creek study.

#### Pyramid Lake, Pyramid Peak, and the Virginia Mountains (86-89)

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<sup>244</sup> Washoe coming from south of the [McKinney] creek, refers to southern and valley Washoe.

It is documented that northern Washoe and Northern Paiute shared use of fishing and gathering sites to the east of Pyramid Lake (d'Azevedo 1956, 60; 1986a, 471; Riddell 1960, 32, 73, 75; Lindström 1992, 194; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-15). The Washoe call Pyramid Lake *Á'waku dá'aw* (d'Azevedo 1956, 60/#146), and oral history interviews with Leonard Lowry (Blue 1999) and John Dressler (Glass 1972) both include dialogues about this place.<sup>245</sup> Some Washoe families from Sierra Valley went to Pyramid Lake during the summer to fish (Rucks 2002). According to Nevers, a mountain west of Pyramid Lake is named *Ahawacoo daloch* (1976, 4; Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 257), and she may mean Pyramid Peak, but this is not confirmed. The Washoe also named the Virginia Mountains –*Á'wakhu dalá'eh* (d'Azevedo 1956, 49/#114), and it is noted that this name closely resembles the toponym supplied by Nevers –*Ahawacoo daloch*. Regardless whether the names represent one or two places, the consensus is that it or they are located west of Pyramid Lake. The Truckee River, although discussed earlier in this chapter, is part of the same landscape neighborhood as Pyramid Lake, Pyramid Peak, and the Virginia Mountains, as its name suggests. *Ahwacoo watah* refers to the Truckee River all the way to Pyramid Lake (Nevers 1976, 4; Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 257).

Steamboat Springs, Galena Creek, Tahoe Meadows, and Hawk Pond (90-94)

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<sup>245</sup> Nevers (1976, 4) published the alternate spelling, *Ahwacoo da ow*.

The springs are located part way between Reno (Truckee Meadows) and Mt. Rose. Lom um is the Washoe name for Steamboat Springs provided by Nevers (1976, 4).<sup>246</sup> Wa bam ma lo om is derived from words meaning “put your foot in something” and “hot spring;” this name for Steamboat Hot Springs was recalled by Washoe elders in 2011 (Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 287).<sup>247</sup> This place may have been a resting or camping location on the way to and from Lake Tahoe via the Mt. Rose corridor. Galena Creek flows from Mt. Rose through this corridor, and the Washoe named it *Hímu wá'ta* (d’Azevedo 1956, 47/#111), which translates “willow creek.”<sup>248</sup> Angie relayed to me Washoe people had names for all the places –there was a name for Mt. Rose, and Frank Morgan, a Washoe of We’ Imelt’ i? descent, was someone who used to know the Washoe names, such as the name for Mt. Rose and names for the places all the way to Nevada City (Angie personal communication, 2019).

Tahoe Meadows, located on the east side of Mt. Rose, are the setting for plants important to Washoe culture. According to Rucks (2006, 12), the whole Mt. Rose meadow complex located above Incline Village was a significant plant gathering location, and there were also ancestral sites (Bloomer et al. 1997, III-13). Three plants identified in Tahoe Meadows with cultural significance to the Washoe include: wa dak

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<sup>246</sup> Lom um is the Washoe name given to Steamboat Springs by Nevers (1976, 4). Dangberg (1968, 101) recorded the name ?Ló?om for hot springs at Brockway, but her map marks a place on the mountainside above Stateline Point where Brockway Spring is located, and not on the lakeshore where the famed Brockway Hot Springs are positioned. Two written variations of the word, spring, in Washoe are presented.

<sup>247</sup> The translation of the name, Wa bam ma lo om, illustrates the terms Lom um (Nevers 1976, 4), ?Ló?om (Dangberg 1968, 101), and Lo om (Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 287) refer to hot springs and are written variations of the same word.

<sup>248</sup> Himu is the term for willow (*Salix spp.*) (US Forest Service and Wašiw Wagayay Mañal, n.d.).

sha, lupine (*Lupinus polypyllus*); shoogil, mule's ear (*Wyethia mollis*); and shoogil eatsa, "little shoogil" (*Balsamorhiza sagitta*) (Rucks 2006, 19).<sup>249</sup>

Washington lupine, or wild spinach (*Lupinus polypyllus*) was a food known as wa dak sha to the Washoe (Rucks 2006, 19; Garey-Sage 2003, 386). Although highly toxic to humans, wa dak sha was "collected and processed as spring tonic and dried into cakes for winter vitamins and minerals." Amy Barber, a Washoe elder, recalls her grandmother steaming "Washoe spinach" on rock hearths (Bloomer and Lindström 2006, 31). To avoid selenium poisoning, the plant was gathered early in the spring, then it was leached by steaming and drying for multiple days and formed into patties to be added to winter soups (Lindström and Bloomer 2006, 31 from Amy Barber personal communication with Lindström 1999; Rucks 2003 from Belma Jones personal communication, 1993; Amy Barber personal communication with Rucks 2000 in Rucks 2001, 6-30). Shoogil seeds were harvested seeds in the fall, roasted for winter storage, and then ground into flour. Shoogil was occasionally burned for health and to keep areas free of pests. Shoogil eatsa, literally means "little shoogil" (*Balsamorhiza sagitta*), and its common names are Balsam Root or Spring Sunflower, but there was no specific record for this plant's cultural applications or significance. Plant gathering was a very important cultural activity, and Rucks (2006, 20) explained:

Washoe elders teach that the survival of so many generations depended on good stewardship, applying lessons learned by listening to the land. The use and care of native plants is one way to learn from the land. Locating, harvesting, and preparing native plants, nurturing and sustaining them for future generations, are part of the traditional knowledge Washoe people teach their children.

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<sup>249</sup> The plant, shoogil eatsa, was identified as Arrow-leaf balsam (*Balsamorhiza sagitta*) (Rucks 2002, 31; 2006, 20; Lindström, Rucks, and Wigand 2000).



In Tahoe Meadows there is a spring-fed pond, called Hawk Pond. Elder, Steven James provided the Washoe name for this place, Má wi Díme Daga dup, which means “Hawk Standing Here Spring.” This site, a “rock shelter last used by Steven James’ father, Roma James in the 1940s” (Rucks 2006, 18-19), was a prehistoric site occupied from 5,000-7,000 years ago right up until the 1800s (Rucks 2006, 12).

### **Chapter 8. Conclusion**

This study of northern Washoe landscapes revealed the significance of toponyms in better understanding how contemporary Washoe individuals and communities relate to the land. Washoe place names not only characterize places literally, but the names prompt visualization of the place in a larger landscape context, similar to Western Apache place names (Basso 1996). The naming conventions, in addition to the names, are insightful with regard to a Washoe perception of the land, and they show fundamental understandings of the land. A place name alone is an indicator of the cultural significance of a place, but a place with multiple names may indicate deeper meaning, or may signify places visited by multiple families or groups. Unnamed spaces are not insignificant following Hunn (1990; 1982; 1977), rather they are indicators of differential utilization of the space; and by this I am referring to places that lack practical uses and thus defy the purpose of naming. There are other instances of unnamed places in northern Washoe territory that are shared spaces, and since the act of naming is a simultaneous act of claiming space, it is possible some shared spaces remain unnamed for this reason. In a few cases, places were named, but the names have been forgotten over time.

An analysis of northern Washoe place names revealed certain topographic features were consistently named throughout their landscape, and these include: lakes, rivers, creeks, hot and cold springs, mountain ranges, peaks, summits, meadows, and valleys. Habitation areas such as permanent settlement areas and seasonal camping spots were also consistently named; toponyms for these spaces also describe the places literally, generating a visual image of the place. There are naming patterns that exist throughout Washoe homeland, as well as in the northern Washoe region as analysis of toponyms revealed. The descriptive nature of the names and the visual imagery they create is so context-specific, that it is feasible a person with a better than average knowledge of the smaller landscapes comprising the Washoe homeland would be able to navigate a route “mapped out” in a narrative or personal story, by recalling the place names, comprehending the description, and following the places serving as landmarks on the trail.

Another finding of the We’ Imelt’ i? landscape study was a high frequency of water-centric toponyms. Lindström (1992) asserted Washoe communities, historically characterized as foragers and hunters that also fished, are more accurately characterized as “fisherfolk” who gathered and hunted to supplement their fishing lifestyle; her assertion is based on dietary value of fish species harvested, knowledge of Washoe fishing techniques and equipment, in addition to a detailed fishing-related vocabulary. This study of northern Washoe landscapes and toponyms revealed a water-centric bias in the places that were named and in the names themselves. Many of the water-based place names are related to fish or fishing strategies, and others characterize the water flow in

sensory ways pertinent to a cultural group reliant upon fishing or whose belief system and origin stories are founded on the import of water, such as the Washoe.

As outlined throughout this dissertation, Washoe language—and by association, Washoe culture—are at risk with only a dozen fluent Washoe language speakers. Research findings indicated contemporary knowledge (and memory) of landscapes in the northern Washoe area is waning, and there are few elders with knowledge of places and toponyms, especially in the We' Imelt' i? region. The problem is exacerbated by the fact that Washoe individuals and families with ties to We' Imelt' i? country have the option of affiliating with one of three different tribal entities, two of which do not completely acknowledge their Washoe members. However, at Washoe language classes and Washoe gatherings I observed how peoples' memories were stimulated within group settings, and particularly among the elders, and this suggested increased cross-collaboration of individuals and families affiliated with the other Washoe tribal entities might be something to expand upon in future cultural activities and revitalization efforts.

The continual ownership and stewardship of landscapes in contemporary times by designated Washoe family groups was confirmed by this investigation of We' Imelt' i? spaces. Review of the literature described a partly structured system of claiming places, maintaining use privileges, and granting others access to specific resource-productive landscapes. This study endeavored to find out if the system still functions among Washoe families and communities. Today, however, there is a different, contemporary interpretation surrounding the ownership and maintenance of spaces by designated lineages that is more communal and which has resulted from diminished landscapes and reduced acreage. Not all Washoe family groups possess (or have access to) acreage for

conducting traditional activities, so those who do are obliged to share with the rest of the Washoe community. While people are aware of families with land access privileges, the lineages are no longer the determinant of who can utilize the land. Needs and focus has shifted away from specific stewardship of landscapes by lineages, to making spaces available to the tribe as a whole. Instead of each Washoe regional group or community hosting separate seasonal harvesting, social, and spiritual gatherings as described by early ethnographers, there is a tendency for the Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California to coordinate, advertise, and host cultural gatherings and activities that are open to all Washoe communities. Engaging with the landscape is essential to maintaining Washoe language and culture, because landscapes are contexts where Washoe people are speaking and actively learning Washoe language alongside relatives while they are simultaneously taking part in traditional activities—all helping to reinforce cultural experience.

The ethno-map of We' Imelt' i? landscapes (Figure 8) produced in this study is in part a modern re-creation of d'Azevedo's Washo Place Names (1956) maps misplaced in the mid-1960s and which illustrated northern Washoe, as well as cultural spaces associated with other regional Washoe groups. It is also an indigenous map in the sense it visually depicts a Washoe understanding, taxonomy, and naming of the topographic features and spaces in their homeland. This ethno-map differs from d'Azevedo's maps, because it highlights northern Washoe lands versus the entire Washoe homeland. Additionally, the ethno-map of We' Imelt' i? landscapes is accompanied by an alphabetized index of places that contains additional information about each place (Index

6).<sup>250</sup> There is information about where to find historic photographs of We' Imelt' i? places, as well as the date, and photographer. Specific documentary data about landscapes is listed with the respective sources (e.g. multiple orthographies of Washoe toponyms), and I synthesized data pertaining to Washoe landscapes from 1956 (and earlier) to the present. Each location illustrated on the Ethno-map of Northern Washoe Landscapes (Figure 8) is coded in the index of northern Washoe landscapes (Index 6) according to geographic landscape type, significance, and use; and the coded information could be easily revised and incorporated as symbols on future GIS or other maps. D'Azevedo sketched numerous maps illustrating Washoe spaces, and this ethno-map also has a printed version included as part of the dissertation, however this map is also a digital and interactive GIS landscape map that can be adjusted according to need.<sup>251</sup>

When I initiated this study I was aware the Washoe Tribe did not possess a comparable Native map, and I hoped to produce a map that represented a greater range of contemporary Washoe voices in the production of one, instead of compiling data for them to review, verify, and comment on. So the Washoe engagement was pieced together from conversations with my sponsors or other elders, as well as from first-hand Washoe sources ranging from the 1920s (Dangberg 1927) to this study in 2019, but there are more place names recalled by Washoe individuals beside those included here, according to Washoe Tribal Historian and tribal enrollment expert, Joanne Nevers (personal

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<sup>250</sup> Index 6 includes landscape data about the same 94 landscapes depicted on the ethno-map, but certain landscape areas are grouped together in the index, leaving 69 northern Washoe spaces.

<sup>251</sup> The interactive features of the ethno-map are not included in this report.

communication, 2019). Bit by bit the elders from the Washoe Cultural Resource Advisory Council (WCRAC) gather Washoe genealogical and linguistic information, they go on reconnaissance excursions to relocate places, and they are in the process relearning (and determining how to best represent in written form) the toponyms to illustrate them on a large, two-dimensional map of the entire Washoe extended range. The WCRAC elders continue to invest their time documenting as many remembered places as possible, to ensure there will be a record available for present and future Washoe generations. The findings of this study show that significant Washoe cultural landscapes associated with certain families tend to be shared now by all the Washoe communities, and regardless of regional affiliation, they use tend to use the same Washoe toponyms for places; the study did not indicate there were different regional Washoe names for a place (ie, a We' Imelt' i? name, a Pauwalu name, and a Hungnalelti name for Cave Rock).

It is feasible the Ethno-map of Northern Washoe Landscapes (Figure 8) from this study could be merged with data from the elders' two-dimensional map into a single composite GIS landscape map of the entire Washoe range with some additional effort to incorporate landscape knowledge from the other regional communities, such the Pauwalu (central or valley Washoe) and Hungnalelti (southern Washoe). The larger mapping project presents a wonderful opportunity to involve all generations of Washoe for the benefit of the community as whole. Washoe elders may not be proficient with or have access to modern technology and applications, but younger generations of Washoe are, as I witnessed in language classes; they are also enthusiastic about learning from elders, relatives, and friends. The instances when I brought scholarly articles to language class

for my sponsors (Angie, Linda, and Ruby) or my Washoe language instructor (Kate), there was no bias in interest among the range of generations represented; everyone wanted their own copy, and it was the younger Washoe classmates who rallied with me to produce copies. In return, classmates of all generations were eager to share handouts from previous classes or different language instructors. I hope the ethno-map of Northern Washoe Landscapes (Figure 8 and Figure 8.1), attribute table, and Indices (1-6) will be utilized by the Washoe communities and incorporated into the language curriculum and cultural activities that promote revitalization and educational efforts.<sup>252</sup> I also hope Washoe communities and individuals have an interest in adding to, revising, or reorganizing the map components in their own view or continuing the project. The Washoe landscape knowledge and perspectives described and depicted in this dissertation are compiled using the knowledge available to me as a researcher or shared with me in that context; it is not exhaustive and was not intended to be, with regard to We' Imelt' i? knowledge of landscapes and place names. Nevertheless, it is a dedicated study of landscapes in the northern Washoe region, a region that has not received much specific attention in previous reports. Since d'Azevedo's Washo Place Names (1956), there have been no other investigations of Washoe toponyms. Basso (1996) notes a general lack of Native place name studies, but this project demonstrates the utility of toponyms in understanding a Washoe perspective of the landscape and one that is water-centric.

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<sup>252</sup> Indices include: Index 1. Washoe Landscapes Referenced in Oral Histories; Index 2. Washoe Landscapes Referenced in Anthropologists' Research Materials; Index 3. Washoe Landscapes Referenced in Cultural Resource Publications; Index 4. Historic and Contemporary Washoe Landscape Photographs; Index 5. Master Index of Washoe Landscapes; and Index 6. Master Index of Northern Washoe Landscapes. Not all of the indices were included in this report, due to their sizes.

In addition to including more Washoe landscapes and toponyms to represent a broader range of individual and family voices, future research might build upon this body of work with more linguistic-based research of the orientational components of naming, such as suffixes of motion noted in this study. Perhaps, more research of the Washoe kinship system, their extensive number of kinship terms, and the kin-based references to landscapes could be done that might expand our understanding of Washoe worldviews and the ways personal associations with the land are continually (re)defined and perceived.

A potential outcome of the study could be using the collected knowledge of northern Washoe landscapes and the ethno-map to educate others about non-Eurowestern ideas of property by creatively illustrating Washoe perceptions of the land, since some Washoe individuals have a different way of looking at and thinking about the land. The landscape knowledge and map might be tools that can be utilized by the Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California, to lobby for more naming rights in the Board of Geographic Names, for example, or to contest official stories. The study may be useful to or other Native communities building similar maps. This study enfolds anthropology's subfields of cultural anthropology, linguistics, and archaeology, and it might be valuable to anthropologists or others interested in ethnoscientific methods, place (but not Washoe places specifically), toponyms, or naming.

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## Appendices

## **Appendix A. Recruitment and Data Collection Tools**

Appendix A, Document 1. Recruitment Flyer<sup>253</sup>

**I AM SEEKING WASHOE INDIVIDUALS**  
**OVER THE AGE OF 18 TO PARTICIPATE IN MY**  
**RESEARCH STUDY OF WASHOE LANDSCAPES**  
**I AM DOING THIS TO FIND OUT:**

1. Which Northern Washoe Families have ties to resource Areas and places;
2. Do northern Washoe families have knowledge about these places? If so , what do they know?
3. Are northern Washoe elders sucessfully passing family knowledge about places to younger Washoe ?
4. How does this all relate to Washoe identity and memory attached to places?

Another project goal is creating a Washoe memory map, with different content layers, to be used as a tool for advocacy. Map content will be based on responses to ethno-surveys and field visits to landscapes.

**If you agree to participate in the study you will be asked to:**

- (1) show ID to verify you are over 18 years of age.
- (2) participate in a preliminary 30 minute survey about your (Washoe) landscape knowledge and experience(s).
- (3) after the survey, you might be asked to participate in 1 or 2 field trips to landscapes with other family members, where I will ask you more detailed interview questions about your landscape knowledge and experience. (Interviews may also take place separately, if you prefer.)
- (4) during the field trip(s), you will be asked to revise copies of existing archival maps showing Washoe landscapes. (Map revisions may also take place separately, if you prefer.)

Participation in the study is voluntary. There will be no costs to you associated with participation. Unfortunately, there is no funding for this study.

**If you are interested in participating in this study, please contact me, Natalie Davenport, at (507) 327-7697 or natalied@exwire.com.**  
**At any time, if you have questions about this study, you may contact me, Natalie Davenport, at (507) 327-7697/natalied@exwire.com or Dr. Louis Forline, at (775) 682-7840/forline@unr.edu.**

Recruitment Script for N. Davenport Dissertation, Study ID # 987906-1

<sup>253</sup> Recruitment flyer designed by Liz McMillan of Tahoma, California.



## Appendix A, Document 2. Recruitment and Posting Locations for Recruitment Flyer<sup>254</sup>

### Washoe Tribe of California and Nevada

- \_\_\_\_\_ Tribal Historic Preservation Officer
- \_\_\_\_\_ Washoe Cultural Resource Advisory Council
- \_\_\_\_\_ Washoe Tribal Newsletter / Tribal Secretary, washoenewsletter@washoetribe.us  
(newsletters for January-February through November-December)

### Reno-Sparks Indian Colony

- \_\_\_\_\_ Tribal Historic Preservation Officer

### Susanville Indian Rancheria

- \_\_\_\_\_ Tribal Historic Preservation Officer

### Community Councils

- |                                   |  |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| _____ Stewart (Chairperson)       | meetings: 3 <sup>rd</sup> Tuesday of each month  |
| _____ Carson (Chairperson)        | meetings: 2 <sup>nd</sup> Wednesday of each month  |
| _____ Dresslerville (Chairperson) | meetings: 1 <sup>st</sup> Wednesday each month   |
| _____ Woodfords (Chairperson)     | meetings: 1 <sup>st</sup> Thursday of each month   |
| _____ Off-Reservation             | meetings: 3 <sup>rd</sup> Saturday every 3 <sup>rd</sup> month<br>*next meeting October 21, 2017 |

### Washoe Community Centers

- \_\_\_\_\_ Carson Colony Community Senior Center
- \_\_\_\_\_ Stewart Community Center
- \_\_\_\_\_ Dresslerville Community Center
- \_\_\_\_\_ Woodfords Community
- \_\_\_\_\_ Woodfords Indian Education Center

### Senior/Elder Centers

- \_\_\_\_\_ Carson Colony Community Senior Center
- \_\_\_\_\_ Stewart
- \_\_\_\_\_ Dresslerville
- \_\_\_\_\_ RSIC Senior Program
- \_\_\_\_\_ Washoe Tribe Cultural Resources and Language Office

### Tribal Businesses

- \_\_\_\_\_ Wa She Shu Casino
- \_\_\_\_\_ Wa She Shu Travel Plaza
- \_\_\_\_\_ Meeks Bay Marina and Campgroup
- \_\_\_\_\_ Smoke Shop, Carson City
- \_\_\_\_\_ Smoke Shop, Gardnerville

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<sup>254</sup> The names, phone numbers, emails, and addresses of individuals and other entities were removed from this version.

- \_\_\_\_\_ Smoke Shop, RSIC, Reno
- \_\_\_\_\_ Smoke Shop, RSIC, Reno
- \_\_\_\_\_ Smoke Shop, RSIC, Reno
- \_\_\_\_\_ Smoke Shop, RSIC, Reno
- \_\_\_\_\_ Smoke Shop, RSIC, Verdi

### Appendix A, Document 3. Ethno-survey<sup>255</sup>

Ethno-Survey for N. Davenport Dissertation, Project #987906-1

Participant First and Last Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Date of Ethno-Survey: \_\_\_\_\_

1.) Please indicate your relative age by marking next to the appropriate generational group below (you may not participate in this study if you are under age 18):

\_\_\_\_\_ Age 18 to 30

\_\_\_\_\_ Age 31 to 43

\_\_\_\_\_ Age 44 to 56

\_\_\_\_\_ Age 57 and up

2.) Please indicate your gender by marking the appropriate space below:

\_\_\_\_\_ Male

\_\_\_\_\_ Female

3.) Please indicate if you are able to... \_\_\_\_\_ speak in Washoe?

\_\_\_\_\_ read in Washoe?

\_\_\_\_\_ write in Washoe?

4a.) Which Washoe family(ies) are you descended from?

4b.) Besides Washoe, what are your other nationalities and ethnicities?

5.) Which community group do you come from?

\_\_\_\_\_ Hung-gnal-lell (southern)

\_\_\_\_\_ Wel-mel-tih (northern)

\_\_\_\_\_ Tong-lell-shih (western)

\_\_\_\_\_ P-ow-wa-low (valley)

\_\_\_\_\_ Oo-sheh-weh-ah (Carson area)<sup>256</sup>

\_\_\_\_\_ Peh-iw-lell-shih

6.) Could you please tell me about where you grew up or where you were raised?

7.) Could you please tell me about where you live now (if it is different from where you were raised)?

8.) Please circle "Yes" or "No" for the following questions.

8a.) Do you have a family allotment? Yes No

8b.) Do you have a family camp at Lake Tahoe or elsewhere? Yes No

8c.) If yes, do you know where it is? (please specify below) Yes No

8d.) Have you ever been there? Yes No

8e.) What do you know about it? (please elaborate below or on back of this page)

9.) How often, how many times, or with what frequency would you say you or your family visit(ed) the location(s) you just described?

<sup>255</sup> Documents 3, 4, and 5 were re-formatted for this report.

<sup>256</sup> My four Washoe project sponsors provided a regional name for the Carson area while we were editing the Ethno-survey, and it was the only time the name was encountered during this study.

## Appendix A. Document 4. Consent Form

**Title of Study:** Washoe Tribe Field Resource Mapping in the Sierra-Lake Tahoe Region<sup>[[L]]</sup><sub>SEP</sub>  
**Principle Investigator:** Louis Forline, Ph.D.<sup>[[L]]</sup><sub>SEP</sub>  
**Co-Investigator:** Natalie Davenport, M.A.  
**Study ID Number:** 987906  
**Sponsor:** N/A

### Introduction

You are being invited to participate in a research study. Before you agree to be in the study, read this form carefully. It explains why we are doing the study; and the procedures, risks, discomforts, benefits and precautions involved.

At any time, you may ask one of the researchers to explain anything about the study that you do not understand.

It's important you are completely truthful about your eligibility to be in this study. If you are not truthful, you may be harmed by being in the study.

You do not have to be in this study. Your participation is voluntary.

Take as much time as you need to decide. If you agree now but change your mind, you may quit the study at any time. Just let one of the researchers know you do not want to continue.

### Why are we doing this study?

I am doing this study to explore answers to the following questions:<sup>[[L]]</sup><sub>SEP</sub>

- 1) Which northern Washoe families have ties to resource areas and places?<sup>[[L]]</sup><sub>SEP</sub>
- 2) Do northern Washoe families have knowledge about these places? If so, what do they know?
- 3) Are northern Washoe elders successfully passing family knowledge about places to younger Washoe?<sup>[[L]]</sup><sub>SEP</sub>
- 4) How does this all relate to Washoe identity and memory attached to places?

Another project goal is creating a Washoe memory map, with different content layers, to be used as a tool for advocacy. Map content and layers will be based on participant responses to ethno-surveys, field visit interview questions, and results of field mapping activities.

Benefits of research cannot be guaranteed, but I hope to learn more about items #1-4 (listed above) to further goals in the Washoe Tribal Comprehensive Land Use Plan (Washoe Tribal Council 1994), such as:<sup>[[L]]</sup><sub>SEP</sub>  
 (1) reestablishing “a presence within the Lake Tahoe Basin;”

- (2) revitalizing “Washoe heritage and cultural knowledge, including the harvests and care of traditional plant resources;” and<sup>[1]</sup><sub>[SEP]</sub>
- (3) acknowledging “the importance of working with federal agencies managing cultural and natural resources within their aboriginal territory” (Rucks 1999:247).

**Why are we asking you to be in this study?**

We are asking you to be in this study because you are a Washoe individual over the age of 18, and because you are knowledgeable about your culture’s heritage.

**How many people will be in this study?**

We expect to enroll 60-100 participants through the Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California and the Susanville Indian Rancheria.

**What will you be asked to do if you agree to be in the study?**

If you agree to be in this study you will be asked to:

- (1) participate in a preliminary 30 minute survey about your Washoe landscape knowledge and experience(s).<sup>[1]</sup><sub>[SEP]</sub>
- (2) after the survey, you may be asked to participate in 1 or 2 field trips to landscapes with other family members, where I will ask you more detailed interview questions about your landscape knowledge and experience. Interviews may also take place separately, if you prefer. I will coordinate, fund, and be personally responsible for your transportation to and from field trip sites.<sup>[1]</sup><sub>[SEP]</sub>
- (3) during the field trip(s), you may be asked to revise copies of existing archival maps showing Washoe landscapes. Map revisions may also take place separately, if you prefer.

**How long will you be in the study?**

The study will take about 30 minutes of your time if you participate in the survey; this will be a one-time event, unless I have clarification follow up questions or ask you to participate in field visits. Each field visit is expected to take between 4 and 6 hours, depending on location and travel time. If you participate in the survey and 1 or 2 field trips, the study will take about 12-13 hours of your time. Field trips will occur over the course of 3 months and take place 5 or 6 months after the surveys.

**What are your choices if you do not volunteer to be in this research study?**

Participation is voluntary. If you decide not to be in the study, you are welcome to request a copy of the study report after it is completed.

**What if you agree to be in the study now, but change your mind later?**

You do not have to stay in the study. You may withdraw from the study at any time by notifying me, or Dr. Louis Forline.

**What if the study changes while you are in it?**

If anything about the study changes or if I want to use your information in a different way, I will tell you and ask if you if you want to stay in the study. I will also tell you

about any important new information that may affect your willingness to stay in the study.

**Is there any way being in this study could be bad for you?**

If you participate in this study, I don't anticipate any adverse impact upon you other than it cutting into the time you would normally dedicate to other activities, and being a little inconvenient.

**What happens if you become injured because of your participation in the study?**

In the event that this research activity results in an injury, treatment will be available. This includes first aid, emergency treatment, and follow-up care as needed. I will carry a first-aid kit for any minor injuries. I will provide necessary transport to/from medical facilities if you sustain an injury or need treatment during a field trip.

**Will being in this study help you in any way?**

I cannot promise you will benefit from being in this study. I anticipate the study will help in the sense of salvaging knowledge and cultural memory that could vanish in the next generation. The direct benefit of being in this study is unknown.

**Who will pay for the costs of your participation in this research study?**

No costs are associated with participation in this study. If you participate in field trips, I will fund costs associated with transporting you to/from field visit sites.

**Will you be paid for being in this study?**

You will not receive any payment for being in this study.

**Who will know that you are in in this study and who will have access to the information we collect about you?**

The researchers and the University of Nevada, Reno Institutional Review Board will have access to your study records.

**How will we protect your private information and the information we collect about you?**

I will treat your identity with professional standards of confidentiality and protect your private information to the extent allowed by law. I will do this by:

- (1) Securing your recruitment and contact information in a locked cabinet or in a password protected file; this information will be destroyed upon project completion.
- (2) Replacing personal information with codes. The list linking participant names and codes will be stored securely and separately from the research data; this list will be destroyed upon project completion. [L]  
[SEP]
- (3) Research data will be stored on a stand-alone password-protected laptop or password-protected Electronic Portable Device. [L]  
[SEP]
- (4) Paper or portable electronic files, or laptop will be kept in a locked cabinet.

I will not use your name or other information that could identify you in any reports or publications that result from this study unless you indicate otherwise and provide me with a signed Photo/Audio/Video Release Form for Research.

**Where will the research data go upon completion of the study and who will have access?**

Upon completion of the study, the research data will be transferred to: (1) the Washoe Tribe's Office of Historic Preservation and (2) Getchell Special Collections Library at the University of Nevada, Reno. Research data will be accessible from either location. Contingent upon the nature of research data gathered, it may be necessary to restrict access to sensitive information in either or both locations. The Washoe Tribal Historic Preservation Officer and the Washoe Cultural Resources Advisory Council will provide general guidance to the researcher on this topic prior to data transfer.

**Do the researchers have monetary interests tied to this study?** The researchers do not have any monetary interests related to this project.

**Who can you contact if you have questions about the study or want to report an injury?**

At any time, if you have questions about this study or wish to report an injury that may be related to your participation in this study, contact me, Natalie Davenport, at natalied@exwire.com, or Dr. Louis Forline, at forline@unr.edu.

**Who can you contact if you want to discuss a problem or complaint about the research or ask about your rights as a research participant?**

You may discuss a problem or complaint or ask about your rights as a research participant by calling the University of Nevada, Reno Research Integrity Office at (775) 327-2368. You may also use the online Contact the Research Integrity Office form available from the Contact Us page of the University's Research Integrity Office website.

**Agreement to be in study**

If you agree to participate in this study, you must sign this consent form. I will give you a copy of the form to keep.

Participant's Name Printed \_\_\_\_\_  
 Signature of Participant \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_  
 Signature of Person Obtaining Consent \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_  
 Form of ID Shown for Age Verification \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix A. Document 5. Photo/Video/Audio Release Form

**Title of Study:** Washoe Tribe Field Resource Mapping in the Sierra-Lake Tahoe Region<sup>[L]</sup><sub>[SEP]</sub>  
**Principle Invstigator:** Louis Forline, Ph.D.<sup>[L]</sup><sub>[SEP]</sub>  
**Co-Investigator:** Natalie Davenport, M.A.  
**IRB Number:** 987906-01  
**Sponsor:** N/A

Please indicate whether you allow photographs, audio-, or video-recordings to be taken of you during participation in this research project. If you agree, please indicate how they may be used. Agreeing to allow your images, audio-, or video-recordings to be used for research is completely voluntary and up to you. In any use of the above, your name will not be disclosed.

**In the table below, please circle all uses to which you agree then initial in the space provided. If you do not agree to any uses, do not circle or initial in the table, then sign and date below.**

<u>Uses</u>	<u>Initials</u>
1. The images / audio-recordings / video-recordings may be studied by the research team for this research project.	
2. The images / audio-recordings / video-recordings may be used for scientific publications.	
3. The images / audio-recordings / video-recordings may be used at meetings of scientists interested in the study of ethnosience, and cultural landscapes.	
4. The images / audio-recordings / video-recordings may be used in classrooms to teach students about Washoe culture.	
5. The images / audio-recordings / video-recordings may be used in public presentations to non-scientific groups.	
6. The audio-recordings / video-recordings may be used on television and radio.	

You have the right to request the photography or recording be stopped or erased at any time.

By signing below, you are agreeing that you have read the above description and give your consent for the uses of your images, audio-recordings, and video-recordings as indicated by your initials.

Participant's Name Printed \_\_\_\_\_  
 Signature of Participant \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_  
 Signature of Person Obtaining Consent \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_



**Appendix B. Handout from Washoe Language Class**

## Appendix B. Handout 1. Washoe Introduction<sup>257</sup>

### Goo-ding-ah hezsh may (who are you) Introduction

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Ong-gnah-meh-hezsh-ih deh-goom-tahn-nu  
How are you my people

Leh keh lung-ow oosh-leh  
I am good all along

Leh keh \_\_\_\_\_ deh-goom-dee-yeh keh leh-leh  
I am (your name) this is my name am exist

Dee lah \_\_\_\_\_  
My mother

Dee goy \_\_\_\_\_  
My father

Dee goo-oo \_\_\_\_\_  
My mother's mother

Dee el-lel \_\_\_\_\_  
My mother's father

Dee um-mah \_\_\_\_\_  
My father's mother

Dee baa-bah \_\_\_\_\_  
My father's father

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<sup>257</sup> This modified version is based on the handout I received from my language instructor, Kate, in Washoe language class.

**Appendix C. Washoe Landscape Indices**

A	B	C	D
<u>HISTORICAL IMAGES - UNR SPECIAL COLLECTIONS</u>			
<u>PHOTO#</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>LAND/PEOPLE</u>
UNRS-P2689-1	"Datsolalee's Masterpieces"		PPL/OBJ
UNRS-P2710-0295	"Washoe Baskets"		OBJ
UNRS-P2710-4770	"Taking it out of Him"; Washoed cowboy at Topaz Ranch		PPL/LAND
UNRS-P2710-4775	"Washoe Indian Maiden..."; Topaz, CA		PPL
UNRS-P2710-4776	Washoe Indian as ranch hand		PPL/LAND
UNRS-P2710-4777	One of the smallest representatives of the Washoe tribe, Topaz		PPL/LAND
UNRS-P2710-4928	Group of indians wearing rabbitskin blankets (Washoe?)		PPL/OBJ/LAND
UNRA-P316-1	Richard Barrington; Indian dancers; Stewart Indian School		PPL/BLDG
	"Skimmerhorn's Point" on E. Shore of Lake Tahoe; the near point with pines; named after a Washoe		
UNRS-P0082-4	Indian; photo by S.B. Doten. From: George Wharton James Collection		LAND
UNRS-P1165-1	Five photos of Washoe Indian ranch and old mill in Douglas County		BLDG/LAND
UNRS-P1984-22-09	Maggie James at Lake Tahoe w/baskets; 1920; postcard	1920	PPL/OBJ/LAND
UNRS-P1984-22-25	Two Washoe boys and dog on beach at Lake Tahoe		PPL/LAND
UNRS-P1984-22-28	"Billy Merrill" with fish at Lake Tahoe		PPL/LAND/OBJ
UNRS-P1989-55-2734	Indian woman with willows for a basket; "William Wee's Grandmother"		PPL/OBJ/LAND
UNRS-P1989-55-2735	Indian woman with willows for a basket; "William Wee's Grandmother"		PPL/OBJ/LAND
UNRS-P1991-24-02	Postcard of Washoe basketmaker, Carson Indian Agency		PPL
UNRS-P1991-24-03	Washoe women weaving basket, Carson Indian Agency, Stewart		PPL/OBJ
UNRS-P1991-24-04	"Native Americans harvesting pine nuts..."; Carson Indian Agency, Stewart		PPL/OBJ/LAND
UNRS-P1991-24-05	Two buildings and autos at Dresslerville 1937-1939; "Washoe house"	1937-1939	BLDG/LAND
UNRS-P1991-24-06	Three Washoe girls carrying cradleboards; Dresslerville Colony, 1937-1939	1937-1939	PPL/OBJ
UNRS-P1991-24-07	Washoe women at Dresslerville Colony 1937-1939; "Washoe women with pine nut carrying basket"	1937-1939	PPL/OBJ
UNRS-P1991-24-08	Dirt road and wooden buildings; Dresslerville Colony, 1937-1939; 1938 street scene looking north	1938	BLDG/LAND
UNRS-P1991-24-09	Washoe Village, 1939, Dresslerville Indian Colony	1939	BLDG/LAND
	Job's Peak and Job's Sister, Sierra Nevada Range; looking west from Minden 1939; Dresslerville Indian		
UNRS-P1991-24-10	Colony	1939	LAND
UNRS-P1991-24-11	Dirt road; Dresslerville Indian Colony; Washoe Village 1937 Dresslerville	1937	BLDG/LAND
	Photo of Washoe terrain; man standing among bushes in the Pine Nut Range, Carson Valley; Tom		
UNRS-P1991-24-25	Holbrook, informant 1937	1937	PPL/LAND
UNRS-P1991-24-31	Photo of Bill Cornbread on the side of the road; "Bill Cornbread (oldest Washoe)"; 1937	1937	PPL/LAND
UNRS-P1991-24-32	Photo of Bill Cornbread replacing axe handles; 1937, oldest Washoe	1937	PPL/OBJ
	Sam Dick performing ceremony related to peyote; "Peyote 3.) Sam Dick at altar, August 1939; Coleville,		
UNRS-P1991-24-38	CA"	1939	PPL/OBJ
UNRS-P1991-24-39	Peyote ceremony; 9.) Sam Dick and wife with peyote paraphernalia, Coleville 1939	1939	PPL/OBJ
UNRS-P1991-24-40	Peyote 4.) Sam Dick and wife, Ida at peyote altar - Coleville, August 1939	1939	PPL/OBJ
	Charlie Rube standing in front of tents; 6.) Charlie Rube, informant, Antelope Shaman, p.xvi. Place: near		
UNRS-P1991-24-45	Bijou, CA; Age: in 80s		/LAND

A	B	C	D
UNRS-P1991-24-46	John Frank; 12.) John Frank, Healer, Dreamer, pp. 352-356; in his 90s; Carson City; 1981	1981	PPL
UNRS-P1991-24-47	Shaman Henry "Moses" Rupert in later years; photo taken by Don Handelman 1970s, Carson City, NV Elderly man sitting in front of building; "Old Blind Mike, celebrated Washoe shaman"; 2.) Old Blind	1970s	PPL
UNRS-P1991-24-48	Mike, Sheridan, NV 1937	1937	PPL/BLDG
UNRS-P1991-24-49	Old Blind Mike at his cabin pointing, in Sheridan, NV 1937	1937	PPL/BLDG
UNRS-P1991-24-50	Old Blind Mike sitting outside his cabin, Sheridan, NV 1937	1937	PPL/BLDG
UNRS-P1991-24-51	Old Blind Mike holding 2 sticks; celebrated Washoe shaman, Myers, CA 1938	1938	PPL/OBJ
UNRS-P1991-24-52	Old Blind Mike in front of a stump; at Myers, CA where he spent much of summer		PPL/LAND
UNRS-P1991-24-54	George Snooks, interpreter-informant; Truckee River, Lake Tahoe, CA (Myers, CA), summer 1937	1937	PPL/LAND
UNRS-P1991-24-55	Twp men standing in front of a historic car; George Snooks, informant-interpreter; Charlie Rube, informant, Carson Valley, NV 1937	1937	PPL/OBJ PPL/LAND
UNRS-P1991-24-60	Charlie Rube and others in camp; "Charlie Rube's camp at Bijou: Edgar E. Sisken, L; G. Snooks, C; C, Rube, R; 1937 Lake Tahoe	1937	/BLDG
UNRS-P1991-28-053	Steamboat Valley; from ICC, docket 288, exhibit no. M-9, 1963	1963	LAND
UNRS-P1991-28-054	Upland plain above Carson Valley floor and just below timberline; from ICC, docket 288, exhibit no. M- 9, 1963	1963	LAND
UNRS-P1991-28-055	Meadows on Spooner Summit; from ICC, docket 288, exhibit no. M-9, 1963	1963	LAND
UNRS-P1991-28-056	Lumber flume along Clear Creek, 3 miles SE of Carson City; from ICC, docket 288, exhibit no. M-9, 1963	1963	LAND/OBJ
UNRS-P1991-28-057	Logging operation in T 16 N, R 17 E; from ICC, docket 288, exhibit no. M-9, 1963	1963	LAND
UNRS-P1991-28-058	Tahoe City; NW shore of Lake Tahoe, T 16 N, R 17 E; from ICC, docket 288, exhibit no. M-9, 1963	1963	LAND
UNRS-P1991-28-059	Tahoe City looking south; from ICC, docket 288, exhibit no. M-9, 1963	1963	LAND
UNRS-P1991-28-060	South Tahoe, CA, looking NE; from ICC, docket 288, exhibit no. M-9, 1963	1963	LAND
UNRS-P1991-28-061	SW boundary of Washoe Tract, Sierra timber region of CA; from ICC, docket 288, exhibit no. M-9, 1963	1963	LAND
UNRS-P1991-28-062	Fallen Leaf Lake; from ICC, docket 288, exhibit no. M-9, 1963	1963	LAND
UNRS-P1991-28-063	Glenbrook, NV; from ICC, docket 288, exhibit no. M-9, 1963	1963	LAND
UNRS-P1991-28-064	Lake Valley, CA; from ICC, docket 288, exhibit no. M-9, 1963	1963	LAND
UNRS-P1991-28-065	Lake Valley, CA; from ICC, docket 288, exhibit no. M-9, 1963	1963	LAND
UNRS-P1991-28-066	Tahoe trout; from ICC, docket 288, exhibit no. M-9, 1963	1963	LAND/OBJ
UNRS-P1991-28-067	Slaughterhouse Canyon; from ICC, docket 288, exhibit no. M-9, 1963	1963	LAND
UNRS-P1991-28-068	Glenbrook, NV; from ICC, docket 288, exhibit no. M-9, 1963	1963	LAND
UNRS-P1991-28-069	Natural meadow area near Zephyr Cove, NV; from ICC, docket 288, exhibit no. M-9, 1963	1963	LAND
UNRS-P1991-28-070	Lapham Meadow, SE Lake Tahoe; from ICC, docket 288, exhibit no. M-9, 1963	1963	LAND
UNRS-P1991-28-071	Carson Valley floor looking W, Centerville in lower left; from ICC, docket 288, exhibit no. M-9, 1963	1963	LAND
UNRS-P1991-28-072	Carson Valley looking W toward Genoa; from ICC, docket 288, exhibit no. M-9, 1963	1963	LAND
UNRS-P1991-28-073	Carson Valley near CA-NV line; from ICC, docket 288, exhibit no. M-9, 1963	1963	LAND
UNRS-P1991-28-074	Carson Valley looking north; from ICC, docket 288, exhibit no. M-9, 1963	1963	LAND
UNRS-P1991-28-075	Carson Valley near Minden, NV looking W; from ICC, docket 288, exhibit no. M-9, 1963	1963	LAND

A	B	C	D
UNRS-P1991-28-076	Truckee River and Big Truckee Meadows near Glendale, looking west, Reno at top left; from ICC, docket 288, exhibit no. M-9, 1963	1963	LAND/BLDG
UNRS-P1991-28-077	Meadow land north of Hinfakker Hills, looking west; from ICC, docket 288, exhibit no. M-9, 1963	1963	LAND
UNRS-P1991-28-078	Verdi, CA; town of Crystal Peak located here; looking west; from ICC, docket 288, exhibit no. M-9, 1963	1963	LAND
UNRS-P1991-28-079	Looking west up Clear Creek; from ICC, docket 288, exhibit no. M-9, 1963	1963	LAND
UNRS-P1991-28-080	Looking west across Jacks Valley; big grove of trees is Fleishman Ranch; from ICC, docket 288, exhibit no. M-9, 1963	1963	LAND
UNRS-P1991-28-081	Hope Valley looking NE; from ICC, docket 288, exhibit no. M-9, 1963	1963	LAND
UNRS-P1991-28-082	Upper Hope Valley looking NE; from ICC, docket 288, exhibit no. M-9, 1963	1963	LAND
UNRS-P1991-28-083	Dog Valley. Wagon road is evident (Old Hennessie Pass Wagon Rd). Looking N; from ICC, docket 288, exhibit no. M-9, 1963	1963	LAND
UNRS-P1991-28-084	East boundary of Washoe Tract is crest of Pinenut Range in foreground. Looking S; from ICC, docket 288, exhibit no. M-9, 1963	1963	LAND
UNRS-P1991-28-085	Pine Nut Range, looking S; from ICC, docket 288, exhibit no. M-9, 1963	1963	LAND
UNRS-P1991-28-086	Pine Nut Range, looking into Mineral Valley; from ICC, docket 288, exhibit no. M-9, 1963	1963	LAND
UNRS-P1991-28-087	Long Valley in Northern Washoe Tract, looking E, Mt. Adams in background; from ICC, docket 288, exhibit no. M-9, 1963	1963	LAND
UNRS-P1991-28-088	California timber land, East Fork of Carson River, looking S; from ICC, docket 288, exhibit no. M-9, 1963	1963	LAND
UNRS-P1991-28-089	Hope Valley, looking N, Lake Tahoe in background; from ICC, docket 288, exhibit no. M-9, 1963	1963	LAND
UNRS-P1991-28-090	Como Mining District, looking E; from ICC, docket 288, exhibit no. M-9, 1963	1963	LAND
UNRS-P1991-28-091	Washoe Lake, looking N; from ICC, docket 288, exhibit no. M-9, 1963	1963	LAND
UNRS-P1991-28-092	Timber in southern portion of Washoe Tract; from ICC, docket 288, exhibit no. M-9, 1963	1963	LAND
UNRS-P1991-28-093	Pleasant Valley above East Carson River, looking N; from ICC, docket 288, exhibit no. M-9, 1963	1963	LAND
UNRS-P1991-28-094	Leviathan Mine, southern region on Washoe Tract; from ICC, docket 288, exhibit no. M-9, 1963	1963	LAND
UNRS-P1991-28-095	Squaw Valley, looking NW; from ICC, docket 288, exhibit no. M-9, 1963	1963	LAND
UNRS-P1991-28-096	Donner Lake, looking NW; from ICC, docket 288, exhibit no. M-9, 1963	1963	LAND
UNRS-P1991-28-097	Martis Valley, looking S; from ICC, docket 288, exhibit no. M-9, 1963	1963	LAND
UNRS-P1991-28-098	California, Webber Lake, looking S; from ICC, docket 288, exhibit no. M-9, 1963	1963	LAND
UNRS-P1991-28-099	Beckworth Pass, looking W; from ICC, docket 288, exhibit no. M-9, 1963	1963	LAND
UNRS-P1991-28-100	California Timber land T 17 N, R 14 E, MDB & M, looking W; from ICC, docket 288, exhibit no. M-9, 1963	1963	LAND
UNRS-P1991-28-101	Truckee River near Glendale, NV; Truckee Meadows, Stones Crossing, looking W; from ICC, docket 288, exhibit no. M-9, 1963	1963	LAND
UNRS-P1992-03-0139	Cal-Neva Casino, Reno ca. 1970 - "... Home of the Wild Indian Slots..."	1970	LAND/BLDG
UNRS-P1992-03-0244	Club Cal-Neva, Reno; "... Breakfast is a meal - not a time of day at Club Cal-Neva Home of the Wild Indian..."	1978	LAND/BLDG
UNRS-P1993-01-2511	Indian Territory, October 1978	1978	LAND/MAP

A	B	C	D
UNRS-P1993-15-36	Cave at McLeod Hill where Indian doctors sought power. Photo taken by Eileen Kane, August 1964, Yerington.	1964	LAND
UNRS-P1993-15-38	Cave at McLeod Hill where Indian doctors sought power. Photo taken by Eileen Kane, August 1964, Yerington.	1964	LAND
UNRS-P1997-51-2146	Virginia and Truckee RR shops, Carson City; Indian group, 1902.	1902	LAND/BLDG
UNRS-P2000-06-0112	Caughlin Ranch, 1930-ish; L to R: Annie Moore, Howard Moore, Gloria Rupert (Indian named by Crissie)...	1930	PPL/LAND
UNRS-P2000-06-0170	Indian "house" on Truckee River, Susie's (an Indian) "house" on Caughlin Ranch		/BLDG
UNRS-P2000-06-0171	Indian dwellings on Caughlin Ranch?		LAND/BLDG
UNRS-P2000-06-0172	Susie - Indian who worked with Elizabeth Andrews taking in laundry, 1880-1890.	1880-1890	LAND/BLDG
UNRS-P2000-06-0214	L to R: ...Gloria Rupert (Indian named by Crissie)...		PPL/LAND
UNRS-P2000-06-0771	Indian woman, Andrews family. No id.		PPL
UNRS-P2000-06-1956	Susie, Indian woman worked with Elizabeth Andrews taking in laundry 1880-1890	1880-1890	PPL
UNRS-P2000-18-0046	From Tahoe Mercantile Company pier looking N 30 degrees W showing part of Tahoe City...; LTSS, Nov. 19, 1930.		PPL
UNRS-P2000-18-055	Indian mortar in front of R. Watson home... original location was near end of Standard Oil pier, Nov. 20, 1930; LTSS.	1930	LAND/BLDG
UNRS-P2008-18-0057	From Standard Oil Co. pier at Tahoe City 25 feet out from old Indian basketry house... near Truckee River Outlet, Nov. 20, 1930; LTSS	1930	LAND/BLDG
UNRS-P2008-18-0059	From Standard Oil Co. pier looking S toward Tahoe Tavern RR pier; shows low ground S side of Truckee R Outlet... original spot of Indian mortar, Watson marked spot with stones; Oct. 31, 1930	1930	LAND/BLDG
UNRS-P2014-15-00001	Datsolalee and another lady in a shelter; Datsolalee is weaving and lady is standing with baby in cradleboard; "Indians at Lake Tahoe"		LAND/BLDG
UNRS-P2710-0279	Wickiup/Washoe Indian home in Dresslerville		LAND/PPL/OBJS
UNRS-P2710-0428	Indian man standing in field; Washoe sheep herding - Topaz Land and Cattle Co., negative only; same man as in negative #426		LAND/BLDG
UNRS-P1984-22-01	To Captain Pete, Chief of the Washoe Indians. From Emmet D. Boyle, Gov. of NV, May 1917. Pete Mayo, Sara Mayo, Ben James, Gov. Boyle, Henry Rupert, Captain Pete.	1917	LAND/PPL/OBJS
UNRS-P1987-04-1	Group of Washoe Indians seated in a meadow at Lake Tahoe; stereograph.		LAND/BLDG
UNRS-P2710-4762	Feeding cattle on the Union Land and Stock Co.'s Ranch, Topaz, CA 1917. From: Final Report. Relief of Homeless Indians. NV. Lorenzo D. Creel, Special Superintendent.	1917	LAND/PPL/OBJS
UNRS-P2710-4770	"Taking it out of Him", Washoe Indian cowboys on Topaz Ranch. From: Final Report. Relief of Homeless Indians. NV. Lorenzo D. Creel, Special Superintendent.	1917	PPL/LAND
UNRS-P1984-22-09	Washoe Indian woman at Lake Tahoe with Washoe baskets ca. 1920; identified as Maggie James; postcard	1920	PPL/LAND
UNRS-P2710-4678	Col. Dorrington, Special Indian Agent in Charge, trip to examine Washoe pine nut allotments. Sept. 1918. 2nd growth trees. Trees in background probably 40-50 yrs old loaded with cones. Tree in foreground probably 25 yrs old and too young to bear fruit; From: Washoe Pine Nut Lands Report 1917-1918.	1918	LAND/PPL/OBJS

A	B	C	D
UNRS-P2710-4767	Washoe Indian, mixed blood, one of leading cowmen employed on the ranch...; May 1917. From: Final Report. Relief of Homeless Indians. NV. Lorenzo D. Creel, Special Superintendent.	1917	PPL/LAND
UNRS-P1984-22-28	Billy Merrill with string of fish at Lake Tahoe; standing with a man, two women, and child.		LAND/PPL/OBJS
UNRS-P1992-01-4047	Nevada Indian Chiefs. 176.		PPL
UNRS-P2710-0279	Wickiup made of reeds, bords, fabric, etc.; Washoe Indian home in Dresserville.		LAND/BLDG
UNRS-P2710-2043	Col. Dorrington with Indian woman and basket of pine nuts.		PPL/OBJ
UNRS-P2710-2044	Col. Dorrington and Indian holding pine nut pole. (see also #4680).		PPL/OBJ
UNRS-P2710-2859	Hunting rabbits; Washo, near Stewart Indian School. Rabbit hunter with gun in right hand...		LAND/PPL/OBJS
UNRS-P2710-2859a	Rabbit hunter with gun in left hand and rabbits, gun is a 1912 Winchester; Washo; near Stewart Indian School.		LAND/PPL/OBJS
UNRS-P1993-05-2013	"Grazing at Armstrong's"; Camp Chinokis campers with horses in meadow at Armstrong's, Emerald Bay, 1946.	1946	LAND/PPL/OBJS
UNRS-P1993-05-2011	"Stream at Armstrong's"; view of a small stream at Armstrong's, Emerald Bay, 1936.	1936	LAND
UNRS-P1984-22-02	Washoe Indians: Billy and Maggie Merrill, Minnie George and One Arm George at Lake Tahoe, ca. 1920-1920.	1910-1920	PPL/LAND
UNRS-P1997-01-073	Bliss Meadows, mid 20th century	mid 1900s	LAND
UNRS-P2003-10-394	Blackwood Creek looking W from Lake Tahoe, ca. 1958-1975	1958-1975	LAND
UNRS-P2003-10-451	Blackwood Creek looking W from Lake Tahoe, May 1967	1967	LAND
UNRS-P2007-04-09	Brockway Hot Springs; "One of the Hot Wells", June 12, 1946; postcard	1946	PPL/LAND
UNRS-P0958-1	Brown's Wharf, 1916; caption: #775 - Truckee Carson Project, Brown's Wharf	1916	LAND/BLDG
UNRS-P2007-04-25	Buckhorn Restaurant, Kings Beach, ca. 1950s buried in snow	1950s	LAND/BLDG
UNRS-P2003-10-449	California State Park, Tahoe City, looking S, 1967	1967	LAND
UNRS-P1992-01-3270	Carnelian Hot Springs Hotel, Lake Tahoe; Agate Bay; late 19th century	late 1800s	LAND/BLDG
UNRS-P2004-14-11	Cave Rock - The Lady of the Lake, ca. 1911	ca. 1911	LAND
UNRS-P0198-1	Cave Rock ca. 1864; freight wagons and teams on road around Cave Rock; Lawrence and Houseworth #676; carte de visite	ca. 1896	LAND/PPL/OBJS
UNRS-P2012-02-030	Chamber's Lodge, Lake Tahoe; aka McKinneys; ca. 1930	ca. 1930	LAND/BLDG
UNRS-P1984-18-05	Grand Central Hotel in winter, ca. 1883; stereograph	ca. 1883	LAND/BLDG
UNRS-P1992-01-3406	Grand Central Hotel, Tahoe City, ca. 1886, in summer	ca. 1886	LAND/BLDG
UNRS-P1995-27-13	Log chute on the Truckee River, ca. 1886	ca. 1886	LAND/OBJ
UNRS-P1984-22-03	Lottie Kyser (Winona's mother), Winona James (in cradleboard), and Donald James (Winona's brother) at Emerald Bay; cedar bark house in background	1906	PPL/LAND
UNRS-P1984-22-08	Maggie and Billy Merrill at Lake Tahoe, 1909; Billy holding fish and fishing equipment	1909	/BLDG
UNRS-P2007-10-1	McKinney's, Lake Tahoe, ca. 1908, taken from Pillsbury Picture Co. series, no. 264; postcard	ca. 1908	PPL/LAND/OBJ
UNRS-P1985-04-16	McKinney's, Lake Tahoe, 1898	1898	LAND/BLDG
UNRS-P2432-1	Original dam on Truckee River at Lake Tahoe, ca. 1890-1900; "Alex von Schmidt Dam"	1890-1900	LAND/BLDG
UNRS-P1997-01-106	Original dam on the Truckee River at Lake Tahoe, 1907; "Water going over crest of old dam; gates closed; highest elevation for year 6231.26"	1907	LAND/BLDG



A	B	C	D
UNRS-P1986-13-19	Shore of Lake Tahoe near Tahoe City, 1873; man and woman standing near shore looking N; image 709	1873	PPL/LAND
UNRS-P2004-18-030	Bradley & Rulofson series: Central Pacific Railroad Squaw Creek Valley near Lake Tahoe, ca. 1940s; from James E. Church collection	ca. 1940s	LAND
UNRS-P-0957-1	Steamer anchored in Emerald Bay with a small boat pulling away, ca. 1916; shows entrance to bay, grassy/marshy	ca. 1916	LAND/OBJ
UNRS-P-1987-09-06	Steamer Tahoe docking at Emerald Bay, early 20th century; postcard	early 1900s	LAND/OBJ
UNRS-P1997-01-110	Tahoe Tavern; Lake elevation = 6225-88; June 20, 1920 by C.O. Valentine; shows Tavern Casino and bulkhead constructed 1907; also lake and pier with low water	1886	LAND/BLDG
UNRS-P1992-01-3269	Tallac Hotel, 1886; guests sitting in tall grass under pine trees, staff in background (2 Chinese men w/hand cart), and horse drawn buggies; porch of hotel decorated with Chinese lanterns	1886	PPL/LAND
UNRS-P1985-02-209	View from Eagle Point, Emerald Bay, 1886.		/BLDG/OBJ
UNRS-P2004-18-087	Ward Creek snow course at 7000 feet; early 20th century; "note aspen almost buried"; James E. Church collection.	early 1900s	LAND
UNRS-P1984-22-25	Washoe Indian boys with dog on Lake Tahoe shore; ca. 1910-1920.	1920-1920	PPL/LAND
UNRS-P1984-22-05	Washoe man and woman with cradleboard at Lake Tahoe; ca. 1910-1920; caption: "Maggie George's 2 older children, taken at Lake Tahoe"	1920-1920	PPL/LAND/OBJ
UNRS-P0028-1	Sunday picnic in Carson City, early 1900s; "The Indians regularly had a Sunday picnic and card games in the shade of this old tree. In the background can see the Virginia and Truckee RR roundhouse."	early 1900s	PPL/LAND
UNRS-P0078-2	Head of Truckee River, ca. 1910-1920; photo by Samuel Bradford Doten; George Wharton James Collection.	1910-1920	/BLDG/OBJ
UNRS-P0475-1	V-flume with two men on bicycles in foreground; "The old Dog Valley flume near Verdi, NV. It was built on a high trestle across the Truckee River; ca. 1910-1920; photo by S. B. Doten; George Wharton James Collection.	1910-1920	LAND/BLDG
UNRS-P0957-1	Lake steamer anchored in Emerald Bay with small boat pulling away; Lake Tahoe Shoreline Survey; Truckee-Carson Irrigation District Truckee Carson Project; for DJ	1910-1920	PPL/LAND/OBJ
UNRS-P0957-2	#727 - Truckee Carson Project; Panorama from Bradley's Wharf looking along shore from Emerald Bay.	1930	/BLDG
UNRS-P0964-? (No#)	Heilman's Wharf, Lake Tahoe; Lake Tahoe Shoreline Survey.	1930	LAND/OBJ
UNRS-P0967-1	Washoe woman basket maker; Lake Tahoe Shoreline Survey.	1930	LAND/BLDG
UNRS-P0975-? (No#)	Meeks Bay, Lake Tahoe; Lake Tahoe Shoreline Survey.	1930	PPL/LAND/OBJ
UNRS-P0976-1	#891 - from wharf at Rubicon Park, showing creek, small pines, wide sandy beach; Lake Tahoe Shoreline Survey.	1930	LAND
UNRS-P0976-2	From N side of small creek at Rubicon Park Camp; Lake Tahoe Shoreline Survey.	1930	LAND/BLDG
UNRS-P0976-3	From N side of small creek at Rubicon Park Camp; Lake Tahoe Shoreline Survey; ca. 1916?	1930	LAND/BLDG
UNRS-P0978-1	#729 - ...North Shore Line, Emerald Bay; Lake Tahoe Shoreline Survey.	1930	LAND
UNRS-P1025-1	Two women from Tahoe-Truckee Water Survey party; in center of photo looking N is Pope's shoreline bathhouse, just past the Grove Resort, later to become Camp Richardson.	1916	PPL/LAND/BLD
UNRS-P1759-1	Crowds gathered at newly completed Derby Dam; Mrs. Senator Newlands christened diversion dam of main Truckee Canal.	June 17 1905	G
UNRS-P1804-b	#766 - Truckee Carson Project near Tahoe Pines, 1916. Lake Tahoe Shoreline Survey.	1916	PPL/LAND
			/BLDG
			LAND

A	B	C	D
UNRS-P1984-18-5	Grand Central Hotel - winter; photo by R. E. Wood; ca. 1883	ca. 1883	LAND/BLDG
UNRS-P1985-03-16	Two men standing in front of frozen flumes; flumes built 1903-1905 with installation of Fleisch Power Plant, Truckee Canyon in W Verdi.	1903-1905	PPL/LAND /BLDG/OBJ
UNRS-P1985-03-01	Site of Donner Cabins, Donner Lake, CA, ca. 1880s; photo by Sam C. Partridge, S.F.; (NED note: shows a man atop the Donner Cross).	ca. 1880s	PPL/LAND/OBJ
UNRS-P1985-03-02	Site of Donner Cabins, Donner Lake, CA, ca. 1880s; photo by Sam C. Partridge, S.F.; (NED note: shows a man atop the Donner Cross).	ca. 1880s	PPL/LAND/OBJ
UNRS-P1987-05-2	Man in a boat on pond - Donner, California; Trees in background; Published by H. Ropes and Co., NY. "Terrible, thrilling, true. History of Donner Party: A Tragedy of the Sierra"; (NED note: ad for C. F. McGlashan's book).	ca. 1880s	PPL/LAND/OBJ
UNRS-P1987-07-1	"Donner Lake and Victory Highway, near Reno, NV--4."; colorized postcard; circa 1926; this portion of highway was named the Victory Highway in 1923, renamed US Hwy 40 in 1928.	ca. 1926	LAND LAND/OBJ PPL/LAND /BLDG
UNRS-P1992-01-2705	#4 - Kruger's Dam on Donner Creek - mile from lake; Herbie sitting on one of the posts of the dam.	ca. 1910	LAND/OBJ LAND/BLDG
UNRS-P1992-01-8364	"Tice Meadows, Tallac, Lake Tahoe, CA"; #1376; view of cattle grazing in a field at Tallac; postmarked Apr. 9, 1910; colorized postcard.	1906	LAND/OBJ LAND/BLDG
UNRS-P1992-01-9160	Mi Duena, Tahoe City; panorama from the Tahoe Tavern Wharf; copyright 1906, Pillsbury; #1028.	ca. 1895	LAND LAND/OBJ PPL/LAND
UNRS-P2003-17-13	"On Truckee River. Possibly between Tahoe City and Truckee, ca. 1895.		
UNRS-P2004-18-079	North end Lake Tahoe, shore by Tahoe City - cabin cruiser Mt. Rose.		
UNRS-P2004-18-089	Pages Meadow (7,000 ft) on route from Tahoe City to head of Ward Creek. [Paige Meadows- NED]. Water in Lake at 6,223.17 ft. Taken from low land which extends into the lake between Observation Point & Tahoe City. Looking S 35 degrees W to show extent of this low ground, the remains of Matt Green's old pier & boat track & Tahoe City in the distance at right. Oct. 31, 1930. Lake Tahoe Photographic Shoreline Survey.	Oct 31 1930	LAND/BLDG /OBJ
UNRS-P2008-18-0031	Water in Lake at 6,223.21 ft. Taken from gravel bar NE of Tahoe City looking N 20 degrees E at a section of low beach and high bank. Photo shows how banks can be washed and trees fallen into lake by wave action. Note than only a very slight rise in lake level would permit storm waves to cut this bank; Nov. 20, 1930. Lake Tahoe Photographic Shoreline Survey.	Nov 20 1930	LAND PPL/LAND /BLDG
UNRS-P2008-18-0033	Bill McGee was hunting guide for Bob Seates Stables in Tahoe City. Bill at Deer Park, Lake Tahoe. Fall 1947. McGee Flying ME Collection.	Fall 1947	PPL/LAND /OBJ/BLDG
UNRS-P2013-06-17	Man on skis. Deer Park Station. "Bob" Watson, Tavern guide. 1940s. Alpine Meadows. James E. Church Collection.	1940s	LAND LAND
UNRS-P2004-18-295	Truckee River between Tahoe and Deer Park, flow 1,000 second feet - showing drift. Jan. 28, 1918.	Jan 28 1918	LAND PPL/LAND
UNRS-P1986-18-107-D42	Truckee Carson Irrigation District.	Summer 1916	BLDG/OBJ
UNRS-P1986-18-108-D40	Homewood Resort, Lake Tahoe. Homewood Resort, looking S from Homewood's Pier, summer of 1916, Upson Bay. Women and children on beach. Homewood Resort Collection.		
UNRS-P2008-18-4005			
UNRS-P1024-1			

A	B	C	D
UNRS-P1987-05-7	Carmelian Bay looking E. Photograph by R. E. Wood. Stereograph. No date. "Hot Springs Hotel". Part of Waters' series entitled: Lake Tahoe Series. View of Hot Springs Hotel at Brockway, aka Campbell's Hot Springs or Brockway Hotel and Hot Springs, as seen from the lake. Photo by R. J. Waters, Gold Hill, Nevada. 1886. C. C. Goodwin Collection.	1886	LAND
UNRS-P1985-02-214	Brockway Hotel, Lake Tahoe, CA. Edward H. Mitchell Series #1384. 1909.	1909	LAND/BLDG
UNRS-P1988-17-16	Brockway, Lake Tahoe. [Old Brockway Hotel] Photo by Frasher's Fotos, Pomona, CA. [with dirt road]		LAND/BLDG
UNRS-P2004-19-01	Brockway Resort, Lake Tahoe, California. 3847. [NED note: View of Lake from hill behind Resort.		LAND/BLDG
UNRS-P2004-19-03	Shows hotel and pier with Steamer Tahoe pulling in from the north]		/OBJ
UNRS-P2005-06-04	Warm Springs Hotel, Lake Tahoe. Lake steamer, Governor Stanford, at the dock. [ca. 1895] Also known as Campbell's Hot Springs, Carmelian Hot Springs Hotel, Carmelian Hot Sulphur Springs, and Brockway Hot Springs.	ca. 1895	LAND/BLDG
UNRS-P1412-1	Lake Incline and partial view of Lake Tahoe, circa 1902. Norman Henry Biliz Collection.	circa 1902	LAND
UNRS-P1992-01-3380	People sunbathing on the beach and wading in the water. Incline Village, Lake Tahoe. "Encline [Incline] Beach, Lake Tahoe, Nevada." Circa 1940. Photo by Paffrath. James R. Herz Collection.	circa 1940	PPL/LAND
UNRS-P2003-10-319	1972 stream clean up. Wood Creek, Incline Village diversion streams. Lake Tahoe Area Council Collection. Man looking at stream.	1972	PPL/LAND
UNRS-2003-10-333	Stream clean up program, 1973. Biology students at Incline tug and pull, removing junk from Incline Creek. Lake Tahoe Area Council.	1973	PPL/LAND/OBJ
UNRS-P2003-10-335	Stream clean up program, 1973. Stream at Incline is diverted stranding fish and causing [sic] out area. Lake Tahoe Area Council.	1973	LAND
UNRS-P2003-10-365	The main stream coming into Lake at the point is Incline Creek. The one on the left is Third Creek. Notice how Incline Creek has been converted into a drainage ditch. This used to be an important trout spawning stream. Color. Lake Tahoe Area Council.		LAND
UNRS-P2003-10-367	Another shot of Incline Creek. Lake Tahoe Area Council. Color. [NED note: shows silt being deposited into Lake]		LAND
UNRS-P2003-10-436	Third and Incline Creeks, May 4, 1967. Aerial. Color (faded). Incline Village, Nevada. Lake Tahoe Area Council. [NED note: shows silt]	May 4 1967	LAND
UNRS-P2003-10-443	SE of Incline and Third Creeks. Mill Creek. Aerial. Color. Incline Village, Nevada. Lake Tahoe Area Council. [NED note: creek silt]		LAND
UNRS-P2004-18-077	Cabin cruiser, Mt. Rose waiting at Incline for Prof. Church and party - coming from Mt. Rose. Early 20th century. Incline Village. James E. Church Collection. [NED note: shows clear cutting]	early 20th C.	PPL/LAND/OBJ
UNRS-P2017-05-00011	Map of the Ponderosa Ranch, Incline Village, Nevada. "Map to Illustrate the Ponderosa in Nevada." Photo by Mike Roberts. Color postcard photo of map.		LAND/MAP
	18. Hobart Mills, California - Kare. Last picture ever taken or snow plow used on the Hobart southern Railroad Company Line, which ran between Hobart Mills and Truckee, California. Shortly after picture was taken the line was abandoned and plow cut up for firewood. This little short-line originally ran in the Incline area at Lake Tahoe where it was used in the woods to bring logs to the mill at the foot of the famous Incline. The entire operation was moved across Lake Tahoe and installed at a new location NE of Truckee, which became Hobart Mills. Print and caption by Walt Mulcahy. James R. Herz Collection.		LAND/OBJ

A	B	C	D
UNRS-P0200-1	Pollard's Station, Donner Lake, Nevada County, California. Lawrence and Houseworth Studio. Photo by Alfred Doten, 1829-1903. Carte-de-visite.	1829-1903	PPL/LAND /BLDG
UNRS-P1985-03-02	Site of Donner cabins, Donner Lake, CA. ca. 1880s. Photo by Sam C. Patridge, S.F. Donner Lake Camp, 748. Group of people on horseback in foreground. In background is building and on the roof is painted: Gas and Oil. Postmarked: June 21, 1926. Postcard.	ca. 1880s	LAND PPL/LAND/OBJ
UNRS-P1985-10-06	Pollard's Hotel, Donner Lake. Central Pacific Railroad. Photo by Thomas Houseworth & Co. 846. Stereograph.	June 21 1926	/BLDG PPL/LAND
UNRS-P1986-01-04	Reflection - Donner Lake. View from Pollard's Hotel, eastern summit in the distance. Photo by Lawrence and Houseworth. Copyright 1865. 849.		/BLDG
UNRS-P1986-13-14	Dam site above Southern Pacific Railroad bridge. Donner Lake Reservoir. Just below Donner Lake.	1865	LAND/BLDG
UNRS-P1986-13-21	View from foot of Donner Lake, Nevada County, California. Photo by Lawrence and Houseworth, ca. 1865. 857. Stereograph.	ca. 1865	LAND/OBJ
UNRS-P1987-05-8	Camp Powell, Donner Lake.		LAND
UNRS-P1987-20-6	Two horse-drawn buggies at Donner Lake on the Dutch Flat and Donner Lake Wagon Road, looking west, date unknown. Snow sheds are visible in the Sierra Nevada. On reverse: "Upper end of Donner [sic] Lake. Stamped: H. K. Gage, Photographer, Truckee, Cal.		LAND/OBJ
UNRS-P1992-01-2702	Doan steam wagon near Crystal Peak Cemetery on present old Dog Valley Road (Dutch Flat-Donner Lake Wagon Road; Henness Pass Road), circa 1890. Photo by Henry Hunken. [Doan Steam Wagon manufactured by Roberts and Doan Steam Wagon Company, California, ca. 1879-1889.] James R. Herz Collection.		PPL/LAND/BLDG/OBJ
UNRS-P1992-01-3093	Washed out Verdi Lumber Company logging railroad trestle and county bridge (O'Neal's Crossing, Henness Pass-Dutch Flat-Donner Lake wagon roads), Truckee River, March 1907. Looking westerly toward Verdi Peak Ridge. Note old Merrill-Kane house & barns (now Donner Trail Ranch) behind trestle. Photo by Henry Hunken.	circa 1890	PPL/LAND/OBJ
UNRS-P1992-01-3126	Donner Lake, California, 1925. Photo by T. C. Wohlbruck Company, James R. Herz Collection.	1925	LAND/BLDG /OBJ
UNRS-P1992-01-5972	Lincoln Highway and Donner Lake. Donner Lake, California and U.S. Hwy 40, circa 1940s. Nevada Photo Service.		LAND
UNRS-P1992-01-7494	First Summit, June 1914. A.C. Helmond, Emory and Mildred Cook. Old Dutch Flat-Donner Lake Wagon road. Drackert Collection. Photo copy only.	circa 1940s	LAND/OBJ
UNRS-P1993-01-3194	665. Stage Station Donner Lake. Photo by R. J. Waters. [ca. 1860s]	Jun-14	PPL/LAND/OBJ
UNRS-P1995-01-174	1887. [People gathered around table at Donner Lake] On camping trip Crissie Andrews [Caughlin] took with University friends. Crissie Andrews Caughlin Collection.	circa 1860s	LAND/BLDG /OBJ
UNRS-P2000-06-0067	Syrene and Jock (dog), Crissie sitting, Betsy on right, Art behind wheel and Dad Caughlin. On their way to the Donner Party Park at Donner Lake [1919].	1887	PPL/LAND/OBJ
UNRS-P2000-06-0148	Donner Lake. [Back row]: Crissie, Annie Kearnes, Hazel Montague Murphy, Al Caughlin, Lee M. Montague. [Next row]: Syrene Caughlin, Row Caughlin, Bill Caughlin, Betsy Caughlin. 1904 annual vacation at Donner Lake.	1919	PPL/LAND/OBJ
UNRS-P2000-06-0218		1904	PPL/LAND/OBJ

A	B	C	D
UNRS-P2008-18-2131	Donner Lake Dam. May 1, 1928. Truckee Carson Irrigation District.	May 1 1928	LAND/BLDG /OBJ
UNRS-P2008-18-2132	Donner Lake Dam. May 1, 1928. Truckee Carson Irrigation District.	May 1 1928	LAND/BLDG /OBJ
UNRS-P2008-18-2133	Donner Lake Dam. May 1, 1928. Truckee Carson Irrigation District.	May 1 1928	LAND/BLDG /OBJ
UNRS-P2008-18-2134	Donner Lake Dam. May 1, 1928. Truckee Carson Irrigation District.	May 1 1928	LAND/BLDG /OBJ
UNRS-P2008-18-2135	Donner Lake Dam. May 1, 1928. Truckee Carson Irrigation District.	May 1 1928	LAND/BLDG /OBJ
UNRS-P2008-18-2136	Donner Lake Dam gates and stands. May 1, 1928. Truckee Carson Irrigation District.	May 1 1928	PPL/LAND /OBJ
UNRS-P2008-18-2137	Donner Lake Outlet. Looking downstream against temporary earth and rock fill dam. New concrete dam immediately below temporary fill. Photo by D. S. Strf[?], June 24, 1928. Truckee Carson Irrigation District.	May 1 1928	BLDG
UNRS-P2008-18-2138	Donner Lake Outlet. Looking downstream against temporary earth and rock fill dam. New concrete dam (not completed) immediately below temporary dam. Photo by D. S. Strf[?], June 24, 1928. Truckee Carson Irrigation District.	June 24 1928	LAND/OBJ /BLDG
UNRS-P2008-18-2139	Donner Lake Outlet. Looking upstream to new concrete dam. Timber forms not removed from concrete. Concrete work done during fall 1927. Earth fill at ends of dam not in place. Truckee Carson Irrigation District.	June 24 1928	LAND/BLDG /OBJ
UNRS-P2008-18-2140	Donner Lake Outlet. Looking against face (upstream) and until side of new concrete dam. Leakage thru temporary earth fill (not shown) passes around N end of new dam which has not been completed. Timber forms not removed form concrete.	June 24 1928	LAND/BLDG /OBJ
UNRS-P2008-18-2141	Donner Lake Outlet. Looking upstream. Temporary earth and rock fill dam immediately above new concrete dam. Truckee Carson Irrigation District.	June 24 1928	LAND/BLDG /OBJ
UNRS-P2014-05-00001	Boating Party on Donner Lake. Central Pacific Railroad. Donner Lake, Cal. Scenes in the Sierra Nevada Mountains for the stereoscope and album. Alfred A. Hart, Artist, Sac.	circa 1866	PPL/LAND/OBJ
UNRS-P1992-01-3072	Dog Valley Grade 1888. W. E. Gould. Photo by E. P. Butler, Reno. James R. Herz Collection. Charcoal sketch of Crystal Peak, circa 1865-1866. As far as is now known, this is the only picture of the town ever made. Looking S and W, from above the old shingle mill in lower Dog Valley Canyon, toward Verdi Peak Ridge, then known as Crystal Peak Ridge. The brewery is the long building in about the center of town. James R. Herz Collection.	1888	PPL/LAND/OBJ
UNRS-P1992-01-3083	Famous "Log Watering Trough" on Dog Valley grade about 1 mile below Moles Station Camp Ground (Hunting Camp #1) about 1921 when this section of grade was part of Transcontinental Lincoln Hwy.	1865-1866	LAND/BLDG
UNRS-P1992-01-3084	Henry Hunken, left and Wm. Koskella, w/Henry's 1921 Model T. James R. Herz Collection.	circa 1921	PPL/LAND/OBJ

A	B	C	D
UNRS-P1992-01-3085	Verdi Flume Company V-flume trestle across the Truckee River about 1886 during Truckee Lumber Company (Brickell and Kruger) period of ownership. Looking NE toward Dog Valley. Note old Truckee River bridge immediately in front of the trestle, and relative size of man standing on trestle. James R. Herz Collection.	circa 1886	PPL/LAND/OBJ
UNRS-P1992-01-3086	Old Merrill Ranch and Hotel buildings about 1900 near Verdi. Main bldg presently portion of Donner Trail Dude Ranch. Note Verdi Lumber Co. RR trestle to Dog Valley in bkgd. This bldg used as tavern and hotel on old Henness Pass Toll Road around 1865. John Kane, owner of old inn at time this photo taken is near fence in corner with son Albert.	circa 1900	PPL/LAND/OBJ /BLDG
UNRS-P1992-01-3103	Verdi Lumber Co. saw mill at Verdi, March 1907, looking W toward Verdi Peak ridge, with tracks of logging railroad to Dog Valley in foreground.	Mar-07	LAND/BLDG /OBJ
UNRS-P1992-01-3105	Train load of logs at a siding along S edge of Dog Valley, 1903. Note skidway made of logs in foreground.	1903	LAND/OBJ
UNRS-P1992-01-3118	Prosser Creek sawmill and pond, 1883 (W of Dog Valley) showing method of unloading log wagons. This mill along with Banner, Shady Grove, and Linham mills, all owned/controlled by Oliver Lonkey. Rough lumber then hauled to his Verdi planing mill, or after 1888, the new planing mill of his Verdi Mill Co. operation. Photo by O. L. Grignon.	1883	LAND/OBJ /BLDG
UNRS-P1992-01-3130	Lower north fork meadows, Dog Valley, May 1903. Katz Ranch bldgs in foreground. Ruins of old Verdi Flume Company V-flume in background. N branch of Verdi Lumber Co. RR in foreground. Good meadow cover & lack of gullies at this time. Photo by Oliver.	1903	LAND/BLDG /OBJ
UNRS-P1992-01-3133	Dolbeer donkey engine yarding logs across the old Brickell and Kruger mill pond, Dog Valley, and loading them on flat cars, Verdi Lumber Co., 1902.	1902	LAND/OBJ
UNRS-P1992-01-3135	Train of logs, S side of Dog Valley, May 1903, looking E toward lower end of valley. Present day experimental Jeffrey pine tree planting now located where VLC #1 stands in photo. Photo by Oliver. Picnic train pulled by the "2-Spot" on trestle over Truckee River, July 4, 1916, first picnic train to Dog Valley over scenic old logging railroad was June 16, 1902. Such great success, these outings became established custom in years following. This picnic group probably en route to Merrill Valley.	May of 1903	LAND/OBJ
UNRS-P1992-01-3136	Planing mill and storage sheds, California Sugar and White Pine Agency, Verdi, circa 1907.	July 4 1916	PPL/LAND/OBJ
UNRS-P1992-01-3139	Boney and Jackman "open platform" mill at First Summit, Dog Valley, 1921. This was last of the sawmills to operate in Dog Valley area proper.	circa 1907	LAND/BLDG
UNRS-P1992-013143	Hauling logs with oxen and horses. Brickell & Kruger, late 1890s or Verdi Lumber Company, early 1900s. Photo by Shirley.	1921	LAND/BLDG
UNRS-P1992-01-3152	Workers cutting and hauling ice blocks from Boca Reservoir. Conveyor trestle and other bldgs seen in background, as well as a dog playing on the ice. Caption: Ice Harvest at Boca. Circa 1873.	circa 1890	PPL/LAND/OBJ PPL/LAND
UNRS-P2015-20-00001	Engines Southern Pacific 39 & Central Pacific 77 - Engineers Garcia & Treweek. Ran off switch near Boca, 1888. Photo by H. K. Gage, Truckee.	circa 1873	/BLDG
UNRS-P1987-20-1	Another view of Lonkey's Shade Grove mill, circa 1885. Mill probably located somewhere in vicinity of Lonkey's other two sawmills on Prosser Creek and Sagehen Creek. Photo by Joe Mosconi.	1888	PPL/LAND/OBJ
UNRS-P1992-01-3121		circa 1885	LAND/BLDG

A B C D

HISTORICAL IMAGES - DONNER MEMORIAL

STATE PARK COLLECTIONS

<u>PHOTO#</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>LAND/PPL</u>
301-X-285	Boca Brewing Company, Boca, CA	n.d.	LAND/BLDG
301-X-286	Boca, CA	n.d.	LAND/BLDG
301-X-287	Boca Ice Company, Employee House, circa 1905	1905	LAND/BLDG
301-125-150	Donner Creek, Truckee, CA	n.d.	LAND
301-125-088	Donner Creek, Truckee, CA	n.d.	LAND
301-125-088.D	Donner Creek, Truckee, CA	n.d.	LAND
301-X-116	Donner Lake - road; Truckee, CA	n.d.	LAND
301-X-283	Loyalton, CA	n.d.	LAND
301-014-076.D	Native American	n.d.	LAND/PPL
301-X-262	Native American Ceremonial Ring, Stampede Valley, CA	n.d.	LAND
301-X-263	Native American Ceremonial Ring, Stampede Valley, CA	n.d.	LAND
301-X-758	Native Americans, "Lake Tahoe, 1898"	1898	LAND/PPL
301-014-011.D	Truckee, map of; Truckee, CA	n.d.	MAP
301-125-180	Truckee, ski jumping; Truckee, CA	n.d.	LAND/PPL
301-125-151	Truckee, skiing; Truckee, CA	n.d.	LAND/PPL
301-125-079.D	Webber Lake, CA	n.d.	LAND
301-125-080.D	Webber Lake, CA	n.d.	LAND
301-125-081.D	Webber Lake, Clubhouse, CA	n.d.	LAND/BLDG

A	B	C	D	E	F
PHOTO#	DESCRIPTION	SOURCE	DATE	LAND/PPL	REPOSITORY
Album B, p. 99 of 101	"Datsolalee Washoe Weaver" (shows Datsolalee sitting on a blanket on the ground weaving a shallow basket; there are blankets or rugs hanging vertically in the background; looks like a camp setting)	G. Nicholson Collection	n.d.	PPL/LAND/OBJ	unknown
Album A, p. 65	"Poker Charlie Washoe Indian, Jan. 1, 1905" (Poker Charlie is sitting in a chair; he is wearing a scarf around his neck, a western-style brimmed hat, duster-style jacket, and pants; he is holding a quiver or bundle of arrows; there are blankets in the background; lighting is shaded)	G. Nicholson Collection	1905	PPL/LAND/OBJ	unknown Huntington
photCL275	"Washoe summer camp scene near Sparks, Nevada, 1912"; (three women pictured outside tent or lean-to; one young girl is standing; two ladies are sitting or squatting on ground; one lady is wearing a hat; all three women are wearing Euro-American style dresses)	G. W. Ingalls Collection	1912	PPL/LAND/BLDG /OBJ	Library Photo Archives Huntington Library
photCL275	"Washoe woman washing clothes in a river near Sparks, Nevada, 1912"; photo of lady squatting and doing laundry by a river/stream/irrigation ditch; there is a wood fence in the background; the lady is wearing a head scarf, blouse, and colorful print long skirt)	G. W. Ingalls Collection	1912	PPL/LAND/OBJ	Photo Archives



HISTORICAL IMAGES - PUBLISHED REPORTSDESCRIPTION

Washoe Children at Woodfords School, 1938

Cooking basket by Maggie James, Woodfords Colony 1939. Single rod foundation of willow, woven together with thin strips of willow bark, 40 stitches to the inch so that it will hold water. Basket measures 6 inches high and 9 inches wide at the widest point. Deer and arrow design, celebrating the deer hunt features the arrow seen in this way and the deer shown next page. The design in black and brown was made by dyeing willow in "black mud" which existed locally around Woodfords and the red brown by using an infusion of fern rhizomes. The design was then sewed over or "overlaid" on the basket. Purchased for \$40 in 1939 when the monthly salary was \$140, which gives an idea of the high value of such a basket. Such baskets are no longer being made. Maggie James was at least 65 when she produced this basket. Detail of hood of baby basket which serves as a sunshade. Note diagonal "boy design". The woman who made this replacement hood, Juanita Snooks, (nee Miller of Woodfords colony) now residing in Pioneer California had to travel to the Woodfords area to obtain the right kind of willow for this fine work. The original hood was worn out from such things as tying a diaper to it for additional shade from the sun.

Plate III-1. Marvin Dressler stops to rest after walking through the "River of Bifaces" site.

Plate III-3. Steve James examines a basalt biface during Washoe tour of site.

Plate III-5. Three generations of Washoe learning how to make basalt stone tools (L to R: Herman Filemore, Herman Holbrook, Marvin Dressler, and Steve James).

Plate III-6. Smoothed basalt pebbles, once used as traditional Washoe gaming pieces, were collected by Steve James at Carmelian Bay during the second Washoe tour; pebbles similar to these were excavated from an archaeological site on Watson Creek.

Plate III-7. Washoe elders at site discussing their surroundings in their native tongue; the session was videotaped as part of the ongoing "Washoe Language Project" (L to R: Laura Filemore, Herman Holbrook, Marvin Dressler, Steve James, and Silvia Andrews).

Ice harvesting at Boca during the early 20th century (California State Library)

Frost's Rubicon Park Lodge [#510], Nevada Historical Society, # 33 on report map

Tahoe City, ca. 1910. [#292]. Shows lake front homes and buildings with walkways built out on the lake constructed with piers and pilings - NED.

Lake Tahoe Railway. [#290]. Shows railroad pier with steamer.

Bayley's Grand Central Hotel. [#291]. Shows Commons, Tahoe City

Hellman Mansion. [#374]. #23 on report map

Glenbrook. [#267]. #8 on report map; Spooner Pass was transfer point from CTLFC's Glenbrook Mills to flume in Carson City from Lake

Tahoe RR; also shows wagon road out of Tahoe Basin to Washoe mines and Carson Valley

McKinney's Resort. [#355]. One of the earliest resorts at Lake Tahoe; #35 on report map

Looking Over Cal-Neva Lodge, Lake Tahoe

Mill Creek: Tramway at Mill Creek, 1882

Slaughterhouse Canyon: "The Z Railroad from Glenbrook to Summit, c. 1876" Carlton E. Watkins

Figure 5. Spooner Summit. Carleton E. Watkins, Junction of the Virginia and Truckee Railroad at Summit Wood Branch, 1876

Downtown Truckee, c. 1870

Outlet and Dam, 1906

SOURCE/DATE

Bravo 1991, 14/1938

Bravo 1991, 104/1939

Bravo 1991, 113/n.d.

Bloomer et al. 1997, III-7/1997

Bloomer et al. 1997, III-8/1997

Bloomer et al. 1997, III-9/1997

Bloomer et al. 1997, III-9/1997

Bloomer et al. 1997, III-10/1997

Nesbitt, et al. 1991,

ii/early 20th c

Nesbitt, et al. 1991/n.d.

Nesbitt, et al. 1991/1910

Nesbitt, et al. 1991/n.d.

1880

Nesbitt, et al. 1991

Nesbitt, et al. 1991/n.d.

Nesbitt, et al. 1991/n.d.

Goin 1992, 104

Goin 1992, 34/1882

Goin 1992, 36/c. 1876

Goin 1992, 6/1876

Goin 1992, 118/c. 1870

Goin 1992, 110/1906

A B C D E F  
**MODERN IMAGES - by N. DAVENPORT**

Image #	Name of Location	Landscape Code	Landscape Type	Description of Image	Date
5204	Bear Creek, Alpine Meadows, CA	LAND	stream/creek	looking upstream from bridge, John Scott Tr.	5/20/18
5205	Bear Creek, Alpine Meadows, CA	LAND	stream/creek	looking downstream from bridge, John Scott Tr.	5/20/18
5207	Eagle Falls/Creek, Emerald Bay, CA	LAND	stream/creek	looking upstream at lower falls	5/22/18
5208	Eagle Falls/Creek, Emerald Bay, CA	LAND	stream/creek	looking upstream at lower falls	5/22/18
5209	Fannette Island, Emerald Bay, CA	LAND/BLDG	lake/bay/shore	from view of bay, Fannette Island	5/22/18
5211	Emerald Bay and Lake Tahoe	LAND/BLDG	lake/bay	from Vikingsholm road; shows Emerald Bay and Lake Tahoe	5/22/18
5212	General Creek, Sugar Pine Point, CA	LAND	lake/creek	from shore next to General Creek; water flowing out of lagoon	5/22/18
5213	General Creek, Ehrman Pier, Sugar Pine Point	LAND/BLDG	lake/shore/pier	from shore looking at Ehrman Pier and Washoe BRMs	5/22/18
5214	General Creek Lagoon, Sugar Pine Point, CA	LAND	creek/lagoon	from shore looking at General Creek Lagoon/mouth	5/22/18
5215	General Creek Lagoon, Sugar Pine Point, CA	LAND	creek/lagoon	from shore looking at General Creek Lagoon from Ehrman North Boathouse	5/22/18
5216	General Phipps' Cabin and Hellman Caretaker House	LAND/BLDG	lake/cabins	Hellman-Ehrman Caretaker's Cabin and General Phipps' Cabin	5/22/18
5251	East Walker River	LAND	river/riverbank	East Walker River from riverbank	May-18
5252	East Walker River	LAND	river/riverbank	East Walker River from riverbank	May-18
5253	East Walker River - Video	LAND	river/riverbank	video; from riverbank; East Walker river flowing high	May-18
5254	East Walker River - Video	LAND	riverbank	video; 360 degree panoramic	May-18
5255	East Walker River	LAND	riverbank/cliff	from riverbank showing cliff	May-18
5256	East Walker River	LAND	fishing sign	sign discusses rules for fishing with bow and arrow	May-18
5257	East Walker River	LAND	river/riverbank/hills	East Walker River from riverbank	May-18
5258	East Walker River	LAND	river/riverbank/hills	East Walker River from riverbank	May-18
5259	Sweetwater Summit - Video	LAND	high desert/pinon-jumper	video; Sweetwater Summit from roadside	May-18
5260	Sweetwater Summit	LAND	high desert/pinon-jumper	Sweetwater Summit showing high desert and pinon-jumper	May-18
5261	Sweetwater Summit	LAND	pinon-jumper	Sweetwater Summit showing pinon-jumper	May-18
5262	Sweetwater Summit	LAND	pinon-jumper	Sweetwater Summit showing pinon-jumper	May-18
5263	Sweetwater Summit	LAND	pinon-jumper	Sweetwater Summit showing pinon-jumper	May-18
5264	Sweetwater Summit	LAND	pinon-jumper	Sweetwater Summit showing pinon-jumper	May-18
5265	Sweetwater Summit	LAND	pinon-jumper	Sweetwater Summit showing pinon-jumper	May-18
5266	West Fork Walker River	LAND	sign	West Fork Walker River sign from roadside near bridge in Wellington, NV	May-18
5267	West Fork Walker River	LAND	river/riverbank	West Fork Walker River, bridge in Wellington; looking downstream (SW)	May-18
5268	West Fork Walker River	LAND	river/riverbank	West Fork Walker River, bridge in Wellington; looking downstream (NE)	May-18
5674	Truckee, Old Ski Lift	LAND	meadow/forest	old ski lift behind old Hilltop Lodge, above Truckee River	8-Jul-19
5675	Truckee, Meadow by Old Ski Lift	LAND	meadow/forest	old ski lift behind old Hilltop Lodge, above Truckee River	8-Jul-19
5676	Truckee, Old Ski Lift	LAND	meadow/forest	old ski lift behind old Hilltop Lodge, above Truckee River	8-Jul-19
5677	Truckee, Old Ski Lift	LAND	meadow/forest	old ski lift behind old Hilltop Lodge, above Truckee River	8-Jul-19
5679	Truckee, Old Lift Shack or Cabin	LAND	meadow/forest	old ski lift behind old Hilltop Lodge, above Truckee River	8-Jul-19
5680	Truckee, Downtown from Old Ski Lift	LAND/BLDG	meadow/town/river	downtown Truckee and Truckee River from old Hilltop Lodge	8-Jul-19
5681	Truckee, Meadow by Old Ski Lift	LAND	meadow/forest	meadow behind old Hilltop Lodge, above Truckee River	8-Jul-19
5698	Truckee, Donner Creek from McDonald's	LAND	river/riverbank/hwy	Donner Creek from the McDonald's parking lot in Truckee looking east	22-Jul-19
5699	Truckee, Donner Creek from McDonald's	LAND	river/riverbank/forest	Donner Creek from the McDonald's parking lot in Truckee	22-Jul-19
5701	Truckee, Donner Creek from McDonald's	LAND	river/riverbank/forest	Donner Creek from the McDonald's parking lot in Truckee	22-Jul-19
5704	Truckee, confluence of Donner Creek and Truckee River	LAND	river/confluence/bridge	west of Donner Creek-Truckee River confluence from W. River St.	22-Jul-19

A	B	C	D	E	F
5705 Truckee, confluence of Donner Creek and Truckee River	LAND		river/confluence/bridge	west of Donner Creek-Truckee River confluence from W. River St.	22-Jul-19
5707 Sugar Pine Point State Park, Galis dungal	LAND/BLDG		forest/creekbank	Sugar Pine Point State Park, view to west	24-Jul-19
5708 Sugar Pine Point State Park, Galis dungal exterior	LAND/BLDG		forest/creekbank	Sugar Pine Point State Park, view to west	24-Jul-19
5709 Sugar Pine Point State Park, Galis dungal interior	LAND/BLDG		forest/creekbank	Sugar Pine Point State Park, view to north	24-Jul-19

A

Northern  
Washoe  
Landscapes

Bear Creek,  
Alpine  
Meadows

Beekwourth

B

Landscape Text References

"The Truckee River and one of its main tributaries, Bear Creek, were important fisheries in the early summer and late fall" (Lindström 1992, 5); logging at Bear Creek in 1883 by "horse railroad," where logs were dragged through a log chute (Myrick 1962, 437); "At the Truckee Lumber Company's camp on Bear Creek they built a two-mile track for use in logging with horses" (Knowlton 1942, 35; in Lindström 1992, 7).  
Beekwourth/Beekwourth (habitation near here, Willow Creek = ʔnuucim bayo suweʔ deteʔyiʔ; wild grass = ʔnuucim (Carey-Sage 2003, 171-172); much sessi at doca kilaʔamʔ (Gary-Sage 2003, 216; dʼAzevedo 1956); docaʔ kileʔiʔ = Beekwourth; habitation near Beekwourth = bayosuwa (detʔdeyiʔ) "water running down together" (dʼAzevedo 1956, 62/#157); doʔsaʔ kilaʔ am "a medicine root point" part of Sierra Valley also known for abundance of séssi; doʔsaʔ kʼileʔiʔ "a medicine - sticking out" in Beekwourth area; Washoe residents: dayóot aka One-Eyed George who was Susie Leggan's father, and hámgol hámu aka Charlie Hing Hong (dʼAzevedo 1956, 66-67/#166); large settlement on hill behind Beekwourth schoolhouse, used to be a Maidu roundhouse there - friendly Maidus from Janesville came in for ranch work after the whites (unfriendly from Quincy); Washoe residents: Mrs. Barrington's family, Annie Richards, Susie Leggan, "Susie killed a digger here" (dʼAzevedo 1956, 66-67/#167); Beekworth Peak dewʔleʔkʼil "sparkling or scintillating" (dʼAzevedo 1956, 67/#169)

Blackwood Creek, dá:éubiʔ watʼa (something soft & spongy creek) per Roy James to Jacobsen (Ruoks 2002, 6); fishery; desirable fishing (Ruoks 2002, 6); Blackwood Creek area / dawnaʔimʔiyel "large confluence"; early spring outthroat trout and other fish later in season; camp near creek; fʔáʔ subʔiʔ watʼa; damalum tʔiyel waʔba "the mouth - delta big"; daw maʔlum tʔiyel deteʔdeʔyiʔ Hank's family wintered here frequently; where his mother lived for many years; Hanukehn's then Capt. Pete's family fishing area (dʼAzevedo 1956, 52/#119); Devil's Peak deléšiw, landmark in Blackwood Creek (dʼAzevedo 1956, 53/125); staging area for westward trekkers on Georgetown route (Ruoks 2002, 6); camp there noted as stop/staging area for trek west; H.C. Blackwood - 1860 may have shot a Washoe for setting fish trap in Blackwood Creek (Scott 1957, 64); may have caused Washoe to avoid the area (Ruoks 2002, 11); wild rhubarb & wild asparagus (Gary-Sage 2003, 167); also Downs (1966, 81); Blackwood Creek; dawnaʔimʔiyel "large confluence" (Dangberg 1968, 102); Blackwood Creek, major Washoe fishing site (Lindström 1992, 196; Freed 1966); Barker Pass (Gary-Sage 2003, 28); George Snooks, brother of Jacks on recalls camping Blackwood Creek and Canyon (Siskin 90-03; EDW, Inc. 2004, 6-3); Blackwood Creek - site was north of the creek on small hill (Freed 1966, 81/#15; Toll and Elston 1980, 12P-7 on map); Idlewild and Tahoe Pines; McConnell House, Fleischaker mansion, Kaiser mansion (Fleur du Lac), Kohl estate, etc. (Scott 1957, 65-69; 1973, 306-310; Toll and Elston 1980, 5/H-7) Brookway, CA - Aunt Emma Bagley had a car, drove it to Brookway to sell her baskets (Ruoks 2002, 35-27); northern Washoe camped here (Tahoe Daily Tribune 2/23/1981, 10A; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-12); Brookway Spring: ʔl6ʔom / hot springs (Dangberg 1968, 101); Brookway Hot Springs, built 1869; aka Brookway Resort (Bloomer et al. 1997); Hot Springs Hotel/Brookway Hotel and Hot Springs, orig. Campbell's Hot Springs; resort on lake shore where hot water is "bubbling out of a flat rock that slopes gently to the margin of the lake" (Scott 1957, 321; Toll and Elston 1980, 7/H-23); real estate development began 1910-1920s; northern Washoe camped here (Tahoe Daily Tribune 2/23/1981, 10A; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-12); Ridge under Stateline Lookout; collected bracken fern (Ruoks 1996a, 5; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-13); "mouth of Second Creek...north end of Crystal Bay"; possible hunting site on alluvial fan; a road goes through it (NSM n.d.; Toll and Elston 1980, 14P-22); Crystal Bay point "on shore, between First Creek and creek immediately to the west" (NSM n.d.; Toll and Elston 1980, 14P-21); Mot lum watah (Nevers 1976, 7) a creek at Stateline Point

Brookway Hot  
Springs  
Brookway  
Spring

Brookway Spring ʔL6ʔom (Dangberg 1968, 101)

C

Landscape  
Use,  
Significance,  
Feature Type

F, H, crk/stmn,  
vly, crk/oon,  
mead, sprgs

PS, TR,  
AFAM,  
GMED, SCH,  
EMP, SH,  
crk/stmn, mtn

F, G, CP, TR,  
NE, Afam,  
SHr; crk/oon

CP, EMP,  
Afam, SH, G,  
H, HP, spgʔ,  
lk, crk/stmn

sprgs, lk

sprgs, mtn

A	<p>Daugaiaca - camp near acorn trees; Washoe came here from the lake (Freed 1966, 81/#17; Toll and Elston 1980, 11/P-1) [straight back from Homewood/Tahoe Pines area up to Sierra Crest go past Hell Hole Reservoir and French Meadows Reservoir... end up near Foresthill/Coffax area; area from Sierra Crest down does have oak trees. - NED]</p> <p>Devil's Peak</p> <p>Dog Valley</p> <p>Dollar Creek</p> <p>Donner Creek</p> <p>Donner Lake</p> <p>Five Lakes, Alpine Meadows</p> <p>General Creek</p> <p>Glenbrook, Glenbrook Creek</p>	<p>B</p> <p>Daugaiaca - camp near acorn trees; Washoe came here from the lake (Freed 1966, 81/#17; Toll and Elston 1980, 11/P-1) [straight back from Homewood/Tahoe Pines area up to Sierra Crest go past Hell Hole Reservoir and French Meadows Reservoir... end up near Foresthill/Coffax area; area from Sierra Crest down does have oak trees. - NED]</p> <p>Devil's Peak, daléšiw, landmark in Blackwood Creek (d' Azevedo 1956, 53/125)</p> <p>Dog Valley - willow = himu; himu dhasho (Gary-Sage 2003, 188; Riddell 1960, 82-83); sessi at sessi? ?huwe? = place in Dog Valley; Dog Valley - in severe winters had winter camps here (near Verdi), Truckee Basin/Donner Lake (d' Azevedo 1966, 332-333, 1984, 33; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-12); wá la ša, place in Dog Valley, headwaters of Long Valley Creek close to Purdy's Station; Washoe residents: Dan Purdy, Sam Purdy daw't silomat -not related (d' Azevedo 1956, 61/#153)</p> <p>Dollar Creek - Washoe encampment location; also built dams and reservoirs; Washoe camp identified at mouth of Dollar Creek (Ruoks 1996a, 6; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-13)</p> <p>Donner Creek - two prehistoric wetlands sites (Lindström 1992, 157; 1983; Rondeau 1982); one site had a grooved stone artifact (Rondeau 1982); winter whitefish exploited at large habitation site at Donner Creek and Truckee River (Lindström 1992, 196; d' Azevedo 1956, 54; Freed 1966, 81); one of the sites where year-round habitation was claimed "even in deep snow" and Washoe living here fed Donner Party members (d' Azevedo 1956, 54); permanent settlements tend to be located in valley floors 4500-5500 feet elevation (Lindström 1992, 220; d' Azevedo 1986, 467); datsásit má'ím detédyi? / settlement at confluence of Donner Creek and Truckee River (Dixon, Schablitzky, and Novak 2011, 257); dat' sa sut ma'lam detéde'yi "mouth of stream - tributary - live there"; they saw the Donner Party; were on the way to a yutsim, or "draining away the creek to get fish from drained pools" (d' Azevedo 1956, 34/129); Donner Creek was "diverted from its channels and picked off the bottom" (d' Azevedo 1956, 55/129); detibeiyulElbethi "water forking together" (Freed 1954, 14)</p> <p>Donner Lake: fish river dwellers, ?af'abi? wáfa detéde'yi?2, live here (d' Azevedo 1984, 468); Behazing wege a (Nevers 1976, 4; Dixon, Schablitzky, and Novak 2011, 257; Bloomer et al. 1997); datsásit [dáf'aw] and awegia behazing (Dixon, Schablitzky, and Novak 2011, 257)</p> <p>Five Lakes/Five Lakes Creek dawgáyaša creek flows west (d' Azevedo 1956, 53/#124); above Alpine Meadows [NED]</p> <p>Washoe people in residence at Tahoma-Homewood area made forays to the Upper End of General Creek for fishing and plant gathering per Marie Kizer (Ruoks 2002, 13); Annie Soll says Washoe stayed at Chambers to do laundry and other tasks; they sold baskets and pine nuts; the Ehrmans gave them food (Ruoks 2002, 13); Bill Dewhurst reports Washoe door-to-door sale of pine nuts to the Ehrmans and Solls through the 1930s (Ruoks 2002, 13); General Creek DukhmE'EmwO'itha (Freed 1966, 80)</p> <p>Glenbrook (King 1984f); camp at Glenbrook, called šur'ina "fog on top" (Dangberg 1968, 101; d' Azevedo 2008, 2; d' Azevedo 1956, 49/#115); name for the camp area; camp owned by Bliss; "many Washoe people lived at Glenbrook below" [Spooner Summit], families include Willitáskúš, his sister, two sons - Ásina and Sina, also Hank and his people (d' Azevedo 1956, 49/#115 on map); northern Washoe lands from McKinney Creek to Glenbrook (Freed 1966, 75; Nevers 1976, 6; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-12); Glenbrook Creek - fishery; desirable fishing (Ruoks 2002); Glenbrook Creek - dawmála- dip / fog (Dangberg 1968, 101)</p>	<p>C</p> <p>CP, G, B; mtn, lk</p> <p>mtn, crk/strm, cany</p> <p>TR, SHtr, HP; PS; vly</p> <p>CP; crk/strm, crk/con</p> <p>F, PSw, NE; f; crk/con</p> <p>PS, F, SH, SHtr, TR, NE, HP, Narr, NE; lk, crk, mtn</p> <p>H, F; lk, mtn, crk/strm, mead</p> <p>EMP, F, G, SH, M, Afam, HP; crk/strm, crk/con</p> <p>CP, SH, F, GP [communal fish], G, Afam, HP, TR, SHtr, EMP; crk/strm, crk/con, lk</p>
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A	B	C
Madden Creek, Homewood	<p>Homewood- where two elderly Washoe people (elderly ladies living the other side of Homewood) lived; Marie's parents visited them there; this is about as far north as people stayed, Hank Pete's mother and father stayed near here (Rucks 2002, 25-27); Homewood area - Washoe people in residence at here for employment made forays to Upper end General Creek for fishing and plant gathering per Marie Kizer (Rucks 2002, 13); Annie Soll says Washoe stayed at Chambers to do laundry and other tasks; sold baskets and pine nuts; Ehrmans gave them food (Rucks 2002, 13); Bill Dewhurst reports Washoe door-to-door sale of pine nuts to Ehrmans and Solls through the 1930s (Rucks 2002, 13); Madden Creek: diiku dawai'a / loud creek, river (Dangberg 1968, 102) [drains into Lake Tahoe north of Homewood Ski Area between Trout and Oak Streets - NED]; Homewood/Madden Creek, place called Moratulu (Dangberg 1927, 412-413)</p> <p>Homewood Canyon: malika (Dangberg 1968, 102)</p>	<p>F, G, Emp, CP, AFam; cany; crk/strm, crk/coon, lk, rv</p>
Homewood Canyon	<p>"Washo occupy the Carson and Truckee Rivers and Long Valley Creek which empties into Honey Lake" (Bravo 1991, 2); Northern Paiute and northern Washoe shared use of fishing and gathering sites around Honey Lake and east to Pyramid Lake (d' Azevedo 1986a, 471; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-15; Lindstrom 1992, 194; d' Azevedo 1956, 6; Riddell 1960, 32, 73, 75); in the desert sagebrush belt, Washoe utilized three lakes and a chain of large, stream fed valleys (Lindstrom 1992, 194); Honey Lake Valley, former site of Washoe camps/villages (Blue 1999); Honey Lake Valley, winter settlements (Stewart 1966, 190-202; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-12); Maidu and northern Washoe jointly used parts of Sierra Valley and Honey Lake Valley (Dixon 1905, 125-126; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-15); hostility between northern Washoe and Pit River people, sisá· wi? and dá gum? (d' Azevedo 1984, 35) who raided Washoe camps; northern Washoe and Northern Paiute sometime retaliated (Bloomer et al. 1997, III-15); Washoe moved to east side of valley, near Amecsee Hot Springs, for winter; "many trails over the ridges to Last Chance Valley and to Sierra Valley;" Washoe camped on mountain slopes near streams or springs "from Doyle to Milford;" several tribes encountered on north/northeast end of lake were sometimes hostile; productive oak trees north of Milford and Doyle, but not productive to the south (d' Azevedo 1956, 76-77/196); Amidi Hot Springs, désém 'i6'on (d' Azevedo 1956, 78/197); máliq beyúnewe' "acorn come down" two miles north of Milford, place where "many oak trees grown down to the edge of the valley. These trees bear and were sources of acorns for Washo in the area" (d' Azevedo 1956, 78/200).</p>	<p>F, G, SHF, SHg, CP, PSW, NE, AFam, B; lk, vly</p>
Honey Lake, Honey Lake Valley	<p>Incline Village (King 1984a); mar'goyot'a (Dangberg 1968, 101); northern Washoe gathered wild rhubarb and fished near Incline at camp called Ma'goyot'a (Nevers 1976, 6; Bloomer et al. 1997); collected berries near Incline (Rucks 1996a, 5; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-13); Magoyot and Ma'goyot wa't'a (d' Azevedo 1956, 51/117); Northern Paiute visited north and east shores of Lake Tahoe, especially Incline (Bloomer et al. 1997, III-15); Incline area and north shore of Lake Tahoe remained undeveloped until 1960s; First Creek, NV (Bloomer et al. 1997); Incline Creek, northern Washoe camped near mouths of this creek (Freed 1966; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-12); Incline Village, creek next to here called wa?abá'am "plunging in to water" (Dangberg 1968, 101); Third Creek [Incline Village], NV - fishery; desirable fishing (Rucks 2002); Third Creek, northern Washoe camped near mouths of this creek (Freed 1966; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-12)</p>	<p>F, G, CP, SH, AFam; crk/coon</p>
Incline Village	<p>Incline Creek Ma'goyatwo'tha (Freed 1966, 82); Magoyot and Ma'goyot wa't'a (d' Azevedo 1956 51/117); ma'goyatwo'tha - "site...on the small creek just west of Incline. It was a favorite spot for the Indians from Washo Valley;" all berries but chokecherries grew here (Freed 1966, 82/23; Toll and Elston 1980, 17P-40)</p>	<p>CP, G, crk/strm, lk, crk/coon, min</p>
Incline Creek	<p>Kings Beach (Bloomer et al. 1997); location of fish weir (Lindstrom 1992, 93-94) [at Griff Creek/Secine St. - NED]; 'gumIE' phel wo'tha, resting spot only, not a full campsite (Freed 1966, 82/30; Toll and Elston 1980, 12P-13); PLA-9, "finely worked chert and obsidian projectile points and obsidian blades from surface sites;" "It is not unreasonable to suspect that here is a shore area about four to six miles long which had innumerable campsites..." (Heizer and Elsasser 1953, 5; Toll and Elston 1980, 12-13) [area between Tahoe Vista and Kings Beach, two creeks: Griff Creek and unnamed creek to west empties onto Moon Dunes Beach/marsh land - NED]</p>	<p>F, CP, H, crk/strm, crk/coon, lk</p>
Kings Beach		

A

- Lake Tahoe** - Ruth worked in a real estate office at Lake Tahoe, she once stayed at the lady's lake home (McBride 2017b); *Da ow* - Name referred to Lake Tahoe and *Da ow a ga* - edge of the Lake (Nevers 1976, 4; Dixon, Schablitzky, and Novak 2011, 257); "But by the end of May, the fish began to come out of the depths of the lake to spawn in the streams that fed into it and then in June fish were taken easily in great quantities. They could be scooped up in baskets and nets and picked up by hand." (Bravo 1991, 103); a big "gathering there of Washo from all over their winter range on the eastern side of the Sierras."; roasted fish on sticks over coals; danced and sang in evenings; courtship; game playing; visiting, gossiping; dried rest of fish on willow racks (Bravo 1991, 103); when spawning over, used spears and hooks and lines to fish; fished tributary streams; sometimes dammed or diverted smaller streams with willow; fished with nets, and used plants to stun the fish (Bravo 1991, 103); moved to lakes above Emerald Bay or to Desolation Valley, for unexploited fishing grounds, high elevation meadows for gathering (Bravo 1991, 103); Washoe were called into conflict with Northern Paiute over control of fishing and hunting grounds near Tahoe (Tahoe Daily Tribune 2/23/81, 6A; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-16); Summer 1844 Wm. T. Hamilton's trapping party noted small group of Indians camped at Lake Tahoe expert at catching fish (Lindström, 203 from Sieber 1951, 162)
- Little Truckee River, Boca** - Washos settlement (Carey-Sage 2003, 158); *wá'si wáta ma?hím detd'éyi?* - settlement at mouth of Little Truckee River where Boca was (Dixon, Schablitzky, and Novak 2011, 257); Boca - fish camp reported near confluence of Little Truckee River (Lindström 1992, 196; from Inter-Tribal Council, Inc. History Project 1976); *motosaw'hu wá't'a* Little Truckee River (d' Azevedo 1956, 54/123); *wáisi wá't'a* malam detéyi "a seed - stream - tributary - live there" at Boca/mouth of Little Truckee River; *wáistwá'ta* Little Truckee River; camps along the Little Truckee; family-owned fish blinds; site of main camp is now reservoir and another camp on hillside; Washoe residents = Jack Mahone's father *dá'dzim* or *pé's*, Will Tandi's father, *dzále'* aka Little Charlie (d' Azevedo 1956, 57/#133)
- Lonely Gulch Creek** *Mam'ngawlu wata* (Carey-Sage 2003, 263); Magulu watah (Nevers 1976, 7); camp location at small stream two miles south of Meeks Bay, *mugawlu' wO'tha* [mugawlu wata] (Carey-Sage 2003, 263; Nevers 1976, 7; Freed 1966, 80/#8); alternate form *mugawlu*, Rubicon Point and camp site near Chamber's Lodge, south of Meeks Bay (Nevers 1976; Freed 1966, 80-81; Jacobsen n.d.d.); named after plant used for deer hunting magic; Dangberg mentions *mogawlu* (1927, 412-413); Lonely Gulch Creek: *mugawLu* "gambling medicine" (a certain plant) (Dangberg 1968, 102)
- Long Valley** *Long Valley* (Blue 1999); near Doyle - seepweed lake dwellers, *dísem dá?aw detd'éyi?* live here (d' Azevedo 1984, 468); Long Valley is a Home Base (Carey-Sage 2003, 57); wild grass = *ʔmucim* (Carey-Sage 2003, 171-172); Long Valley is part of Washoe range (Stewart 1966, 190 -202); winter settlements (Stewart 1966, 190 -202); "Washo occupy the Carson and Truckee Rivers and Long Valley Creek which empties into Honey Lake" (Bravo 1991, 2); "From the Indian point of view, the Washo were entitled to possess the drainages of the Carson, the Truckee, and Long Valley Creek as shown in the map at front" (Bravo 1991, 2); Washoe-Paiute shared fishing sites (Lindström 1992, 194; d' Azevedo 1956, 60; 1986, 471; Riddell 1960, 32, 73, 75); *t'só'ya' wá't'a* (detd'éyi) in Long Valley per Ammie; Paiutes did not occupy this area, until after the arrival of the whites (d' Azevedo 1956, 71/#181)
- Long Valley Creek**: [drains into Truckee River near Lookwood- NED]; tule river dwellers, *čó?ya?* *wá'ta detd'éyi?* live here (d' Azevedo 1984, 468); Long Valley Creek, ethnographic records of fishing of Washoe and Northern Paiute (Lindström 1992, 159; Riddell 1960; d' Azevedo 1956); "Washo occupy the Carson and Truckee Rivers and Long Valley Creek which empties into Honey Lake" (Bravo 1991, 2); "From the Indian point of view, the Washo were entitled to possess the drainages of the Carson, the Truckee, and Long Valley Creek as shown in the map at front" (Bravo 1991, 2); *t'só'ya' wá't'a* (detd'éyi) in Long Valley per Ammie (d' Azevedo 1956, 71/#181); *wá la ša*, place in Dog Valley, headwaters of Long Valley Creek close to Purdy's Station; Washoe residents: Dan Purdy, Sam Purdy *daw t'siló-mat* not related (d' Azevedo 1956, 61/#153); mouth of creek was major fishing site, "A certain fish would, at a specific time, rush up the mouth of the creek - a large surge of water—and up upon the sand banks; when the water resided and left the fish there to spawn, the Washo would gather them" (d' Azevedo 1956, 77)
- Loyalton** *Loyalton* - Washoe from here came to *Cimel Dime'* • (King 1984a); Washo lived at Minden, Genoa, Carson City, Reno, and Loyalton in wintertime (Bravo 1991, 3); Loyalton is part of Washoe range (Stewart 1966, 190 -202); Johnny Wiger, northern Washoe from Loyalton, knew about soap plant (wild onion) being roasted in ground, then eaten; Frank Morgan, northern Washoe from Loyalton also knew soap plant (wild onion) was eaten (Bloomer et al. 1997, III-18)

B

C

- Lake Tahoe** - Ruth worked in a real estate office at Lake Tahoe, she once stayed at the lady's lake home (McBride 2017b); *Da ow* - Name referred to Lake Tahoe and *Da ow a ga* - edge of the Lake (Nevers 1976, 4; Dixon, Schablitzky, and Novak 2011, 257); "But by the end of May, the fish began to come out of the depths of the lake to spawn in the streams that fed into it and then in June fish were taken easily in great quantities. They could be scooped up in baskets and nets and picked up by hand." (Bravo 1991, 103); a big "gathering there of Washo from all over their winter range on the eastern side of the Sierras."; roasted fish on sticks over coals; danced and sang in evenings; courtship; game playing; visiting, gossiping; dried rest of fish on willow racks (Bravo 1991, 103); when spawning over, used spears and hooks and lines to fish; fished tributary streams; sometimes dammed or diverted smaller streams with willow; fished with nets, and used plants to stun the fish (Bravo 1991, 103); moved to lakes above Emerald Bay or to Desolation Valley, for unexploited fishing grounds, high elevation meadows for gathering (Bravo 1991, 103); Washoe were called into conflict with Northern Paiute over control of fishing and hunting grounds near Tahoe (Tahoe Daily Tribune 2/23/81, 6A; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-16); Summer 1844 Wm. T. Hamilton's trapping party noted small group of Indians camped at Lake Tahoe expert at catching fish (Lindström, 203 from Sieber 1951, 162)
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- Lonely Gulch Creek** *Mam'ngawlu wata* (Carey-Sage 2003, 263); Magulu watah (Nevers 1976, 7); camp location at small stream two miles south of Meeks Bay, *mugawlu' wO'tha* [mugawlu wata] (Carey-Sage 2003, 263; Nevers 1976, 7; Freed 1966, 80/#8); alternate form *mugawlu*, Rubicon Point and camp site near Chamber's Lodge, south of Meeks Bay (Nevers 1976; Freed 1966, 80-81; Jacobsen n.d.d.); named after plant used for deer hunting magic; Dangberg mentions *mogawlu* (1927, 412-413); Lonely Gulch Creek: *mugawLu* "gambling medicine" (a certain plant) (Dangberg 1968, 102)
- Long Valley** *Long Valley* (Blue 1999); near Doyle - seepweed lake dwellers, *dísem dá?aw detd'éyi?* live here (d' Azevedo 1984, 468); Long Valley is a Home Base (Carey-Sage 2003, 57); wild grass = *ʔmucim* (Carey-Sage 2003, 171-172); Long Valley is part of Washoe range (Stewart 1966, 190 -202); winter settlements (Stewart 1966, 190 -202); "Washo occupy the Carson and Truckee Rivers and Long Valley Creek which empties into Honey Lake" (Bravo 1991, 2); "From the Indian point of view, the Washo were entitled to possess the drainages of the Carson, the Truckee, and Long Valley Creek as shown in the map at front" (Bravo 1991, 2); Washoe-Paiute shared fishing sites (Lindström 1992, 194; d' Azevedo 1956, 60; 1986, 471; Riddell 1960, 32, 73, 75); *t'só'ya' wá't'a* (detd'éyi) in Long Valley per Ammie; Paiutes did not occupy this area, until after the arrival of the whites (d' Azevedo 1956, 71/#181)
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**A**  
Maha'ku wa'ta = another creek between Tahoe City and Brookway (not Watson or Burton); maha'ku = sunflower; wa'ta = river or stream; sunflower stream (Bloomer et al. 1997)  
C  
crk/strm, crk/oon, rv

Marlette Creek: pagsáims (Dangberg 1968, 101); Da mah da yel lee = place south of Sand Harbor (Nevers 1976, 7); Marlette Creek flows F, CP; crk/strm, to lake at Chimney Beach [NED]; Marlette Lake, fish camp reported here (Lindström 1992, 196)  
crk/oon, lk

Marlette Lake  
Marlette Lake Damálli dá aw - "on old trail over mountains from Little Valley to Incline" (d'Azevedo 1956, 47/#112)  
lk, mtn, vly, crk/strm/oon; TR

Martis Creek  
Martis Creek winter camps (Camp 1960, 205-206); family camps (Dixon, Schablitzky, and Novak 2011, 257); Timiliek Valley was the old TR, CP, mtn, name for Martis Valley and Timiliek was the Indian name (Lekisch 1988, 87, 133 from Brewer 1864); TIH-MIH-LIHK, "put your legs up vly, there" (x personal communication, 2019)  
vly, lk, mtn, crk/strm/oon, lk

Martis Valley  
Martis Valley - in severe winters had winter camps here in Martis Valley (Camp 1960, 205-206); family camps in Martis Valley, but Washoe name unknown (Dixon, Schablitzky, and Novak 2011, 257); Timiliek Valley was the old name for Martis Valley and Timiliek was the Indian name (Lekisch 1988, 87, 133 from Brewer 1864); TIH-MIH-LIHK, "put your legs up there" (x personal communication, 2019)  
PSw; crk/strm, vly

Martis Valley to Lake Tahoe Trail  
Emigrant Trail Cutoff - Hwy 267 Kings Beach to Truckee (TRPA 1971, Historical Sites Map #2); used to be a Washoe and Paiute trail (Scott 1957, 335, 341; Toll and Elston 1980, 7H-17); TIH-MIH-LIHK, "put your legs up there" (Mélba Rakow personal communication, 2019); Carnelian Bay Cut-Off, was originally Washoe and Paiute trail from Martis Valley to Lake Tahoe; from 1849-1852 was part of Emigrant Trail; 1865 became Carnelian Bay Cut-Off, historic road (Bloomer et al. 1997); today USFS Road 16N63  
TR, SHTR, H; vly, lk, mtn

McGlashon Hot Springs  
McGlashon's Hot Springs - Bag ow (Nevers 1976, 4; Dixon, Schablitzky, and Novak 2011, 257)  
mtn, sprgs

McKinney Creek  
Rubelle Miller and her children lived here (Rucks 2002, 25-27); Chambers Landing, formerly McKinney's Hunters Retreat combined with Moana Villa under ownership of Dave Chambers (Rucks 2002, 12); Frank Pomin leased Moana from Cobwells 1910; Chambers bought it 1930; Annie Soll says Washoe stayed at Chambers to do laundry and other tasks; sold baskets and pine nuts; McKinney area was a center of Washoe social, cultural, economic adjustment, second to Camp Richardson and Bijou post-1900 (Rucks 2002, 12, 14; Dangberg 1968, 102); camp site on small stream near Chambers = eu'WE'YhUKhwO'tha / su'Pweik wata, also place to collect plant for deer hunting magic, alternate form mam?gawitu (Gary-Sage 2003, 263, Freed 1966, 80-81); Dangberg mentions mogsauti, a place name (1927, 412-413); su'Pweik wai'a "service berry creek", fishing, serviceberries, medicinal plants; boundary between camps used by northern and valley Washoe (Rucks 2002, 5-6); fishery, desirable fishing; Hank; McKinney Creek area provided friendlier relations for employment and summer-long camps for Washoe families through 1930s-1940s (Rucks 2002, 25-37); Jackson Snooks of Woodfords refereed McKinney Creek and Chambers Creek (Rucks 2002, 5); jointed medicinal plant = damukOkoi (Gary-Sage 2003, 237); northern Washoe lands from McKinney Creek to Glenbrook (Freed 1966, 75; Nevers 1976, 6; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-12)  
F, G,H, GMed, GMag, CP, B, SH, SHtr, SHF, SHh, Afam, CER/SOC, TR, EMP, GP, HP; crk, crk/strm, crk/oon, lk

Chamber's Landing  
Memorial Point (south of Incline Village) - photo of Joanne Nevers at Memorial Point; "...she gestures to a place where elders brought her to camp with relatives when she was a girl. Ancestors she can name, who were born before any Euroamerican had ever seen this lake, also camped here. Family members continue to collect water from a spring in this area" (Rucks 2006, 33); Sand Harbor - northern Washoe camped here (Tahoe Daily Tribune 2/23/1981, 10A; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-12); Da mah da yel lee = place south of Sand Harbor (Nevers 1976, 7) [NED - Marlette Creek flow into lake at Chimney Beach]  
Afam, CP, SHg; sprg, lk



A

Mill Creek - creek next to Incline Village. wa?abá?am 'plunging in to water' (Dangberg 1968, 101); [NED - Third Creek and Incline Creek 500 feet apart at mouths, and Mill Creek is approximately 3000 feet to west of Incline Creek at end of same beach]; ma' goiyatw'ó'tha, 'site...on the small creek just west of Incline. It was a favorite spot for the Indians from Washo Valley'; all berries but G, F, CP, HP, chokecherries grew here (Freed 1966, 82/#23; Toll and Elston 1980, 17/P-40); Magoi ya = camp on creek at Incline Village (Nevens 1976, crk/strm, lk, crk/strm/con); northern Washoe gathered wild rhubarb and fished near Incline at camp called Ma?goyot'a (Nevens 1976, 6); ma?goyot'a = encampment near Incline, where they fished and gathered wild rhubarb (Bloomer et al. 1997); collected berries near Incline (Rucks 1996a, 5; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-13); Magóvot and Ma' sóvot wa't'a (d' Azevedo 1956, 51/#117) creek at Stateine Point; no longer exists (Nevens 1976, 7) Muds' 'l bayó dok = a creek between Tahoe City and Brookway, not Burton Creek or Watson Creek, per Roy James; muda' lá ói = closely woven winnowing tray; bayó dok = flowing over the summit in this direction (Bloomer et al. 1997)

Olympic Valley, Squaw Creek (Bloomer and Lindström 2006)

Prosser Creek - settlement along/at mouth Prosser Creek; Washoe name unknown (Dixon, Schabitzky, and Novak 2011, 257)

Rubicon Springs Rubicon Springs t'ági p'aga'aw on "route to Georgetown acorn area" (d' Azevedo 1956, 53/#122)

Rubicon River Rubicon River t'ágiwa't'a (d' Azevedo 1956, 53/121)

Rubicon Park t'ágiya (d' Azevedo 1956, 53/123); Rubicon Park Lodge, known as Frost's Homestead; resort operated to 1915 (Scott 1957, 115-117; 1973, 360; Toll and Elston 1980, 7/H-16); Newhall's mansion, of San Francisco family, three and a half story mansion with boathouse and pier on lake; 273 acres; two miles north of the Rubicon Park Lodge on east side of Lonely Gulch; added 260 acres 1926; sold to Kilner and Williams families in 1945; they demolished 1949 (Scott 1957, 117, 1973, 360; Toll and Elston 1980, 6/H-15) T'ágiya (d' Azevedo 2008, 2/#123)

Secret Harbor Secret Harbor Creek - Dawmá?im demségi / confluence (Dangberg 1968, 101); place south of Sand Harbor Da mah da yet lee (Nevens 1976, 7)

Sierra Valley - had rabbit drives here on a farmer's property; was followed by a feast (King 2017a); of the residents of Sierra Valley, some went to Lake Tahoe, some went to Pyramid Lake; returned to valley in summer to harvest camas, their main food (Rucks 2002); Sierra Valley [Feather River] "grass-place dwellers" mucim deté?yí? live here (d' Azevedo 1984, 468); a Home Base (Garay-Sage 2003, 57); wild grass = ?mucim (Garay-Sage 2003, 171-172); part of Washoe range (Siewart 1966, 190 -202; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-12); Maidu and northern Washoe jointly used parts of Sierra Valley and Honey Lake Valley (Dixon 1905, 125-126; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-15); eastern Sierra Valley had camps in severe winters (d' Azevedo 1966, 332-333, 1984, 33; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-12)

Sierraville Sierraville - ?mucim zheplu deté?yí? is the name of a settlement near Sierraville (Garay-Sage 2003, 172)

Slaughterhouse Slaughterhouse Canyon - Washo walked from Glenbrook camp for fishing (Freed 1966, 82/25A; Toll and Elston 1980, 17/P-39) Canyon

C

crk/strm/con  
Afam; crk/strm

HP, CP, H, G,  
PS, SH; vly,  
mtn, mead,  
crk/strm,

crk/con  
PS; strm/crk,  
crk/con

TR, SH,  
SHTR, H,  
SHH, EMP,

strps, strm/crk  
rv, mtn

SH, HP;  
crk/con, lk,  
mead

mtn  
crk/strm,  
crk/con, lk

H, G, PSw, CP,  
SH, HP, Afam,  
CER/SOC; vly,  
mead

PS; mead  
E, CP; cany,  
crk/strm,  
crk/con, lk

A

B

C

Home Base (Garey-Sage 2003, 57; King 1984f; Blue 1999); Wai ga nuk (Nevers 1976, 4); winter settlements (Stewart 1966, 190-202); Northern Paiute permitted to hunt and fish in Truckee Meadows, used sites by Peavine Mountain for deer hunting, plant gathering (d'Azevedo 1984, 35; Fowler 1969, 12; Park 1922-1940); Peavine Mountain, Matasikaka "upside down" (Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 287); several fish camps (Lindström 1992, 158; d'Azevedo 1956; Smith in Townsend and Elston 1975); Washoe-Paiute shared fishing sites (Lindström 1992, 194; d'Azevedo 1986, 471; Fowler 1969, 12); Vista Site, on oxbow of Truckee River was late archaic winter camp, possible year round settlement; largest archaeological fish assemblage in Truckee Meadows (Lindström 1992, 160); Reno-Sparks, "oui ui river dwellers" ʔaʔwaku wáʔa detéʔyáʔ live here (d'Azevedo 1984, 468); part of Washoe range (Stewart 1966, 190-202); Southside Elementary School, JoAnn went to seventh grade while living with her Aunt (McBride 2017a); George Snooks recalled Reno Washoe came to lake near McKinney Creek to play Carson Valley Washoe from south of creek (Weinberg 1984, 201; EDaw, Inc. 2004, 6 3); Reno-Sparks Indian Colony land (Glass 1972)

Truckee Meadows

F, CP, PSw, Afam, SCH, HP, SHf, SFH, SHf, mead, rv

Truckee River - balnaacan wata (Garey-Sage 2003, 195); balnaacan = bitter brush & buck brush (also Jacobsen n.d.d.); Ahwasoo watah "trout stream" (Lindström 1992, 196; Nevers 1976, 4; Freed 1966) refers to the Truckee River all the way to Pyramid Lake (Nevers 1976, 4; Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 257) or Á'waku wá'ta; Bapalt'sun wá'ta (d'Azevedo 1956, 51/#118); wá'ta t'iyel or á'waku wá'ta, balnutsop w'á'ta, dewbeytmeuwe "coming out", 'at'abi wá'ta a Truckee River going through Reno (d'Azevedo 1956, 57/#134); dabayóduwe, east of Sparks where river flows through the hills (d'Azevedo 1956, 59/#141); "From the Indian point of view, the Washo were entitled to possess the drainages of the Carson, the Truckee, and Long Valley Creek as shown in the map at front." (Bravo 1991, 2)

Truckee River

F, SHf, AFam, CP, PS; rv, cany, lk

Dabayordawsí - Truckee River at Tahoe City (Nevers 1976, 4); Truckee River. dabayo'duwe? / flowing away over the edge (Dangberg 1968, 101); Truckee River [Outlet], Washoe encampment (Rucks 1996a, 6; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-13); dabayord dawet - Truckee River at Tahoe City (Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 257 from Nevers 1976, 4); Truckee River / dabayóduwe' - site on the north side of the mouth; "if you are on the up side" (d'Azevedo 1956, 51/#118); Toll and Elston 1980, 11/P-5); House of Dat-So-La-Lee (Scott 1973, 257; 1957, 54; Toll and Elston 1980, 5/H-3); campsite across Truckee River from another camp; two campsites in vicinity suggest importance of fishing (Heizer and Elsasser 1953; Toll and Elston 1980, 11); dabay'ochu'e' - camp on small hill no longer exists; mile to north of Outlet was lake shore cave for collecting swallows' eggs (Freed 1966, 81/#19; Toll and Elston 1980, 11); Truckee River [coming out] / dabayóduok, "if you are on the down side" (d'Azevedo 1956, 51/#118); Truckee River where it flows out of Lake Tahoe, "if you are on the down side;" Debeytmeuwe "coming out;" Debeytmeuwe (d'Azevedo 1956, 51/#118); Da ba yor da wet (Nevers 1976, 7)

Truckee River Outlet

CP, Emp, Afam, SH, F, G, BRMs, HP, rv/oon, lk

Verdi (Bloomer et al. 1997); fishing camp in settlement area near Verdi, major wél mel ti fishery; Washoe name unknown (Dixon, Schablitsky, and Novak 2011, 257); fish camp reported here (Lindström 1992, 196; Rusco 1981; Seck 1978, Table 2:12; Stornetta et al. 1981)

Verdi

F, CP, PS; rv

Ward Creek - dagásíʔ (unknown); a trout stream with camp and milling station upstream; inlet just south avoided due to waterbaby (Rucks 2002, 6); fishery; desirable fishing; inlet just south of here avoided due to waterbaby living there, per Hank Pete (Rucks 2002); Ward Creek - dagásíʔ (Dangberg 1968, 101); Ward Creek camp site on the lake, BRM was upstream a bit; fished for trout; inlet immediately to south was "home of a water baby," and avoided (Freed 1966, 81/#18; Toll and Elston 1980, 12/P-6); Sunnyside: Bissell mansion, Catholic and Episcopalian churches, Bissell's water-powered sawmill, Pomin's Tahoe Park Cottages (Scott 1973, 289-300; Toll over); ctk/strm, and Elston 1980, 5/H-6)

Ward Creek

CP, Afam, SH, F, BRMs, WB, PA (stream next inlet over); ctk/strm, lk

A	Tahoe Meadows, Hawk Pond	Tahoe Meadows on Mt. Rose feature plants important to Washoe culture (Rucks 2006, 12); Wa Dak Sha, lupine ( <i>Lupinus polyphyllus</i> ), highly toxic, "collected and processed as spring tonic and dried into cakes for winter vitamins and minerals;" Shoogil, mule's ear ( <i>Wyethia mollis</i> ), harvested seeds in fall, roasted for winter storage, ground into flour; occasional fires keep healthy and pest free; Shoogil eats, "little shoogil" ( <i>Balsamorhiza sagittata</i> ); "Washoe elders teach that the survival of so many generations depended on good stewardship, applying lessons learned by listening to the land. The use and care of native plants is one way to learn from the land. Locating, harvesting, and preparing native plants, nurturing and sustaining them for future generations, are part of the traditional knowledge Washoe people teach their children" (Rucks 2006, 20); Hawk Pond, Mā wi Dime Daga chp, "Hawk Standing Here Spring" (Rucks 2006, 18-19); prehistoric Washoe site occupied from 5000-7000 years ago to the 1800s, name provided by Steven James; rock shelter used by Steven's father Roma James in the 1940s (Rucks 2006, 18-19; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-13) Jim Mandeville of pioneer ranching family, settled Tahoe Vista 1914, recalled Washoe people living in vicinity of Brockway, had stories of exploring Washoe camps as a boy while they were away (personal communication, 1993; Bloomer et al. 1997, III-23); 'gumE'phel wO'tha, resting spot only, not a full campsite (Freed 1966, 82/#30; Toll and Elston 1980, 12/P-13); "It is not unreasonable to suspect that here is a shore area about four to six miles long which had innumerable campsites..." (Heizer and Elsasser 1953, 5; Toll and Elston 1980, 12-13)
	Tahoe Vista	Washoe people in residence at here for employment made forays to Upper end General Creek for fishing and plant gathering per Marie Kizer (Rucks 2002, 13); Ammie Soll says Washoe stayed at Chambers to do laundry and other tasks; sold baskets and pine nuts; Ehrmans gave them food (Rucks 2002, 13); Bill Dewhurst reports Washoe door-to-door sale of pine nuts to Ehrmans and Solls through the 1930s; Washoe family was decided land in Tahoma area but then lost it per Marie Kizer; Tahoma [Pomin's] Lodge, built by Frank Pomin 1913 (Rucks 2002); Marie Kizer Family Cabin near Pomin's Resort was torn down after original Pomin passed; Marie's family never returned after; she rarely goes back now except to drive around Lake or camp in campgrounds with her daughter (Rucks 2002, 25-27); Marie's parents worked at Pomin's Resort in Tahoma and had a camp with a canvas tent and a cabin; Marie was born near here (Rucks 2002, 25-27); Sunbeam, Bellevue Hotel's first postal stop in Tahoma where David Kaiser was postmaster (Rucks 2002) Emigrant Trail Cutoff - Hwy 267 Kings Beach to Truckee (TRPA 1971, Historical Sites Map #2); used to be a Washoe and Paiute trail (Scott 1957, 335, 341; Toll and Elston 1980, 7/H-17); TIIH-MII-LIHK, "put your legs up there" (Melba Rakow personal communication, 2019); Carnelian Bay Cut-Off, was originally Washoe and Paiute trail from Martis Valley to Lake Tahoe; from 1849-1852 was part of Emigrant Trail; 1865 became Carnelian Bay Cut-Off, historic road (Bloomer et al. 1997); today USFS Road 16N63; Timiliek (Lekisch 1988, 87, 133)
	Tahoma	HP, CP, F, G, Afam, EMP, M, TR, SH, SHtr, NE, BRMs, SCH, B, PA, crk/strm, crk/oon, lk
	Timiliek, Emigrant Trail Cutoff	TR, SHtr, HP, lk, mtn
	Trout Creek	Afam, F, G, S, GP [communal fish], PS, crk/strm, crk/oon, rv, rv/con
	Truckee	Truckee - part of Washoe range (Stewart 1966, 190 -202); settlement at Truckee = k'ubūna[uj] detdēy? on sunny side of hills where there are two flats on either side of river (Dixon, Schablitzky, and Novak 2011, 257); Truckee Lumber Company, Truckee (Bloomer et al. 1997) SHtr, HP, rv

C

G, Gmed, NE, Afam, Narr; spg, lk, mead, mtn

CP, SH HP, lk, crk/strm, crk/oon

HP, CP, F, G, Afam, EMP, M, TR, SH, SHtr, NE, BRMs, SCH, B, PA, crk/strm, crk/oon, lk

TR, SHtr, HP, lk, mtn

Afam, F, G, S, GP [communal fish], PS, crk/strm, crk/oon, rv, rv/con

PS, SH, TR, SHtr, HP, rv

- A**
- Spooner Summit** - historical marker documents Washoe trek route (Rucks 2006, 38); Spooner Lake, location of Washoe Camp; people still camp here (Rucks 2006, 3); good place for Shooogl, Shooogl eatsa (both have edible seeds), and Dehgooshi; the rule, "take one, leave three" to ensure they left behind more than they harvested, is still taught (Rucks 2006, 34); Dehgooshi = Yampa (*Perideridia* sp.) is valuable Washoe food and medicine (Rucks 2006, 20); roots dried for winter; Shooogl leaves for wrapping food to roast and many household uses; seeds important food; Shooogl eatsa has valuable medicinal qualities (Rucks 2006, 33); PHOTO Katerina Rakow and Marie Kizer harvesting bracken fern; "Neglected stands have thin, twisted roots that are difficult to harvest. Ideal rhizomes are straight and long, produced by vigorous new growth in stands tended by experienced gatherers."; knowledge = time of year to harvest, desired traits, how to nurture, how to protect yourself and plants...is in part what is passed on (Rucks 2006, 37); Dawmaladup sólpo "fog on top" (d' Azevedo 1956, 49/#114)
- Stanford Rock** - caves between Blackwood Canyon and Ward Canyon; caves at the base of Stanford Rock where Washoe hunters stayed (Freed 1966, 81/#16; Toll and Elston 1980, 11/P-2)
- Steamboat Springs** - Lorn um = Steamboat Springs (Nevers 1976, 4) [NED - near Summit Sierra Mall, Reno]
- Sugar Pine Point, General** - Marie went here with aunt and uncle to line fish, collect plants; straight back from Pomin's Aunt Emma and Stanley Bagley fished here all the time, Emma went for medicines; place to get pine nutting poles; medicines ready mid-August (Rucks 2002, 25-27); General Creek, dukMé'em; good fishing, never camped for long (Rucks 2002, 5-6); boundary between area assigned to northern Washoe and area shared by valley and southern Washoe; important for plant gathering; also fished the upper drainage (Kizer 2001 and Mabel James 1993 in Rucks 2002, 7); Hank Pete told Freed good fishing stream, but didn't camp here long (Rucks 2002, 8); did not want particular plant names disclosed; not used by Washoe people for camping or resource gathering since mid-1850s; Sugar Pine Point, Dew'Kiláywag'amam "black point into lake," per Roy James to Jacobsen (Rucks 2002, 6); identified dabolbol?, eye medicine HP, G, Gmed, (Gary-Sage 2003, 233); Washoe people in residence made forays for fishing, plant gathering per Marie Kizer; Annie Soll said Washoe stayed at Chambers to do laundry and other tasks, sold baskets and pine nuts; Ehrmans gave them food; Bill Devhurst reported Washoe door-to-door sale of pine nuts to Ehrmans and Solls through the 1930s (Rucks 2002, 13); Tahoma [Pomin's] Lodge built by Frank Pomin 1913 now part of Tahoma; Marie Kizer Family Cabin, near Pomin's Resort, torn down after original Pomin passed; Marie's family never returned after and she rarely goes back now except to drive around the lake or camp in campgrounds with her daughter (Rucks 2002, 25-27); Marie's parents worked and had a camp with canvas tent and a cabin at Pomin's Resort where Marie was born (Rucks 2002, 25-27); Washoe family was decided land here but lost it per Marie Kizer (Rucks 2002, 13); General Creek DukhneEmwOtha (Freed 1966, 80)
- Susanville** - where Leonard Lowry grew up (Blue 1999); participants, Virginia Aguillar and Leonard Lowry from here (Bloomer et al. 1997); springs located nearby
- Tahoe City** - never heard of other Washoes camping here; not many people stayed north of Homeewood (Rucks 2002, 25-27); established 1863; Washoe place to pay respect and thanksgiving (Bloomer et al. 1997); Tahoe City was location of fish hatchery (Bloomer et al. 1997); Tahoe Inn established 1880s (Bloomer et al. 1997); Tahoe Tavern Resort established 1901 resort with railroad pier; demolished 1964 (TRPA 1971, Historical Sites Map #4; Scott 1973, 243-288; Toll and Elston 1980, 5/H-5); Dat-so-la-lee/Louisa Kizer wove baskets near here (Bloomer et al. 1997, III-23); Robert Watson Log Cabin, National Reg Site (9-24-79) 79-11-17 (USDI 1980, 17449; Toll and Elston 1980, 5/H-2 on map); associated with Captain Pete and Agnes; Washoe couple camped adjacent to the Watsons [NED]; Tahoe Fishery hatchery in 1868 (Scott 1973, 231; Toll and Elston 1980, 5/H-3)
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- H; mtn, cv**
- CP; sprgs**
- TR, SH, G, Gmed, Sc, HP; mtn, lk**

A

Watson Creek

Watson Creek - camp (Carey-Sage 2003, 162; Freed 1966, 82; Bloomer et al. 1997); collected sesmi seeds, sesmi = vomiting plant (Carey-Sage 2003, 216; Freed 1966, 78, 82); part of Washoe range (Stewart 1966, 190-202); masundawwO'tha / ma' sun wa' t'a = mouth of Watson Creek; masup = slow, wo'tha = river, means "slow water" (Bloomer et al. 1997, III-13); Lower Watson Creek Watershed (Bloomer et al. 1997); Watson Creek Site 05-19-712, "River of Bifaces", Site 05-19-706, Site 05-19-728 (Bloomer et al. 1997); masundawwO'tha / Watson Creek camp site, back from the lake; Washoe from Carson and Reno camped here sometimes all summer (Freed 1966, 81; Bloomer et al. 1997 found no contemporary evidence; Toll and Elston 1980, 12/P-9); dipnEkhwO'tha - creek used to be here (Freed 1966, 81/#21; Toll and Elston 1980, 12/P-10)

Webber Lake [Webber Lake, alternate spelling] - Richard Barrington, Washoe elder from Sierraville reported summer fishing camps here (Lindström 1992, 203-204; from Washoe Claims Case Docket 288, 1969)

B

CP, E, TR,  
SHtr, G, Cmed,  
HP, crk/strm,  
crk/oon, mth,  
lk

F, CP, Afam; lk

C