

University of Nevada, Reno

***The Washoe, Tourism and Lake Tahoe Landscapes: Examining Reciprocal Effects
Between Washoe Cultural Heritage and Tourism***

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilments of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Geography

by

Catherine E. Magee

Dr. Kate A. Berry/Dissertation Advisor

May, 2015

© Copyright by Catherine Elizabeth Magee, 2015

All Rights Reserved



THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

We recommend that the dissertation
prepared under our supervision by

CATHERINE E. MAGEE

Entitled

**The Washoe, Tourism and Lake Tahoe Landscapes: Examining Reciprocal Effects
Between Washoe Cultural Heritage and Tourism**

be accepted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Kate Berry, PhD, Advisor

Victoria Randlett, PhD, Committee Member

Donald Hardesty, PhD, Committee Member

Chandra Reedy, PhD, Committee Member

C. Elizabeth Raymond, PhD, Graduate School Representative

David W. Zeh, Ph. D., Dean, Graduate School

May, 2015

Abstract

This research examines the cultural heritage landscape as both representing and the medium through which tourism influences cultural heritage production and preservation. It explores the reciprocal effect between tourism and the Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California, looking at the landscapes of Lake Tahoe that embody and reflect this relationship. Lake Tahoe is examined as a large, single landscape and smaller landscapes within it, Tahoe City, Cave Rock, the Tallac area and Meeks Bay; all represent Washoe and Euro-American landscape formation processes through time. This research introduces and employs the reciprocity of tourism model and the hybrid tourist/cultural heritage landscape as methods to examine complex relationships represented in the Lake Tahoe landscapes. The reciprocity of tourism model engages the reciprocal relationships between tourism and cultural heritage by examining five factors, *representation, identity, production, practice* and *agency*, allowing for the interconnected multi-dimensionality of this relationship to be more fully represented. The analysis of hybrid tourist/cultural heritage landscapes examines landscape formation through time using two factors, tourism and cultural heritage.

The Washoe were marginalized from the published work about Lake Tahoe and their presence in the Lake Tahoe landscapes was limited when examined in the Euro-American-centric media and from a Euro-American viewpoint. However, this study re-examines tourist and popular media from the 1850s to today. It employs the reciprocity of tourism model to show how the Washoe used the practice of tourism and the tools of survivance to overcome Euro-American subjugation and colonization of their traditional lands and cultural heritage practices. Early in the history of Lake Tahoe tourism, the

Washoe provided tourist services as hunting and fishing guides; estate caretakers; handymen; hotel employees and domestic servants. During this time the Washoe remained at Lake Tahoe, and Euro-Americans ascribed to the Washoe a negative, generic “Indian” identity, representative of the cultural ethos at the time. However, individual Washoe identity remained; it was mainly associated with their basketry tradition and was represented in tourist photographs and guidebooks. The basketry tradition is tied to Lake Tahoe, in particular Tahoe City. The landscape of Washoe basketry exemplifies the reciprocity of tourism because traditional basketry was re-worked for the tourist market and, in turn, created an appreciation for Washoe cultural heritage. Washoe agency within Lake Tahoe landscapes came to the forefront beginning in the 1930s and by the 1990s became increasingly evident.

Today Lake Tahoe landscapes, large and small, reflect the cultural heritage of both the Washoe and tourists, creating hybrid tourist/cultural heritage landscapes. Washoe cultural heritage permeates Lake Tahoe landscapes in both obvious and subtle ways. For example, the Tallac area is the only area where Washoe use has remained uninterrupted; early on Washoe families owned property and stables and also worked in resorts and summer homes. Later in the twentieth-century, the Washoe began to host cultural festivals and presented Washoe-curated exhibits on the grounds of Tallac area summer estates, now an historic site for tourists. Another example can be seen in the Washoe Tribe’s current management of Meeks Bay Resort, one of the oldest tourist resorts still in operation. Additionally, the Washoe were successful in their litigation to ban sport rock climbing from Cave Rock, one of their most sacred sites. The reciprocity of tourism shows how the Washoe clearly remained and influenced Lake Tahoe

landscapes through time. They adapted to and used tourism as a means of survival that today has come full circle.

The Environmentalist Landscape, represented by the “Keep Tahoe Blue” campaign, is perhaps the most identifiable tourist landscape today, promoted through government, academic and tourist media. The environmental and ecological awareness of Lake Tahoe today unconsciously promotes Washoe traditional land ethics and land use practices; the very ethics and practices used by Euro-Americans as justifications for colonization. Through their ecological restoration work, the Washoe represent their cultural heritage as forefathers and stewards of Lake Tahoe landscapes. As a result of Euro-American settlement pressures, the Washoe reworked and adapted their cultural heritage and in the process they also reshaped Euro-American cultural heritage at Lake Tahoe.

This work is dedicated to my parents

Jane and George Magee

who taught me the importance of education and travel

encouraged me to pursue all my interests

wisely said that if you are happy—you are successful

Acknowledgements

My committee deserves top billing. Their guidance and well-timed advice helped me through all the phases of my PhD; each member provided invaluable insight and encouragement. First and foremost is Dr. Kate Berry, my advisor. I owe my doctoral career to her; she helped me understand how my proposed research fit within the context of cultural geography. Dr. Victoria Randlett is my cultural geography and theory guide, and encouraged my “big picture” thinking while helping to define it. Dr. C. Elizabeth Raymond gave me critical Lake Tahoe tourism resources and showed me how to contextualize them. Dr. Chandra Reedy is the nexus between my M.S. in Art Conservation and my PhD in Geography. Dr. Don Hardesty was my first link to the University of Nevada, Reno and encouraged me to apply to PhD program in geography. Both Chandra’s and Don’s wide-ranging knowledge of anthropology and cultural heritage helped me integrate my research elements. Many people kindly helped with my research; Darrel Cruz of the Washoe Tribe; Javier Rodriguez and Rebecca Phips of the North Lake Tahoe Historical Society; the staff and volunteers at the Lake Tahoe Historical Society and Thunderbird Lodge; Jackie Dumin; Mark Bucci, Sherry Rupert, Carol Rasmussen, Lora Engdahl and Penny Rucks. The faculty, staff and fellow graduate students in the geography department helped me in so many ways. Cheers Clemons Family for letting me stay in your Tahoe home while I conducted research. Finally, I would like to thank my Magee and Iveson family in Reno; Sunday night dinners are the best! **Thank you one and all!**

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	i
Dedication.....	iv
Acknowledgements.....	v
Table of Contents	vi
List of Figures	x
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
Chapter Overviews	7
Chapter 2: Cultural Heritage, Tourism and Links to Landscape.....	12
Introduction.....	12
Heritage.....	13
Heritage as History	13
The Ambiguity of Heritage.....	15
Common Heritage.....	15
The Heritage Industry	16
Defining Heritage as Cultural Heritage	17
Cultural Heritage Summary.....	19
Tourism: History and Definition.....	19
Reciprocity of Tourism.....	26
Foundations of the Reciprocity of Tourism: the Tourist Gaze, Authenticity and the Cultural Production of Tourism.....	26
The Reciprocity of Tourism in Action.....	28
Responses to the Reciprocity of Tourism.....	29
The Tourism/Cultural Heritage Link: the Cultural Landscape	31

Tourism and Cultural Heritage Landscapes	34
Conclusion.....	36
Chapter 3: Conceptual Framework.....	39
Scope of the Study	39
Source Material	39
Approach	42
Era-specific Ideology.....	42
The “Tourist Gaze” and the Reciprocity of Tourism	43
Reciprocity of Tourism Model.....	45
Hybrid/Cultural Heritage Landscapes.....	51
Summary	52
Chapter 4: Settlement and Tourism at Lake Tahoe	53
A Brief Overview of Lake Tahoe Settlement	53
Lake Tahoe Prehistory.....	55
Washoe Settlement	56
Some Impacts of Euro-American Contact	61
Euro-Americans Settlement and Tourism	63
Euro-American Tourist Amenities.....	64
Tourism and Early Environmentalism.....	65
Retaining Washoe Cultural Heritage via Tourist Landscapes	66
Washoe Basketry in the Tourist Landscape	67
Expanding Tourism Landscapes Enabled by Technology	68

Landscapes of Euro-American Elites	70
Natural Landscapes: Lake Tahoe’s Most Valued Tourist Landscape	71
Evolving Cultural Heritage Landscapes of Lake Tahoe.....	72
Chapter 5: Producing Washoe Identity: Landscape, Land Use and the Media	74
Euro-American Cultural Ethos and Agency.....	74
Euro-American Colonization: Mapping and Imagining Washoe Lands	75
Washoe Identity Embedded in Landscapes	77
Land Use and Identity: the Savage and Civilized	79
Media and Identity	81
Tourist Media and Identity	83
Shaping the Generic “Indian” Identity.....	85
Washoe and the Generic “Indian”	86
Cultural Stereotypes and Washoe Identity	88
Ascribing Identity Through Colonization.....	89
Beyond Tourist Media: Washoe Cultural Practices and Ascribed Identity	91
Summary	95
Chapter 6: Washoe Identity and Lake Tahoe Tourist Landscapes.....	98
Forming Tourist Landscapes: Euro-American Contact to 1935.....	100
Tourist Attractions Producing Tourist Landscapes	104
Generic “Indians” in the Tourist Landscape.....	111
Transitions in Tourist Literature	122
The Washoe at Lake Tahoe: 1935-Today.....	126

Beyond the “Indian Problem”: Acculturation, Indian Schools, Pan-Indian and Washoe Identities	126
Washoe Agency in the Lake Tahoe Landscapes	136
Chapter 7: Hybrid Tourist/Cultural Heritage Landscapes of Lake Tahoe: Exploring the Reciprocity of Tourism and the Role of Cultural Heritage Professionals	143
Lake Tahoe’s Basketry Landscape: Dat So La Lee, Tourism and Tahoe City	144
Cave Rock, De’ek Wadapush	154
Tallac Area	159
Meeks Bay	164
Environmentalist Landscape	168
Chapter 8: Conclusion	175
Hybrid Tourist/Cultural Heritage Landscape Evaluation	177
The Reciprocity of Tourism Model versus the Reciprocity Between Two Components	178
The Flexibility of the Reciprocity of Tourism	181
Using the Reciprocity of Tourism Model for other Cultural Heritage Landscapes Besides the Washoe	183
References	186

List of Figures

FIGURE 1.1: MAP OF TRADITIONAL WASHOE LANDS.....	3
FIGURE 1.2: LAKE TAHOE MAP.....	4
FIGURE 2.1: A VIEW FROM SHAKESPEARE ROCK OF THE SAW MILLS AT GLENBROOK, NEVADA. C. 1890.....	22
FIGURE 2.2: GREAT GATSBY FESTIVAL AT THE TALLAC HISTORIC SITE. 2014.....	33
FIGURE 2.3: FALL FISH FESTIVAL AT TAYLOR CREEK. 2014.....	33
FIGURE 3.1: THE CIRCUIT OF CULTURE.....	47
FIGURE 3.2: RECIPROCITY OF TOURISM MODEL.....	48
FIGURE 4.1: MAP OF THE CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH MAJOR STRIKES AND THE COMSTOCK LODE IN NEVADA.....	54
FIGURE 4.2: MAP OF TRADITIONAL WASHOE LANDS.....	58
FIGURE 4.3: "WASHOE INDIAN CAMP AT NORTH SHORE OF EMERALD BAY." C. 1910.....	60
FIGURE 4.4: "CARSON AND TAHOE LUMBER AND FLUMING CO. BIJOU." C.1886.....	65
FIGURE 5.1: "GLENBROOK, LAKE TAHOE NEVADA." C. 1900.....	81
FIGURE 5.2: JOHN GAST, <i>AMERICAN PROGRESS</i> . 1872.....	84
FIGURE 5.3: EMANUEL LEUTZE, <i>WESTWARD THE COURSE OF EMPIRE TAKES ITS WAY</i> . 1862.....	85
FIGURE 5.4: "BIG WATER, HISTORY AND INDIAN LORE, TAHOE INDIANS JOE AND TOM." PAMPHLET. NO DATE.....	88
FIGURE 5.5: "DIGGER INDIAN WEAVING BASKETS NEAR BAY VIEW RESORT, LAKE TAHOE, CALF." NO DATE	97
FIGURE 5.6: "SUSAN JACKSON INDIAN BASKET WEAVER." NO DATE	97
FIGURE 6.1: "INDIAN BASKET MAKERS." DATE UNKNOWN.....	98
FIGURE 6.2: "HORSES PULLING CARRIAGES ON AN OLD DIRT ROAD, CAVE ROCK, LAKE TAHOE, NEVADA, 1860S.".....	101
FIGURE 6.3: "CAVE ROCK, LAKE TAHOE, CALIF." C. 1915.....	101
FIGURE 6.4: LAKE TAHOE RAILWAY AND THE STEAMER TAHOE AT THE TAHOE TAVERN PIER. C. 1910.....	102
FIGURE 6.5: MCKINNEY'S RESORT. C. 1890.....	103

FIGURE 6.6: A SELECTION OF POSTCARDS DEPICTING WASHOE TRIBAL MEMBERS. ONLY THE SEPIA TONE POSTCARD DENOTES THE NAME WASHOE, AND THE BOTTOM LEFT POSTCARD NAMES THE TWO SUBJECTS CAPTAIN PETE AND AGNES.....	106
FIGURE 6.7: "CAPT. PETE AND SARAH MAYO, CENTER FRONT, AL TAHOE INN." 1915.....	108
FIGURE 6.8: TWO PHOTOGRAPHS OF CAPTAIN PETE AND AGNES. C. 1920.....	108
FIGURE 6.9: "WASHOE CAPTAIN PETE AND HIS WIFE AGNES SEATED ON A BEDROCK MORTAR THAT WAS REMOVE FROM LAKE TAHOE'S OUTLET IN 1924.".....	109
FIGURE 6.10: STEAMER TAHOE AT EMERALD BAY RESORT. NO DATE.....	110
FIGURE 6.11: MAY-AH-MEE LODGE PROMOTIONAL PAMPHLET VERSO. NO DATE.....	112
FIGURE 6.12: MAY-AH-MEE LODGE PROMOTIONAL PAMPHLET RECTO. NO DATE.....	112
FIGURE 6.13: THE WASHOE MOTEL, SOUTH LAKE TAHOE, CA. 2014.....	113
FIGURE 6.14: "INDIAN CAMP AT LAKE TAHOE." 1935.....	116
FIGURE 6.15: "HISTORIC PHOTOGRAPH OF THE WASHOE NATIVE AMERICAN CAMP AT EMERALD BAY, NO DATE." 2006.....	117
FIGURE 6.16: "PRESS RELEASE FOR ROSE MARIE." 1935.....	118
FIGURE 6.17: "CAPTAIN PETE IN ROSE MARIE." 1935.....	119
FIGURE 6.18: "SOME OF THE 225 INDIANS EMPLOYED BY METRO GOLDWIN AND MAYER CO." 1935.....	119
FIGURE 6.19: WASHOE ASCRIBED IDENTITY IN TOURIST LANDSCAPES EURO-AMERICAN CONTACT-1935 MODEL.....	121
FIGURE 6.20: WASHOE AGENCY IN THE TOURIST LANDSCAPES EURO-AMERICAN CONTACT-1935 MODEL.....	122
FIGURE 6.21: PRODUCTION OF WASHOE CULTURAL HERITAGE: WAS SHE SHU IT DEH MODEL.....	132
FIGURE 6.22: "WASHOE CHILDREN LEARN HOW TO MAKE GOURD RATTLES AT MEEKS BAY." 2011.....	141
FIGURE 6.23: WASHOE AND LAKE TAHOE TOURIST LANDSCAPES 1935-PRESENT MODEL.....	142
FIGURE 7.1: "DAT SO LA LEE WITH TWO OF HER DEGIKUP." C. 1917.....	147
FIGURE 7.2: "ABE COHN HOLDING ONE OF DAT SO LA LEE'S DEGIKUP." C. 1910.....	151
FIGURE 7.3: DAT SO LA LEE PLACEMAT. NO DATE.....	152

FIGURE 7.4: LAKE TAHOE BASKETRY LANDSCAPE MODEL.....	153
FIGURE 7.5: CAVE ROCK FROM THE SOUTH PRIOR TO TUNNELS C. 1910.....	155
FIGURE 7.6: CAVE ROCK MODEL.....	159
FIGURE 7.7: SOUTHWEST LAKE TAHOE AND THE TALLAC AREA.....	160
FIGURE 7.8: TALLAC MODEL.....	164
FIGURE 7.9: MEEKS BAY RESORT DEPICTING WASHOE CULTURAL HERITAGE. 2014.....	166
FIGURE 7.10: MEEKS BAY RESORT WEBSITE. 2014.....	167
FIGURE 7.11: MEEKS BAY MODEL.....	168
FIGURE 7.12: ENVIRONMENTAL IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM BANNER. 2013.....	170
FIGURE 7.13: KEEP TAHOE WASHOE STICKER. 2014.....	173
FIGURE 7.14: ENVIRONMENTALIST LANDSCAPE MODEL.....	174
FIGURE 8.1: CIRCUIT OF CULTURE.	179
FIGURE 8.2: RECIPROCITY OF TOURISM MODEL.....	179
FIGURE 8.3: REJECTED COMPLEX MODEL OF LAKE TAHOE TOURIST LANDSCAPES EURO-AMERICAN CONTACT -1935.....	180
FIGURE 8.4: CULTURAL HERITAGE PRESERVATION MODEL.....	182

Chapter 1: Introduction

How does tourism impact cultural heritage production and preservation? I've been contemplating this broad question for over a decade. My experience as a conservator working on both archaeological sites and in cultural heritage institutions for over two decades was the catalyst for this "big picture" thinking. I clearly saw how tourism impacted my preservation and conservation decisions as well as the communities I served. I knew the connection between tourism and cultural heritage had implications beyond my own work and decided that the best way to examine these links was through the lens of cultural geography.

I chose to conduct a study to illustrate one way the "big picture" question could be examined. I divide the question by first examining the elements of tourism and cultural heritage separately and then integrate them by examining place and people through the lens of tourist and cultural landscapes. Reading the academic literature about tourism and cultural heritage, I found many debates about the suitability of cultural heritage and especially tourism as areas for academic examination. Why should these personal and enjoyable endeavors, considered frivolous to many, matter to anyone beyond those who study them? The reason is because they are powerful, interconnected global forces, with economic, social and environmental impacts, both good and bad. Almost everyone practices tourism in some form daily; many depressed communities turn to tourism, and in particular cultural heritage tourism, to inject much-needed international currency into their faltering economies. However, the anticipated cash injection from tourism is often small and unforeseen sociocultural impacts may be large. Cultural heritage is equally pervasive in our world, where individual cultural

heritage contributes to a global cultural heritage. As an example, terrorism and war-related attacks on ancient monuments of a bygone culture are considered attacks on *our* shared cultural heritage and elicit international responses.

Following in the footsteps of other tourism scholars in geography, anthropology and sociology, I examine the historic trajectory of one culture, in my case the Washoe¹ Tribe of Nevada and California, in a place that has become a tourist destination, Lake Tahoe. The objective is to examine the reciprocal relationship between tourism and cultural heritage using a model I call the “reciprocity of tourism”. I discuss the history of the Washoe people and their relationship with the Lake Tahoe Basin, at the heart of their traditional lands, and Euro-American² settlement and tourism at Lake Tahoe (Figure 1.1 and 1.2). By setting the historic stage, I examine impacts of tourism on Washoe cultural heritage and show how the relationship between tourism and Washoe cultural heritage manifests itself in the landscapes of Lake Tahoe that are valued and preserved today, creating what I term hybrid tourist/cultural heritage landscapes.

¹ Washoe is the currently accepted spelling of the Anglicized name for the *Wa siw*, also *Washishiw* or *Wa She Shu*, depending on the source (d’Azevedo and Sturtevant 1986; d’Azevedo 1993; Washoe Cultural Office 2009). Washoe is seen in the seal of the Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California, in the tribe’s publications and is used by Washoe ethnographers including d’Azevedo, Rucks, and Nevers. For a complete discussion of the changing English spelling for the Washoe, see d’Azevedo’s Handbook of the North American Indians entry (d’Azevedo and Sturtevant 1986, 497–498). I use the Anglicized spelling of Washoe words as a way to represent them in the literature to the broadest audience. Additionally, the Washoe are currently reviving their language; for the most up to date spellings of Washoe vocabulary, see the Washoe Tribe Newsletter on the tribe’s website and click the *News* tab (California 2015).

² I choose to use the term Euro-Americans to represent U.S. citizens generally rather than the term white. Though both have limitations, I think Euro-Americans better represents the population I reference.

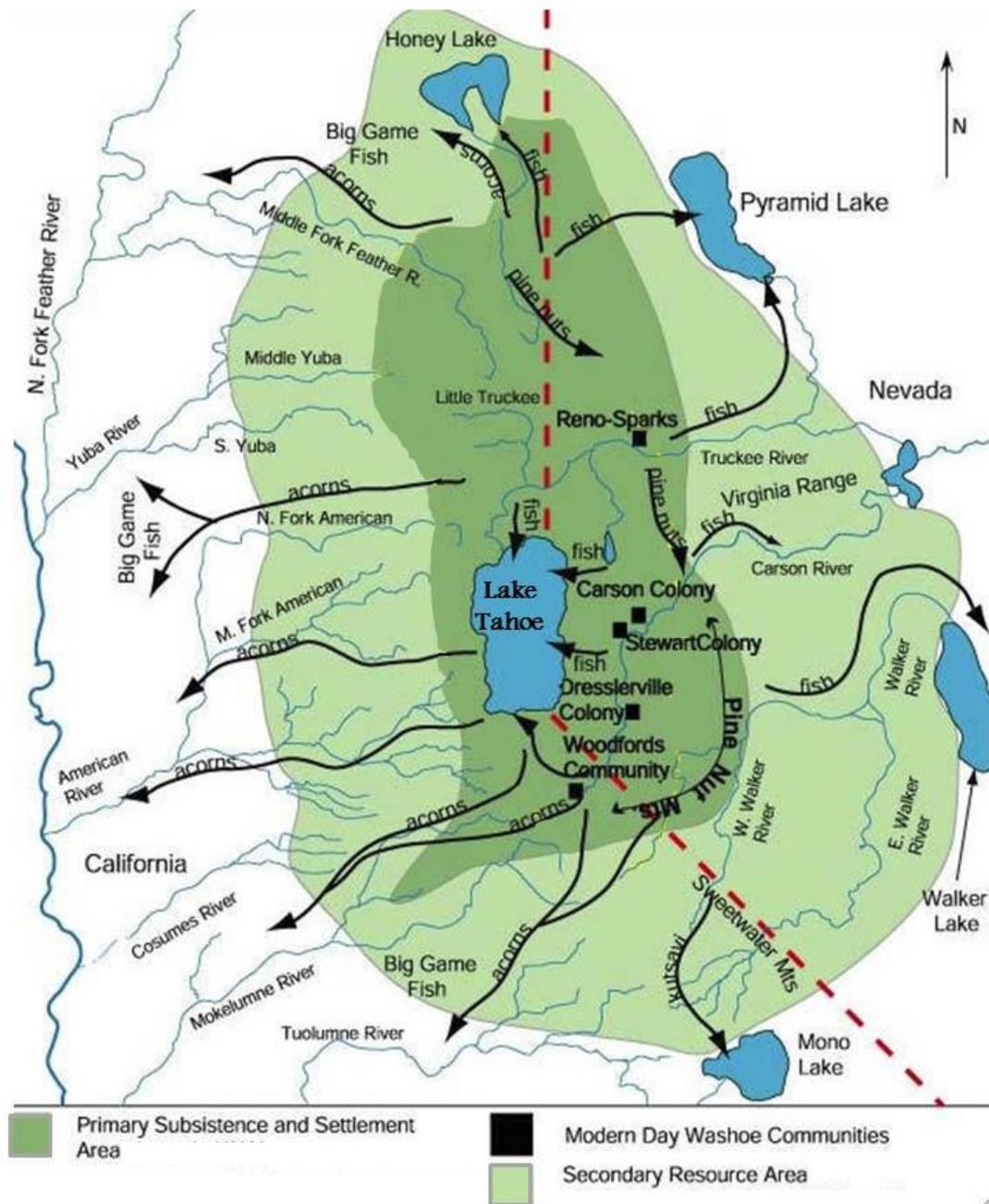


Figure 1.1: Map of Traditional Washoe Lands. Map adapted from Map of Historic Trade Routes in *Wa She Shu "The Washoe People" Past and Present*. Source: Washoe Cultural Office 2009a, 18.



Figure 1.2: Lake Tahoe Map. 2015. Available from <http://www.gosquaw.com/lake-tahoe/>. (Accessed 3/17/2015).

I have been going to my grandparents' summer house at Lake Tahoe since childhood. Growing up, I had been told tales of "Indians" walking up to Lake Tahoe from Carson Valley, some trading various items with my grandparents for medical care

(my grandfather was a physician). One day, I was mulling over my dissertation while boating with my sister past Cave Rock, north to the Thunderbird Lodge. The beautiful rock work at Thunderbird Lodge and my grandparents' house, both constructed in the 1930s, was purportedly built by Washoe stone masons from the Stewart Indian School. This got me thinking about the subtle and not so subtle ways the Washoe were and are present in Lake Tahoe tourist landscapes. In the 1990s the Washoe Tribe was successful in its litigation to ban rock climbing from one of the Tribe's most sacred sites—Cave Rock. Also in the 1990s, the Washoe Tribe succeeded in its bid to run Meeks Bay Resort, one of the oldest tourist resorts still in operation at Lake Tahoe.

My choice to examine the reciprocal relationship between tourism and the Washoe Tribe at Lake Tahoe was not my initial intention. I was enticed to the subject, not by the undeniable beauty of Lake Tahoe itself, but by the fact that the Washoe are practically absent in books about the history of Lake Tahoe. The history of Lake Tahoe deals primarily with Euro-American settlement and tourism beginning in the mid-nineteenth-century. If the Washoe are mentioned at all, it is to note that they were marginalized and disappeared from Lake Tahoe. Indeed the Washoe were marginalized, not just by the Euro-American settlement of Lake Tahoe, but also by the authors writing about Lake Tahoe. The Washoe people did not vanish from the Lake Tahoe landscape; they adapted and integrated their cultural practices into the tourist landscapes at Lake Tahoe, past and present. As the twentieth-century progressed, the Washoe Tribe influenced and became increasingly visible in the Lake Tahoe landscapes.

Most books published about Lake Tahoe are for popular consumption, with those written today somewhat more sympathetic to the Washoe—if authors even mention them. Academic work concerning Lake Tahoe focuses some on anthropology but mostly on contemporary environmental issues. Nevertheless, family stories, oral histories, historic tours, tourist media, newspapers, magazines, cultural resource management reports, archaeological investigations and ethnographic research all recount the Washoe people at Lake Tahoe through time.

Many popular accounts of the Washoe represent cultural attitudes present at the time of publication, and, therefore, it is necessary to understand and contextualize the depiction of the Washoe within the cultural ethos of the era. I look at broad American cultural ideologies present in the media from the early 1800s to the early 1900s as an expression of U.S. expansionism, colonization of Native American lands and the ethos of Manifest Destiny. Euro-American ideologies change in the twentieth century but many earlier aspects linger. I reexamine the era-specific documentation through a contemporary lens to focus on the Washoe's continued presence at Lake Tahoe by means of cultural adaptation and reinvention as manifestations of tourism.

I vary the focus of my investigative lenses from small to large scales. I look at Lake Tahoe as a singular, large landscape and sharpen the focus on smaller landscapes around Lake Tahoe. Cultural landscapes are examined as ethnographic landscapes and tourist landscapes; this enables the exploration of the multiple meanings landscapes have to peoples interacting with them. In this way, landscapes can be both tourist landscapes and cultural heritage landscapes concurrently. Although tempting, it is out of the scope of my dissertation to explore each place and landscape

at Lake Tahoe. Instead, I highlight how tourists and Washoe imbue places and landscapes with meaning; creating hybrid tourist/cultural heritage landscapes. Therefore, in writing this dissertation, not only do I examine the reciprocal effects between Euro-American tourism and the Washoe Tribe's cultural heritage, I also emphasize and illustrate these reciprocal influences in creating hybrid tourist/cultural heritage landscapes at Lake Tahoe through time. These are multifaceted landscapes, with different yet overlapping meaning to people interacting with them: the Washoe and tourists, as well as long-term and seasonal residents. This study of the Washoe Tribe at Lake Tahoe is one example of how to explore the bigger picture of the reciprocal relationship between tourism and cultural heritage that impacts cultural heritage production and preservation.

Chapter Overviews

This study is divided into eight chapters. Chapter 1, "Introduction," contextualizes the research problem and explains the rationale for the study. Chapter 2, "Cultural Heritage, Tourism, and Links to Landscape," first discusses the complexities surrounding the definitions of cultural heritage and tourism, and then highlights the reciprocity, cultural construction and production inherent in their definitions. At the end of these discussions, I define both cultural heritage and tourism in broad, encompassing terms and use their definitions to underpin later discussions. Cultural heritage landscapes are discussed in terms of tourist landscapes and ethnographic landscapes, addressing issues of scale, personal perceptions and formation. I highlight the idea that cultural heritage and tourism are linked and engaged through the medium of the cultural heritage landscape.

Chapter 3: “Conceptual Framework,” discusses the timeframe, location, scale and components of this study. It details the literature referenced, research approach and methodology used in this study. My primary source material is tourist publications, including written and visual media. I use sources to outline the historical cultural contexts and to explore the dominant narratives of the eras examined. I examine era-specific media to identify broad social constructs attributed to Euro-Americans as, initially, subjugation and colonization as expressions of Manifest Destiny, then modes of acculturation. Washoe agency is explored in the media via what scholars have termed “survivance,” and adaption.

In Chapter 4, “Settlement and Tourism at Lake Tahoe,” I outline the history of the Washoe before and after Euro-American contact. I highlight the rich history of the Washoe and how Lake Tahoe is integral to their understanding of themselves and how others understand them. This chapter discusses the history of Euro-Americans and tourism at Lake Tahoe to show how Lake Tahoe landscapes transitioned from Washoe landscapes to industrialized landscapes formed in tandem with tourist landscapes. In this section, I focus on specific places, cities or areas that exemplify Lake Tahoe generally rather than analyzing each place. By highlighting Tahoe City, Cave Rock, Meeks Bay and the Tallac area, I lay the foundations for later discussions of the reciprocal relationship between the Washoe and Euro-Americans.

Chapter 5, “Producing Washoe Identity: Landscape, Land Use and the Media,” I highlight the nineteenth-century Euro-American cultural practices and ethos of the time: industrialization, the frontier ideology and the belief in Manifest Destiny. These practices and ethos led to land use practices and land ethics that were counter to that of

Native Americans in general and the Washoe in particular and set the stage for the dominant Euro-American narratives at Lake Tahoe as represented in the media. This narrative explains the marginalization of the Washoe at Lake Tahoe and their multifaceted ascribed identity, especially that of the generic “Indian,” which supplanted Washoe self-identity. I introduce the discussion of self-identity of the Washoe to highlight how the Washoe’s reactions to Euro-Americans in part shaped the Euro-American understanding of the Washoe themselves. Written and visual media exemplify this reciprocal construction. By examining era-specific media through the lens of reciprocity, the Washoe are now seen as partial architects of their identity, in part by using the tools of survivance, though the narrative remains dominated by Euro-Americans.

With an understanding about how a multifaceted ascribed generic “Indian” identity was formed, Chapter 6, “Washoe Identity and Lake Tahoe Tourist Landscapes,” examines how the Euro-American tourist landscapes and media represent the Washoe. In the written media, the Washoe remain marginalized or portrayed negatively as generic “Indians.” Photographs represent a primarily Washoe identity, and, interpreted through a modern lens, we see Washoe agency in the Euro-American tourist landscapes. Through the twentieth-century and by the 1990s, the Washoe had become an increasingly dominant voice in the production of landscapes at Lake Tahoe through self-governance and tribal agency.

Chapter 7, “Hybrid Tourist/Cultural Heritage Landscapes of Lake Tahoe: Exploring the Reciprocity of Tourism,” spotlights Washoe agency and suggests that the late twentieth-century Euro-American narrative of environmentalism at Lake Tahoe is in

part a resurgence of Washoe land use practices and land ethics. The discussion highlights and expands on Chapter 2's discussion of cultural heritage landscapes, tourism landscape construction and ethnographic landscapes, to detail how landscapes can have multiple meanings and designations. These multiple meanings emanate from tourist landscapes and cultural heritage landscapes significant to the Washoe and non-Washoe, creating what I term hybrid tourist/cultural heritage landscapes. I explore how Cave Rock, Tahoe City, the Tallac area and Meeks Bay became hybrid tourist/cultural heritage landscapes. Each landscape is presented as representing some categories of the reciprocity of tourism model more strongly than others. By exploring tourist/cultural heritage landscapes, I endeavor to offer cultural heritage preservation professionals a new methodology for exploring and understanding the complexities of the history and formation of cultural heritage that is actively preserved today.

In Chapter 8, "Conclusion," I briefly bring the reader back through the historical geography of the Lake Tahoe landscapes, highlighting the practice and production of tourism and Washoe and Euro-American settlement. The hybrid tourist/cultural heritage landscape analysis method is examined as a valuable tool to understand the complexities of landscape formation. I also discuss how the hybrid tourist/cultural heritage landscape method of analysis can be used in conjunction with or as part of the reciprocity of tourism model. Additionally, I offer the hybrid tourist/cultural heritage landscape as a type of cultural heritage landscape itself, as a means to understand the complexity of landscapes we interact with, take for granted and actively preserve. The effectiveness of the reciprocity of tourism model is evaluated, including the flexibility of the factors, particularly that of *practice*. In doing so, I show how the model can be

incorporated into larger, interconnected analyses. In particular, I propose the reciprocity of tourism model is applicable beyond Lake Tahoe and Washoe cultural heritage.

Chapter 2: Cultural Heritage, Tourism and Links to Landscape

Introduction

Chapter 1 briefly discusses cultural heritage, tourism and the reciprocal relationships between tourism, cultural heritage and landscape. Tourism and cultural heritage are culturally formative processes that are expressed in and through the landscape forming cultural landscapes. This chapter examines the complexities of what constitutes cultural heritage and tourism and explores the cultural landscape as the medium where tourism is practiced. This chapter analyzes the complex theoretical constructs underpinning tourism, heritage and cultural landscapes, and distills them into essential arguments and provides the basis of my definition of each.

I propose that most tourism practiced today is indeed a form of cultural heritage tourism, because the tourist is interacting with and interpreting cultural landscapes at different scales that people and place shape through time. I argue that tourism and cultural heritage are inextricably linked because the practice of tourism interacts with the cultural heritage of a place and people through the medium of the cultural landscape. No matter the intentions of tourists, the practice of tourism impacts the cultural heritage of the people and places where tourists visit and in turn impact the cultural heritage of the tourists themselves. This is the reciprocity of tourism. The cultural landscape physically represents these reciprocal relationships. The end of this chapter examines the cultural landscape itself, reframing it as a cultural heritage landscape, exploring its connection to meaning and interpretation via people, place and time. I also explore how a tourist landscape can be a type of cultural heritage landscape, leading to my definition of a hybrid tourist/cultural heritage landscape that will be examined in Chapter 7.

Heritage

Heritage scholar Rodney Harrison (2013) and geographer David Lowenthal (1985, 1995), among many others, explore the complexities of heritage (Harrison 2013; Lowenthal 1995; Lowenthal 1985). I reference their work along with others to highlight this complexity and offer my own solution by reframing heritage as cultural heritage. Intertwined with the concepts and constructs of heritage is tourism, as heritage is explored as an industry with tourism at its core. Many authors explore their concepts of heritage using tourism as the vehicle for that exploration (Rothman 1998a; Lowenthal 1985; Weaver 2011).

Heritage is many things to many people. It can be tangible and intangible. Tangible heritage is material culture: it can be objects, buildings and built landscapes. Intangible heritage is oral traditions, folklore, religion and cultural practices that can imbue tangible heritage with meaning. There is built heritage (that people construct) and natural heritage (nature in as pristine a form as possible). Heritage can be a physical thing, a process or a professional practice. Heritage can be inherited and preserved. Heritage has value to some and not to others. Tangible and intangible heritage link people to a place and time (Park 2010).

Heritage as History

Some equate heritage with history, yet this is too simplistic. At its core, heritage represents a connection to the past that occurs at varying scales: personal, local, regional, national and global. Different meanings are applied to each level by those interacting with it. A personal connection to heritage is expressed at each scale but is not the defining factor. To better understand the definition, one needs a context or modifier to understand the exact meaning.

Heritage is a factor of time. Implicit in the word heritage is a connection to the past, from the recent to the distant past, and everything in between (Timothy and Boyd 2003). Smith and Brent (2001) raise an important aspect of heritage as a factor of time: when does it begin and end? As does Lowenthal, they consider the concept of heritage frozen in time versus being dynamic and changing with societal inputs. Anthropologist Valene Smith's (2001) case study of an Inuit village describes tourists' preconceived ideas of Inuit heritage as being represented by nineteenth-century cultural practices. Seeing Inuit hunters using snow mobiles rather than dog sleds does not coincide with tourists' expectations (Smith and Brent 2001). People and place are also connected in Smith's example. The Inuit cultural heritage is specific to place; it is unlikely a hunter in Florida would use a snow mobile.

Defining heritage as history or as a personal connection to history, as debated by some scholars, is too limiting. Poria, Butler and Airey (2003) propose that one cannot be a heritage tourist without possessing personal, cultural links to the heritage of the site they are visiting: "It follows that 'heritage tourism' as explored here should not include those who are visiting a place 'just because it is there,' nor those who are primarily motivated by a wish to learn" (Poria, Butler, and Airey 2003). Garrod and Fyall (2001) criticize Poria, Butler and Airey, noting that their continued use of the context-based definition relates only to the "demand side" or the tourists' side of the definition.

Poria, Butler and Airey differentiate between motivations based on the historic attributes and heritage characteristics of a site. But can people really distinguish between heritage and history? If an individual from the United Kingdom decides to visit the Tower of London is it because of the role that institution has played in British history or because it is part of his/her heritage as a Briton? Probably it will be a combination of the two. (Garrod and Fyall 2001, 1,051)

Their critique highlights some complexities of the relationship between heritage and history. Therefore, heritage needs context in addition to people, place and time to define it.

The Ambiguity of Heritage

The concept of heritage as everything and everywhere has led to criticisms by Lowenthal (1985) and heritage scholar Rodney Harrison (2013) that heritage is ambiguous. Like Urry (1990), Lowenthal (1985) comments on the late twentieth-century pervasiveness of heritage sites and heritage preservation activities, relating these as effects and reactions to post-modernity (Lowenthal 1985; Urry 1990). Harrison (2013), and less so Janet Blake (2000), place the blame for the notion that “heritage is everything” squarely at the feet of UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization). They note the ever-expanding, all-encompassing definition of heritage as reactions to changing world politics and events. Blake examines the origins of UNESCO and the World Heritage Convention and Harrison connects the dots, calling the ambiguous definition a “crisis” in heritage (Blake 2000; Harrison 2013). According to Harrison (2013), heritage is not a “thing” or a historical or political movement but rather “refers to a set of attitudes to, and relationships with, the past that are characterized by a reverence and attachment to select objects, places and practices that are thought to connect with or exemplify the past in some way” (Harrison 2013, 14). Harrison (2013), along with other scholars, underscores the importance of context in making sense of heritage.

Common Heritage

Heritage is expressed both globally and locally as a “concept of common heritage of mankind” and today UNESCO is synonymous with the protection of world heritage for

everyone (Blake 2000, 63; Smith and Brent 2001; Porter and Salazar 2005). Blake explains that the concept of a common heritage began in 1954 when the first convention of UNESCO introduced what became the ever-expanding definition of heritage due to reactions to the "political and intellectual concerns at the time" (Blake 2000, 62).

According to Harrison, the 1972 UNESCO World Heritage Committee took the lead in the definition of heritage as it "promulgated a particular approach and a series of underlying values towards heritage, which are now part of a common, universal language of heritage management" (Harrison 2013, 8).

The Heritage Industry

Sociologist John Urry's (1990) discussion of heritage relies heavily on geographer David Lowenthal's *The Past is a Foreign Country* (1985) and cultural historian Robert Hewison's *The Heritage Industry* (1987), both critical of the development of the "heritage industry" in Britain as a pervasive, nostalgic, lopsided and inauthentic representation of a repressive elitist past. As these critics note, "Britain will 'soon be appointing a Curator instead of a Prime Minister'" (Urry 1990, 110). In her article, *Theorizing Heritage*, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1995) states that as a folklorist, she studies traditions and the making of traditions. She notes that heritage is a mode of cultural production, created factually, virtually or somewhere in between, that leads to the word's ambiguity. "Heritage is created through a process of exhibition (as knowledge, as performance, as museum display)," giving it a "second life" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1995, 369). She examines heritage as a "'value added' industry" that "produces the local for export" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1995, 370).

Heritage not only gives buildings, precincts, and ways of life that are no longer viable for one reason or another a second life as exhibits of themselves; it also

produces something new. If a colonial past, a past of missionaries and forced acculturation, threatened to produce "de-culturation," the heritage industry does not so much reverse that process, even though its discourse of reclamation and preservation makes such claims. Rather, the heritage industry is a new mode of cultural production and it produces something new. (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1995, 370)

Looking at heritage as an industry and a mode of cultural production that both produces heritage and the heritage industry helps explain the conundrum surrounding heritage, yet reinforces the broad definition as reworking the past for use in the present (Lowenthal 1985; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1995; Timothy and Boyd 2006).

Tourism is part of the heritage industry and explains why many authors examine heritage in conjunction with tourism. Urry (1990) discusses the ill-defined nature of heritage and heritage tourism as an indicator of the postmodern expression of society as "de-differentiated." Thus, every touristic activity can be defined as heritage tourism and everything encountered heritage (Urry 1990, 105). In his examination of heritage tourism in places produced for and by tourism, tourism scholar David Weaver (2001) further reinforces the notion that heritage tourism, and by extension heritage, can be almost everything. Even what began as tourist attractions such as Disneyland and Las Vegas can be considered cultural heritage (Weaver 2011).

Defining Heritage as Cultural Heritage

The problem with the word heritage is that the word culture is implicit in its meaning to some scholars, while to others it is not, as the preceding discussions exemplify. The confusion over the word heritage results in both Lowenthal's (1985) and Harrison's critique of heritage as a "conveniently ambiguous concept" (Harrison 2013, 14). This is perhaps why there is no simple definition of heritage. Timothy and Boyd (2006) state, "...perhaps the most commonly accepted definition among heritage scholars has at its

core 'the present-day use of the past'. This definition is purposefully broad and includes both tangible and intangible features of the cultural landscape" (Timothy and Boyd 2006, 2).

I prefer to use the term cultural heritage, as it defines the term heritage in the context of and pertaining to a specific group of people. Although culture in and of itself is not a focus of this study, it is a term I employ and therefore need to define. The concept and definition of culture is complex and has long been the subject of academic scrutiny. For an excellent historical account and definition of culture, see du Gay et al (2003). As noted in Chapter 1, I examine things and concepts broadly. In keeping with this, I define culture in broad terms, as shared beliefs, customs and attributes that define and describe a group of people. In other words, culture is everything that is associated with the way of life of a group of people (du Gay et al. 1997; Williams 1961a; Eley 1995). The word cultural is deployed in the same way; thus when discussing cultural heritage, I refer to the tangible and intangible heritage associated with the way of life of a group of people.

With the word cultural as a descriptor of heritage, it moves heritage beyond the personal realm into that of a society. It removes heritage from being solely understood as a synonym for history. Thus, my definition of cultural heritage is the present-day use of the past that connects a person through time with a group of people, how they live(d) and what they create(d) (Timothy and Boyd 2006). In this way, cultural heritage is linked to heritage scholar Harrison's (2013) notion of heritage of "people, objects, places and practices" (Harrison 2013, 4).

Cultural Heritage Summary

Cultural heritage is tangible and intangible. Cultural heritage establishes a personal link to the past. Cultural heritage is dynamic; a reciprocal, formative, and transformative process, continually being created and recreated, creating something new. Cultural heritage and tourism are linked as they mutually inform and produce each other (Porter and Salazar 2005; Rogers 2002). The cultural heritage industry, with tourism at its core, is a product and producer of cultural heritage, past and present. In this study, cultural heritage is defined in broad terms: cultural heritage connects a person through time with a group of people, how they live(d) and what they create(d). The contexts of scale, time, people and place help describe cultural heritage as well as clarify its definition.

Tourism: History and Definition

When examining tourism and cultural heritage, one is struck by the multiple definitions of both and their evolution into multifaceted academic study today. Although the act of tourism dates back millennia, the academic study of it is a relatively new field.

Academics once took a defensive stance, defending tourism as more than just a frivolous activity (Walton 1997). Tourism deserved serious academic attention, and to prove this most tourism articles, even today, begin by highlighting tourism as a global, multibillion-dollar industry. Once tourism's relevance was established, it was soon examined as an activity that has global sociocultural, economic and environmental impacts (C. M. Hall and Page 1999; C. M. Hall and Page 2009). The academic study of tourism is now conducted in diverse disciplines, including geography, sociology, psychology, anthropology, marketing, hospitality management and history. The disciplines that study tourism are reflected in the many and nuanced definitions of

tourism. Tourism is defined in relationship to work. The intrinsic part of the definition agreed upon by all is that tourism is time away from work.

Tourism is considered by many scholars as originating in Western societies. Many, including historical geographer John Towner (1996) and sociologist John Urry (1990), trace the beginning of tourism as we understand it today to the eighteenth-century practice of the English elite—the Grand Tour (Leiper 1979; Urry 1990; Towner 1996; Gmelch 2004a). However, anthropologists studying tourism define it as acts of ritual pilgrimage that date back millennia (Smith and Brent 2001; Graburn 2001; Nash 1996). Towner (1995) and Smith and Brent (2001) examine the dominance of European wealthy and elite and their tourism practices as influencing subsequent tourism activities and behaviors. They, along with many other tourism scholars, including Harrison (2013), note privileging Western tourism as the model for tourism today is problematic (Harrison 2013; Towner 1996). Towner (1996) states that an uncritical assessment of tourism and little knowledge about other early societal practices has “resulted in the idea of leisure and tourism being dominated by Western societies on a world scale” (Towner 1996, 14). While many scholars write about tourism practiced through eras by different cultures, they conceive of modern tourism practices as a product of Industrialization, spreading out from an European core to other parts of the world (Leiper 1979; Towner 1996; Harrison 2013). Whether or not tourism is an intrinsically modern practice, many definitions of tourism share a common goal—enlightenment.

Beyond the spiritual enlightenment gained by pilgrimage, the Grand Tourist sought education by visiting European and ancient cultures. Wealthy Grand Tourists

focused on travel abroad to ancient cultures of Europe that represented the civilization from which eighteenth-century England drew its culture (Towner 1996, 102). Over time, sights, art and architecture were seen in different ways. Guidebooks from the 1760s show an appreciation for the picturesque and romantic qualities of the landscape and ruins themselves and not just as symbols of the civilization from which the Grand Tourists were descended (Towner 1996). “Appreciation of wilder scenery influenced attitudes toward and the relationship between humans and nature” (Towner 1996, 139).

The change from visiting humanized landscapes to visiting wilder places (natural landscapes) began in the 1750s and has four broad themes:

These are seen as the awe for God transferred to nature; the influence of art, literature and travel on developing aesthetic tastes for landscape; the role of transportation technology in lessening the hazards of travel and improving access to peripheral and isolated areas; and the social, economic and related environmental changes associated with increasing urbanization and the spread of cultivated landscapes. (Towner 1996, 141–144)

Industrialization changed cultural ideologies toward the value of different tourism landscapes, resulting in an appreciation for both built and natural environments (Rothman 1998b). Increased interest in nature, which Urry calls romantic tourism, was a byproduct of the Industrial Revolution. Tourism was enabled by industrial technology, fueled by money made in industry and practiced during leisure time created by industrial production (Urry 1990; Gmelch 2004a; Leiper 1979; Smith and Brent 2001). This is seen in nineteenth-century Euro-American tourism at Lake Tahoe; tourists were drawn to Lake Tahoe both by its natural beauty and by a desire to see the wonders of industry at work in the lumber mills that denuded the Lake Tahoe Basin of most of its forests.

Tahoe tourists were enabled by the industrial infrastructure, including roads and steamships, and by money made through industrialization.



Figure 2.1: A view from Shakespeare Rock of the saw mills at Glenbrook, Nevada. c. 1890. Black and white photographic print. Courtesy of the North Lake Tahoe Historical Society.

Tourism scholars note the primary importance of industrialization on tourism. Indeed, Urry's (1990) seminal work, *The Tourist Gaze*, examines the early forms of tourism and its spread from industrial England to Europe. Tourism's earliest forms involved wealthy elites traveling for health reasons to spa towns to benefit from curative waters; this form of tourism filtered down to the working class looking to escape polluted industrial cities (Urry 1990).

Tourism doesn't begin or end in the industrial era and tourism scholars examine tourism through time. Anthropologists Smith and Brent (2001) examine tourism beyond Towner's (1995) time frame, ending in the mid-1900s. They divide tourism into four eras: the Pre-industrial Era, the Industrial Revolution (coal-steam) of the 1700s, the Nuclear-Synthetic Revolution beginning in 1940 and the Electronic-Cyberspace

Revolution beginning around 2000 (Smith and Brent 2001, 17). They note that tourism parallels cultural change, particularly with technological changes in society reflected in modes of production (especially industrialized production) and transportation (Smith and Brent 2001). As urban centers became more crowded, there was a further desire to visit nature with an emphasis on its healthful benefits (Towner 1996). With the expansion of the transportation systems, including the train, then the car, and increased wealth, nature was more easily accessed by the mid-nineteenth-century, particularly in America (Towner 1996; Smith and Brent 2001).

The increased speed of travel, shifting from coach to car, from train to plane, affected both the supply (the destinations) and demand (tourists) sides of tourism (Pearce 1979; Lew 2001). Commercial airlines were established in America in the 1930s and expanded as a surplus of pilots and planes came on the market post-World War II, setting the stage for overseas international travel and tourism (Smith and Brent 2001). In addition, the postwar work week, shortened to five days and 40 hours a week, and doubling of average family income, marked the beginning of a “consumerist culture of tourism” due to increased wealth and more leisure time (Smith and Brent 2001, 21–22). Ending with the Electronic-cyberspace Revolution of 2000, Smith and Brent (2001) note a technological revolution in process that enables new types of travel to space and the ocean floor, and virtual travel.

Tourism in the new millennium is practiced primarily by industrialized nations and is a “prestigious consumable commodity for salaried people and the upwardly mobile in all industrial spheres” (Smith and Brent 2001, 23). In the twenty-first century, with the ever-expanding western-style tourism universe based on consumerism, globalization

and urbanization has come a deeper awareness of the need to “conserve and protect our planet and our human heritage” (Smith and Brent 2001, 22, 23). This links modern day western-style tourism to cultural heritage preservation.

Thus it can be said, tourism is a function of its era. Anthropologist Nelson Graburn (2001) among others shows the concept of tourism dates back millennia, with unique expressions of tourism being ritualized activities relating to religion and pilgrimage, and hunting and gathering (Nash 1996; Smith and Brent 2001; Graburn 2001; Leiper 1979). However, the practice of tourism is linked to many eras and processes, including colonization (N. C. Johnson 1996; Rothman 1998b; Ballengee-Morris 2002), industrialization (Leiper 1979; Urry 1990; Towner 1996), economic development (Binns and Nel 2002; Jamieson 1998; Moore 2008), technological advances (Blok 2005; Nash 1996), globalization (Breidenbach and Nyiri 2007; Bennett and Gebhardt 2005; Glover 2008a), preservation (Miller 2006; Clayton 2011; Brink 1998; Hughes 1994; Nasser 2003), identity and nationalism (Rogers 2002; Cornelissen 2005; N. C. Johnson 1996) and cultural change (Beekhuis 1981; Gmelch 2004b; Smith and Brent 2001; Anderson 2004; Gmelch 2004a). Some tourism scholars note the predominance of Western tourism models of mass tourism, consumerism and even the “Disneyfication” of a place (Rothman 1998b; MacCannell 2002; Weaver 2011). Others note that differences in tourism are dependent on the cultural origins of the tourists (guests) and the destination society (hosts) (Breidenbach and Nyiri 2007; Smith and Brent 2001). Tourism today is practiced globally and is not solely the purview of Western societies.

While tourism can be defined in relationship to the cultural practices of the era, the basis of tourism, described by many authors, is defined in relationship to work in both time and place. Tourism is non-work or leisure time away from home (Nash 1996; Urry 1990; Towner 1996; Pearce 1979). This broad definition of tourism most scholars employ can encompass a single overnight stay, which can be expressed locally, regionally, nationally or internationally, and *must* involve a portion of the time away from home partaking in activities that are not related to work. Smith and Brent (2001) explore that last and necessary attribute of tourism, describing Inuit hunting expeditions as business travel (Smith and Brent 2001). In doing so, they add a modern viewpoint that business travel too is a form of tourism. This expands the anthropological definition of tourism beyond a ritual activity and helps move tourism out of Western-based models. Tourism, therefore, can involve work and leisure elements as long as the work time is segregated from leisure time (C. M. Hall and Page 1999). Employing this, we could consider the Washoe's seasonal use of Lake Tahoe for subsistence as a form of tourism. When combined with the fact that Lake Tahoe is sacred to the Washoe, it is interesting to consider the idea that the Washoe were the first tourists at Lake Tahoe, engaging in tourism both as a form of pilgrimage and business travel.

Though one may be led to consider every type of travel as tourism and every traveler as tourists, this is not the case. One must also consider the intent of the traveler. The Washoe and Inuit very likely did not consider themselves tourists; therefore, one must be careful to consider intent and the era as well as cultural practices of the travelers. Tourism as "everything" is tied to modern life and Urry's (1990) concept that in a post-modern world, all daily activities merge (are de-

differentiated); therefore, tourism can be a part of daily routine (Urry 1990). So for Urry, the traveler today does not need to *intend* to engage in tourism to be a tourist.

Reciprocity of Tourism

Foundations of the Reciprocity of Tourism: the Tourist Gaze, Authenticity and the Cultural Production of Tourism

Three pivotal works examine tourism's reciprocal impacts from different yet connected angles: Urry's *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (1990), MacCannell's *The Tourist: A New Theory on the Leisure Class* (1976) and Lowenthal's *The Past is a Foreign Country* (1985). Their groundbreaking books and subsequent publications have influenced scholars within and beyond tourism studies.

Tourism as a reciprocal, formative and transformative process is promoted by Urry, and his seminal work, *The Tourist Gaze* (1990), remains one of the most influential and cited tourism works, expanded on today by Urry and his colleagues. The Urry-coined term, the "tourist gaze," has been adopted and examined by innumerable tourist scholars at one time or another. The tourist gaze is criticized as a one-way process, leaving the physical impacts of tourism out of the discussion (Veijola and Jokinen 1994). A careful and thorough reading shows those criticisms to be unfounded. As Urry (1990) discusses, the tourist gaze is reciprocal. He examines how the practice of tourism and the actions, needs and wants of tourist themselves shape a tourist destination, and how the destination, locals and local culture impact the tourists both while visiting and afterwards at home. As Smith and Brent (2001) put it, tourism impacts both the *hosts* (the people, culture and places visited) and the *guests* (visitors, culture and their homes).

Published prior to Urry's landmark tome, Dean MacCannell's equally important book, *The Tourist: A New Theory on the Leisure Class* (1976), examines the concept of authenticity³ and tourism. MacCannell suggests that the tourists' quest for the rare, real and original can be an insidious invasion of other cultures (MacCannell 1976). To mitigate tourist invasions, the host cultures then put up a "false front" for the tourists, thereby creating an inauthentic experience created just for the tourist. This perceived "fake" experience is deemed unworthy by the tourists seeking the authentic, so they look for other "real" experiences. Reframing this within the language of the reciprocity tourism, the practice of tourism shows the agency of the hosts as they produce an altered identity represented to the tourists. This reworked identity can be considered an inauthentic representation of the host's identity and cultural heritage. In other instances, the tourists impart their conceptions of what the tourist destination should be (ascribing an identity), imparting another type of "false" authenticity. In each case tourism alters the cultural heritage, including cultural traditions.

Looking at cultural heritage tourism, Lowenthal examines the concept of authenticity in his publications, including *The Past is a Foreign Country* (1985). Examining the preservation of England's historic past, Lowenthal (1985) decries the pervasive and invasive tendency to preserve *everything*. He discusses the preservation

³ My use of the term authentic in this dissertation is based on MacCannell's (1976) conception of the term. He does not give a dictionary definition of the term; rather authenticity represents a concept where authenticity and inauthenticity are understood as binary oppositions. He notes authenticity in tourism refers to "real," "original," "actual," "original" and "true." The authentic is untouched by outside influences. The practice of tourism at first authorizes a site as authentic and as having value, yet with increased visitation becomes inauthentic because of its socially-constructed importance. In words of the reciprocity of tourism: the practice of tourism both produces authenticity then destroys it. Inextricably linked to authenticity is agency, it is important to consider the relationship between who is in control of the representations and who decides if the representations are authentic. Therefore, authenticity is difficult to determine as it is dependent on the perceptions of people engaged with it as exemplified in Bruner's (2001) discussion in this chapter (MacCannell 1976).

of England's industrial towns, pastoral villages and elite landscapes. Everything posh and pastoral is produced and represented as England's cultural heritage, a commercialized identity of cultural heritage for tourists and economic gain (Lowenthal 1985). Lowenthal is critical of English landscapes being produced, reproduced and reworked for tourist consumption; in his view, the practice of cultural heritage tourism is overtaking England itself.

All three authors influence cultural heritage tourism scholarship, and their work is the foundation for a wide range of tourism research. In related ways, Lowenthal, MacCannell and Urry expand the understanding of the concepts of authenticity, commodification of cultural heritage, the cultural processes and impacts of tourism and what constitutes tourism itself. As such, their ideas are critical to understanding the complexities of reciprocal and culturally formative aspects of tourism.

The Reciprocity of Tourism in Action

Different forms of tourism come with certain associations of the type of tourist experience desired (Rogers 2002). The "mass tourist" accepts authorized tourist destinations and descends from motor coaches or cruise ships *en masse* to partake in the local culture on display. The romantic tourist is environmentally conscious and seeks nature, spirituality and the unspoiled. Because cultural heritage and cultural heritage tourism are modes of cultural production, does that make the culture and the cultural heritage visited less authentic or the tourist product less authentic (Jolliffe and Smith 2001; Gmelch 2004a; Hardy 1988; Binns and Nel 2002; Clifford 2004; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1995)? To Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1995) and Weaver and Lawton (2007) the answer is no. Cultural heritage is put on display and repurposed. Cultural

heritage thus engaged is not inauthentic, but something new. Edward Bruner (2001) examines the reinvention of cultural heritage as multiple versions of history in his article, *The Maasai and the Lion King: Authenticity, Nationalism, and Globalization in African Tourism*. He examines the Maasai enacting “three different tourist performances—postcolonial, postindependence [*sic*], and postmodern” in three different tourist sites associated with each era (Bruner 2001, 881). His examination highlights the complexities associated with representations of cultural heritage and the practice of tourism. Bruner describes how some tourists question the authenticity of the “tourist dance;” others are immersed in the spectacle and thus do not care about its authenticity, and all tourists have personal reactions to the produced identities and representations. Bruce Owens (2002) suggests that each person interacting with the monument, place, event or landscape applies his or her own meaning to it. Therefore, tourists apply their own meaning to their experiences (Owens 2002). Thus, some see a Disneyfied version of the Maasai, and others see authentic cultural heritage, depending on the point of view of the person engaging with that cultural heritage.

Responses to the Reciprocity of Tourism

The discussions by Urry (1990), MacCannell (1976), and Lowenthal (1985) encompass the authenticity, power and pervasiveness of tourism. The reciprocity of tourism model embodies tourism’s powerful shaping force. Tourism is dynamic and creates multiple tourism landscapes simultaneously because people interact with and interpret landscapes differently. Tourism creates tourist destinations by visitation; authorizes places, activities and amenities by continued visitation and impacts places socioeconomically. Once tourist destinations are discovered and created, they can then be altered and/or discarded as too touristy or inauthentic by some, while still embraced

by others. This cycle can and does continue (Adey and Bissell 2010; Urry 2001; Rothman 1998b). Tourism can be an invasive force, as exemplified by Lowenthal's (1985) examination of cultural heritage tourism and the English landscape and by Anderson's (2004) examination of the "Rastafication" of a coastal Costa Rican village (Lowenthal 1985; Anderson 2004). Tourists and tourism unknowingly impact the cultural heritage of the people and places they visit, inevitably altering the cultural heritage that then gets expressed in the landscapes over time. Urry, Lowenthal and MacCannell echo the concerns many scholars have regarding the negative impact of tourism on social, cultural, economic and environmental issues.

In response to these issues, new and different forms of cultural heritage tourism are promoted, including geotourism, ecotourism, environmental tourism, agritourism and pro-poor tourism. These different types of tourism practices, under the umbrella term of sustainable tourism, are aimed at alleviating the sociocultural, economic and environmental strains tourism can cause to a host community and the environment (Cassar 2009). Forsyth (1997) discusses both the concept and the need for sustainable tourism, noting calls not just from tourism scholars and the impacted host cultures, but from the tourism industry itself. Forsyth (1997) identifies the issues sustainable tourism hopes to address, outlined as reducing overconsumption and waste of environmental resources while maintaining and promoting natural, social and cultural diversity (Forsyth 1997, 272). By expanding cultural heritage tourism into the realm of sustainable tourism, cultural heritage tourism has been shifted from a consumptive activity to a productive activity that involves in its process the preservation of heritage for all people. However, Rothman (1998) sees tourism as the "Devil's Bargain;" there are always

consequences (Rothman 1998a). No matter the intentions of the tourist, even the eco-friendly, green or sustainable tourist who thinks he or she will not “leave any traces”—tourism impacts cultural heritage and this is expressed in landscapes.

The Tourism/Cultural Heritage Link: the Cultural Landscape

It is nearly impossible to segregate tourism from discussions of cultural heritage.

Industrialization enabled more time and money for leisure pursuits and enabled the development of a cultural ethos of interest in built and natural heritage and cultural landscapes (Towner 1996; Smith and Brent 2001; Gmelch 2004b; Leiper 1979). But more importantly, tourism is practiced on the cultural landscape. Tourists engage with cultural landscapes and those cultural landscapes are representative of the people, place and time that formed that particular cultural landscape. In keeping with my other definitions, I use a broad definition of a cultural landscape: a landscape one or more cultural groups fashioned. Rubenstein (2011) broadly defines a cultural landscape as a natural landscape fashioned by a cultural group (Rubenstein 2011). Rubenstein reinforces the original process, when the cultural landscape was indeed fashioned from the natural landscape. Yet through time that cultural landscape can be reworked and refashioned by many people and cultural groups and today represents multiple layers in the same place. Therefore, there can be multiple cultures associated with the same cultural landscape as well as multiple expressions of cultural heritage, showing that cultural landscapes are dynamic through time.

I propose that “heritage” modifies the cultural landscape; the term cultural heritage landscape more directly points to the fashioning of the cultural landscape by a specific group of people. And like cultural heritage, time, place, people and scale are

implicit in the definition of the cultural heritage landscape. Therefore, a cultural heritage landscape represents the layered history of human interactions with a landscape. This cultural heritage landscape may encompass several subsidiary cultural heritage landscapes, each tied to a particular culture group expressed within the broader landscape.

Chapters 6 and 7 examine the Washoe at Lake Tahoe and further explore cultural heritage landscapes. In Chapter 7, I employ the concept of the hybrid tourist/cultural heritage landscape, which links the fashioning and interpretation of a landscape through two cultures—the Euro-American tourists and the original cultural group of the place explored.

Cultural heritage landscapes are created through time, so it is not surprising for others, such as archaeologist Donald Hardesty (2000) to explore cultural landscapes as layered with meaning (Hardesty 2000). Using Hardesty's (2000) concept of the ethnographic landscape, each cultural heritage landscape is read differently by the people interacting with it. Thereby different people can interact with and preference different expressions of cultural heritage in the same cultural landscape.

For example, when I visit Lake Tahoe, I am interested in the Washoe tribe's cultural heritage expressed in the landscape. So when I visit the Tallac area, including the adjacent Taylor Creek visitor's center, I examine one of the Washoe's traditional seasonal fishing camps located there until the late 1800s (Lindström 1985). Another person may engage with the early twentieth-century summer homes of the Euro-American elite by visiting the Tallac Historic Site and the Baldwin and Pope Estates and

partake in the Great Gatsby Living History Festival (Figure 2.2). Yet an environmentally-minded tourist may visit the Tallac area and celebrate Lake Tahoe fish at the Fish Festival (Figure 2.3).



Figure 2.2: Great Gatsby Festival at the Tallac Historic Site. 2014. Digital image. Tahoe Heritage Foundation. Available from <http://tahoeheritage.org/all-about-gatsby/>. (Accessed 02/21/2014).



Figure 2.3: Fall Fish Festival at Taylor Creek. 2014. Digital image. Tahoe Heritage Foundation. Available from <http://tahoeheritage.org/events-and-programs-2/taylor-creek-visitor-center/>. (Accessed 02/21/2014).

My first awareness of the importance of the cultural landscape and its ties to cultural heritage was during a visit to a good friend's family farm in Darlana, Sweden in

2007. As part of the cultural heritage landscape of Sweden, this friend noted her family's duty to maintain the fields, farm and buildings, owned by the family for generations. I am not the first geographer to consider the importance of landscape. Indeed the tradition of landscape analysis is tied to geography, yet is examined well beyond this discipline. Nor am I the first geographer to consider the links among tourism, cultural heritage and the landscape. This relationship is at the heart of David Lowenthal's books and articles. *The Annals of the Association of American Geographers* dedicated an issue to Lowenthal's influential geographic scholarship on landscape, place and identity and environment and history (Olwig 2003). In the "Postscript" to the journal, Lowenthal sums up Yi-Fu Tuan's article, an homage to Lowenthal, succinctly.

Yi-Fu Tuan commends a newly emergent historical consciousness that eschews nostalgic lethargy and ancestral self-regard for creative engagement with humanity's multivalent and overlapping legacies. (Lowenthal 2003, 885)

My definition of cultural heritage landscapes notes: they represent reworking the past in the present, have multiple interpretations to those engaged with them and reflect different timeframes. Or as Lowenthal and perhaps Tuan might phrase it, cultural heritage landscapes reflect "creative engagement with humanity's multivalent and overlapping legacies."

Tourism and Cultural Heritage Landscapes

Some geographers propose the method of reading cultural heritage landscapes as text as an important way to understand tourism and creating tourism landscapes through time: "infusion of the landscape literature into tourism studies recasts the role of meaning in tourism at the same time as it clarifies the role of geography in the study of

tourism” (Knudsen, Soper, and Metro-Roland 2007, 227). Like Hardesty (2000), Knudsen, Soper and Metro-Roland (2007) consider tourism landscapes as a type of cultural heritage landscape with multiple meanings to those “reading” and interacting with the landscape and these multiple meanings set the stage for privileging one interpretation over another. “Meaning derived by this process cannot be separated from the process of its creation” (Knudsen, Soper, and Metro-Roland 2007, 229).

Tourism has and continues to shape the cultural heritage landscapes at Lake Tahoe. This examination of the Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California, the aboriginal cultural group of Lake Tahoe, highlights how they retained their presence in and agency within the tourist landscapes and dominant Euro-American narrative. I examine both Euro-American tourist landscapes and Washoe cultural heritage landscapes of Lake Tahoe today, exploring how they have comingled to create hybrid tourist/ cultural heritage landscapes that are valued, visited and actively preserved.

Visitors to Lake Tahoe may not initially or easily recognize the impact that the Washoe had and have on their experience of the Lake Tahoe landscapes today. The influence is discernable, although not always in obvious or tangible ways. The Washoe could be considered the one of the first groups creating Rubenstein’s cultural landscape—a natural landscape a cultural group fashioned. The Euro-American settlement of Lake Tahoe and tourism had strong and irreversible repercussions for the Washoe culturally, economically, socially and environmentally. The landscapes at Lake Tahoe today represent this reciprocity of influences. My goal is to highlight how tourism in particular played a role in shaping the Washoe Tribe’s cultural heritage traditions and interaction with Lake Tahoe landscapes, and how, in turn, the Washoe shaped tourism

and the tourist landscapes at Lake Tahoe. This interaction over time results in hybrid tourist/cultural heritage landscapes. In Chapter 7, I will examine four different cultural heritage landscapes and their formation processes in order to illustrate the multiple aspects of hybrid tourist/cultural heritage landscapes and the reciprocity of tourism.

Conclusion

Contemporary tourism is seen as an outcome of the Industrial Revolution, though it has ancient precedents. Tourism's core definition is that of a person engaging in non-work related activities for a period of time. Tourism almost always involves interaction with cultural heritage through the medium of the cultural landscape. Even tourism for sand, sun, and sea expose tourists to a new cultural experience: through food, music, dress or building styles and interaction with the people, the natural environment or built environment. Despite the intent of *contemporary* tourists, it is practically impossible to segregate tourism from discussions of cultural heritage. In the past, one must consider the intent, era and cultural practices of the people traveling, not all are engaged in tourism. In the case of this study, early Euro-American travelers of the mid-1800s probably did not consider themselves tourists to Lake Tahoe.

Tourism and cultural heritage can be understood separately and as a combined form, cultural heritage tourism. Indeed most tourism practiced today is a form of cultural heritage tourism. Thus tourism involves being engaged with cultural heritage while interacting with cultural heritage landscapes. This cultural heritage can represent the culture of a bygone era, contemporary cultural heritage and everything in between. Tourism is widely examined as impacting cultural heritage, socially, economically and environmentally; and these dynamic interactions are expressed in landscapes through

time. Therefore, tourism is a reciprocal process, affecting both the hosts and guests. As noted earlier, I along with other scholars argue that all modern tourism, from the twentieth century onwards, can be understood as a form of cultural heritage tourism. This concept stems, in part, from the understanding that tourism and cultural heritage are forms of cultural production. They both are culturally formative and transformative processes that produce and reproduce cultural heritage through time. Therefore, cultural heritage is not static; it is dynamic, responding to societal changes.

Cultural heritage is complex because it can be a thing, a process, or an industry; it can be tangible and intangible. Cultural heritage can be best understood contextually as a matter of scale, place and time. Cultural heritage can have personal connections and global links. Because of the global importance placed on some cultural heritage sites, through UNESCO, the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) and the World Monuments Fund (WMF) among others, cultural heritage transcends one specific culture group and may be seen as belonging to everyone.

The physical impacts of tourism (damage to sites, monuments and natural resources) along with visual impacts of over-development or Western-style development are detailed in the literature. The literature also details the impact tourism has on cultural traditions, which in turn has ramifications in the cultural landscapes and reflect the reciprocity of tourism.

I re-define the cultural landscape as a cultural heritage landscape, with one manifestation being the tourist landscape. The cultural heritage landscape is the medium through which the practice of tourism and cultural heritage interact and

sometimes coalesce. Due to the reciprocity of tourism, tourist and cultural heritage landscapes link, blurring the difference between the two, forming a hybrid tourist/cultural heritage landscape. These landscapes visually represent the culturally formative processes of tourism and cultural heritage.

The next chapter discusses the conceptual framework of the study including source material and methods of analysis. The media is examined in the context of its era to highlight broad social constructs present. Next, the reciprocity of tourism model and the hybrid tourist/cultural heritage landscape are outlined and explained. Both are used in tandem as methods to analyze landscape formation processes through time.

Chapter 3: Conceptual Framework

Scope of the Study

I examine the history of Lake Tahoe from the Washoe's early use to the present, particularly focusing on cultural heritage landscapes as indicators of their use. This is a fairly broad timescale, yet I focus primarily on Euro-American contact, in the 1850s, to today and look at broad patterns within the timeframe. My analysis of the reciprocity between tourism and Washoe cultural heritage through time focuses on four main components: Washoe cultural heritage, Euro-American settlement, tourism and landscapes. This analysis illustrates how the Washoe remained at Lake Tahoe and retained their cultural practices through the last one hundred and sixty plus years of Euro-American settlement.

I first explore the historical cultural contexts and dominant narratives of the eras I examine. By reviewing era-specific media, I identify broad social constructs attributed to Euro-Americans as, initially, subjugation and colonization as expressions of Manifest Destiny, then modes of acculturation and, finally, Washoe agency through survivance and self-governance. By looking at the Euro-American biased source material through the lens of the reciprocity of tourism in tandem with the hybrid tourist /cultural heritage landscape analysis, the Washoe reemerge from the historical sidelines at Lake Tahoe.

Source Material

My primary source material is Washoe-authored documents as well as historic and contemporary tourist materials: guidebooks, magazines, newspaper articles, pamphlets, photographs and websites. In most cases, my source material is also popular literature that more often than not was based on oral traditions, folk tales, newspaper articles and

personal recollections. My discussion of the pre-history and early occupation of Lake Tahoe by the Washoe relies on anthropological, archaeological and ethnographic research. In tandem with this, I rely heavily on cultural resource management reports as they detail pre-historic and historic Washoe use of Lake Tahoe at specific places around the lake. When and where possible and relevant, I use materials Washoe tribal members wrote. In addition, I use oral histories and unstructured conversations with Washoe tribal members. Washoe tribal members were helpful and ready to discuss my research and pointed me towards research materials. Darrel Cruz, the Washoe Tribe's Tribal Historic Preservation Officer, is my main contact with the tribe. He was helpful and patient, especially given the fact that I am one among many people doing Washoe-based research, as evidenced by the number of recent doctoral dissertations and master's theses I reference. I rely heavily on the Internet, specifically for information about the Washoe at Lake Tahoe, as most Washoe-generated material is now primarily published on the Washoe Tribe's website, on other websites or in online news articles (Cruz 2014). Today much of the tourist information and up-to-date Washoe tribal information is published on the internet.

One of the main Lake Tahoe source books cited in almost every publication referencing Lake Tahoe is the two-volume set, *The Saga of Lake Tahoe*, by E. B. Scott (1957, 1973). He wrote these to capture Lake Tahoe's history because the original Euro-American settlers were dying (Scott 1957; Scott 1973). I could substantiate some of his accounts in early newspapers and also see how they spread throughout other sources. Often Scott's tales were retold and reworked in later publications, sometimes keeping true to Scott but other times not. I specifically did not use what I considered

embellished source material. Many authors use Scott's works primarily as original source material, because Lake Tahoe history is difficult to substantiate. What is important about this is what is written is as significant as its accuracy, because what is written about Lake Tahoe and the Washoe represents the attitudes of the era.

In my analysis of tourist media, I use the "classic" books, including George Wharton James' (1915) *Lake of the Sky*, George and Bliss Hinkle's' (1949,1987) *Sierra Nevada Lakes*, George A. Crofutt's'(1878) *New overland tourist and Pacific coast guide*, and Edwards' (1878) *W.F. Edwards' Tourists' guide and directory of the Truckee Basin* among others. Beyond the classics, I use other primary source material, including oral histories, unstructured conversations and other tourist media, both visual and written. There is a focus on unpublished material found in two Lake Tahoe historical societies, the Lake Tahoe Historical Society in South Lake Tahoe and the North Lake Tahoe Historical Society in Tahoe City. I intentionally analyze little-known tourist materials collected by residents and people with direct links to Lake Tahoe itself.

I examine the tourist media within their historical contexts. Doing this involves, as Pratt says, "mak[ing] a strong methodological assumption: that important historical transitions alter the way people write, because they alter people's experiences and the way people imagine, feel and think about the world they live in" (Pratt 2007, 4). In tracing the evolution of representations of the Washoe, I am relying on these changes in cultural ethos to be present in tourist literature and other media through time.

The tourist media I use provides a lopsided representation because these sources are primarily created by Euro-Americans and from their viewpoint. While

literature marginalizes the Washoe, the tourist photographs of Lake Tahoe do not. Part of the reason for this is my biased data set. I specifically searched for images of the Washoe at Lake Tahoe as a way to trace how they are represented through time and also as a way to illustrate changes in their cultural heritage and interactions with the cultural heritage landscapes. I have not examined every tourist-related photograph of Lake Tahoe to determine what percentage depicted the Washoe. Although it is likely impossible to find all tourist photos of Lake Tahoe, this would be a valuable research question to explore, assuming one could create a representative data set. Additionally, it would be interesting to determine who the photographers were and conduct an analysis similar to *Picturing Indians* (Hoelscher 2008). While some commercial photographers are noted on the front or back of the image—Putnam and Valentine, Lawrence and Houseworth, and Benning—no attempt was made to determine their relationship with the Washoe. This, too, presents another avenue for future research.

Approach

Era-specific Ideology

Stephen Hoelscher's book, *Picturing Indians: Photographic Encounters and Tourist Fantasies in H. H. Bennett's Wisconsin Dells* (2008), examines nineteenth-century ideology, discussing how photography was used to capture pictures of a "vanishing race" and used as a tool to "sustain imperial rule" (Hoelscher 2008, 12). In *Imperial Eyes*, Mary Louise Pratt (2007) discusses travel writing as a tool to justify colonial expansion, not simply as an enjoyable means for Europeans to understand a faraway place. In this way, travel writers produce the place in relationship to themselves as a justification for subjugation and imperialism. At Lake Tahoe, as all across what is now the United States, the Washoe were subjugated and their lands colonized. Pratt notes

that producing and representing colonized places of the “other” is a way to understand oneself and country, in this case the supremacy of Euro-Americans. Similarly, in his work, Hoelscher (2008) works to dispel the nineteenth-century idea of the need to document a “vanishing race” as a way to “create a narrative of white American progress and Native American cultural decline” (Hoelscher 2008, 12). Yet this wasn’t just a Euro-American ideology imposed on the Washoe; the Washoe considered themselves as becoming extinct, vanishing from the landscapes of their home.⁴ (Forbes 1967; d’Azevedo 1993). While not focusing on photography alone, I employ similar methods to Hoelscher (2008), looking at the Washoe’s incorporation into the tourist landscapes as a means of survivance, while acknowledging the incomplete and lopsided written documentation.

The “Tourist Gaze” and the Reciprocity of Tourism

Hoelscher (2008) looks at tourist photography of a particular people (the Ho-Chunk or Winnebago) in a place and raises the idea that photography had reciprocal impacts both on the photographer and the photographed. Photography was not just a one-way “colonial gaze.” The concept of the gaze, first promoted by Foucault and brought into the tourist vernacular by Urry (1990), is central to this idea of mutual influences—what I call reciprocal relationships or reciprocity (Urry 1990; Foucault 1973). No activity, tourism or photography, is a one-way street. Both *Imperial Eyes* (2007) and *Picturing Indians* discuss the concept of survivance as a reciprocal process, with the latter describing how “native peoples appropriated instruments and institutions that were designed to colonize them” (Hoelscher 2008, 14). This is evident at Lake Tahoe, where

⁴ Unlike many other Native Americans, the Washoe were not forced to relocate; they remained in their traditional territory. Their numbers dwindled due to disease and pressures of Euro-American settlement.

the Washoe adapted to and used tourism as a means of survival that today has come full circle. Today the Tribe manages a tourist resort and creates Washoe heritage-tourism programming.

The concept of the “tourist gaze” is one of my primary methods of analysis and is what so many other writers deploy in their work. Urry’s (1990) concept of the tourist gaze, as Pratt’s (2007) and Hoelscher’s (2008), discusses cultural production and landscape production through the act of tourism, observing that photography, travel writing and tourism itself can be colonizing forces. Though criticized by many scholars as being a one-way action with no physical implications, the tourist gaze is a reciprocal process (Veijola and Jokinen 1994; Urry 1990; Urry and Larsen 2011). The tourist gaze is more than a two-way action, it is a multidirectional process. The concept of the tourist gaze is one aspect that infuses a variety of contemporary examinations of tourism and is a theme that binds Pratt (2007) and Hoelscher (2008) with Urry (1990), MacCannell (1976), Lowenthal (1985), Smith and Brent (2001) and Knudsen, Soper and Metro-Roland (2007) among so many others. They all note that acts related to tourism, including tourism photography, travel writing and tourist landscape formation, are reciprocal, i.e., the tourist gaze impacts the tourists (guests/outside), people they visit (hosts/insiders) and the place they visit. The place produces tourists; tourists produce the place. Tourists’ interaction with the place, people and environment shapes that landscape and the cultural heritage into something the tourists want materially, ideologically or both. Urry and the reciprocity of the tourism are explored later in this chapter and more fully in Chapter 2.

At the base of modern tourism is often a quest for the authentic—experiencing and exploring the unknown and exotic (MacCannell 1976). Even today, the practice of tourism can be considered a means to reinforce pejorative stereotypes of the “other” and act out colonization, consciously or unconsciously (Erikson 2003; Ballengee-Morris 2002). The quest for the authentic is another means of placing oneself in context by interacting with the “other” (MacCannell 1976; MacCannell 2012). At Lake Tahoe, the “other” was, of course, the Washoe, yet tourism at Lake Tahoe did not center on them specifically. The nineteenth-century tourist was not interested in the “other” per se, it was the beauty of the lake and the industrial wonders of logging that enticed and enabled tourism at Lake Tahoe. Through time, the Washoe remained on the periphery of tourism at Lake Tahoe; they were part of the tourist experience, but never at the center of it. The Washoe symbolically represented the generic “Indian” identity. The Washoe were the “other” and their traditional practices were used by Euro-Americans to justify colonization of Washoe lands. In turn, the Washoe used tourism at Lake Tahoe as a means of survivance.

Reciprocity of Tourism Model

Following in the footsteps of cultural historians, I reexamine the material and analyze it through the lens of reciprocity, specifically reciprocal relationships between the Washoe and Euro-American tourism, with the goal of reinserting the Washoe into the historical geography of Lake Tahoe. Cultural historians Raymond Williams, Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay, among others influenced my thinking. In a broad way, all of the cultural historians look at reciprocal relationships as a means to understand culture (Williams 1961b). Hall and du Gay influence my thinking, because, like them, I tend to see a middle way, informed by opposing and paradoxical thinking. Via Hall’s (1996) theory of

articulation, looking at the linkages between disparate ideas enables a better understanding of them, even though these linkages are circumstantial and may (or may not) last through time (S. Hall 1996).

This study examines the reciprocity between tourism and Washoe cultural heritage and how this is represented in cultural heritage landscapes. However, to understand the complexities of that relationship I need a method of analysis beyond looking at the relationship as a two-way process, between two things. *Doing Cultural Studies* by du Gay et al. (2003) held the key to enable my examination of the reciprocal influences of the Washoe and tourism expressed in the landscapes at Lake Tahoe. The book's "circuit of culture" explores the interconnectivity of five cultural processes the author uses as an analytical tool. As illustrated in Figure 3.1, there are five major cultural processes, *representation, identity, production, consumption and regulation*, that "taken together ... complete a sort of circuit ... through which any analysis of a cultural text or artefact [*sic*] must pass if it is to be adequately studied" (du Gay et al. 1997, 3). Because cultural heritage landscapes involve the transformation of objects into attractions that can be read as texts, a reworked "circuit of culture" is an appropriate analytical framework to explore the reciprocity of tourism (Knudsen, Soper, and Metro-Roland 2007; MacCannell 1976). Therefore, I base my model of the "reciprocity of tourism" on du Gay's "circuit of culture."

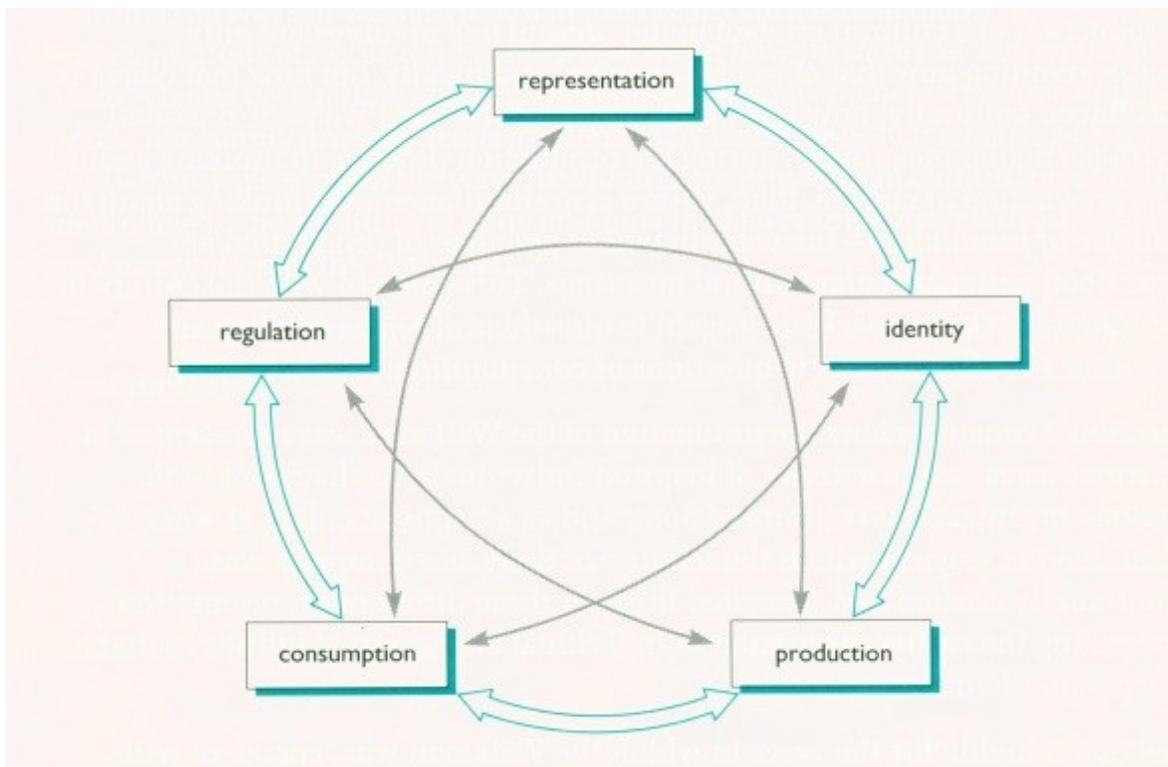


Figure 3.1: The Circuit of Culture. Source: du Gay et al. 1997, 3.

In actuality a two-dimensional model cannot sufficiently represent all the influences that work together forming multi-dimensional landscapes through time and place. However, the reciprocity of tourism model (Figure 3.2) is effective in showing the interconnectivity between the factors of: *agency*, *representation*, *identity*, *production* and *practice*. Implicit in its representation as a circuit, the model suggests multi-dimensional connections that cannot be represented on the page. Also implied in the model is that one can begin their analysis with any one of the five factors. In my use of the model, I often begin my examination with *agency* and *practice* as the jumping off point for the entire model.

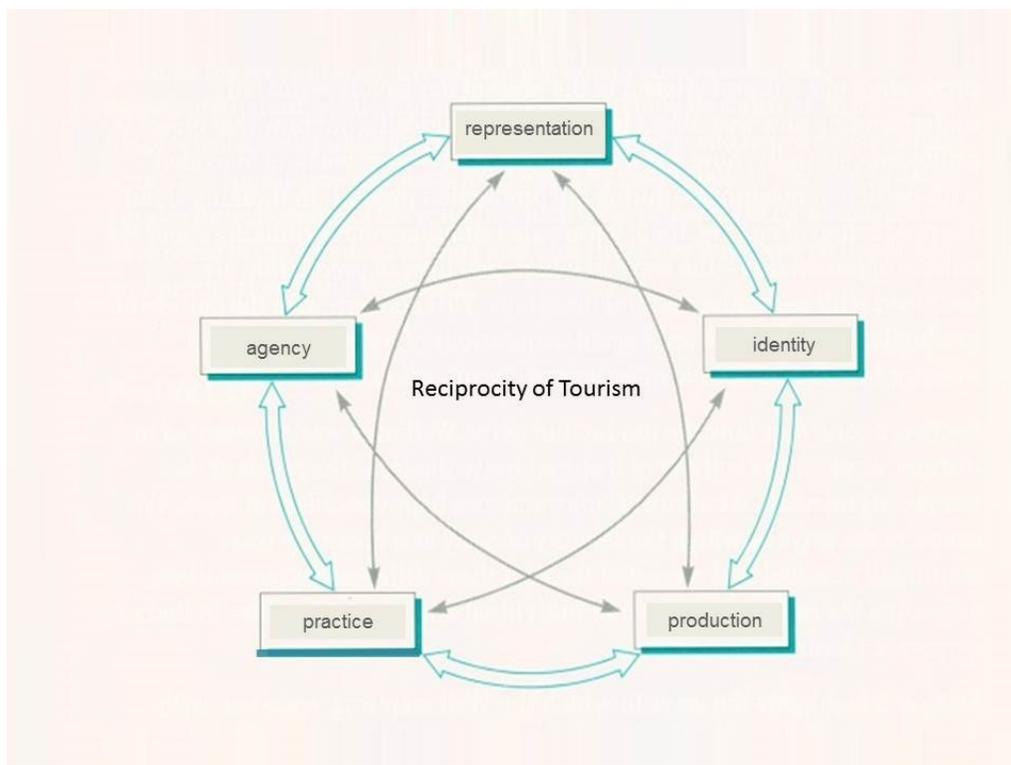


Figure 3.2: Reciprocity of Tourism Model, adapted from du Gay et al.'s Circuit of Culture.

I change two of du Gay's (1997) factors in the model for my research. My new factors, *agency* and *practice* express an aspect of du Gay's *regulation* and *consumption*. I could have kept all of his factors, but du Gay's *regulation* encompasses the concept of *agency* but primarily within a construct of institutional and government agency. In my attempt to simplify and distill complexities of *agency*, my use of the term is derived primarily from Hewison (Hewison 2010). Therefore, *agency* is broadly employed as an action dealing with power, control and the ability to govern one's own actions. As *agency* is an action primarily dealing with power and intention, it follows there is lack of *agency* as well as a hierarchy within it. I aim to express the factor acknowledging individual and group *agency* divorced from governmental oversight, unless I found it important, as in the discussion about Cave Rock in Chapter 7.

du Gay (1997) employs *Consumption* as imparting meaning through the action of consumption, primarily focusing on the “articulation between production and consumption” (du Gay et al. 1997, 4). Though *consumption* is a part of the practice of tourism, it is only one component, which is why I choose to use *practice*. *Practice* is both a noun and a verb. It is an action that is performed; what one physically does, including all the actions encompassed within that *practice* (Guralnik 1985). The *practice* of tourism can be seen to be a *practice of consumption*, yet the *practice* of tourism is also a formative and transformative process that incorporates *consumption* as one of its processes (MacCannell 1976; MacCannell 2002). Through a particular *practice*, other actions are possible and relate to the other factors in the model. Though I primarily focus on the *practice* of tourism and how it is manifest in landscapes, I use other examples of *practice* that do not imply consumption, such as heritage preservation.

Production involves creating something and can be applied to a thing, place, person or people. The *production* process can be intentional, yet have unforeseen consequences. The process of production embeds meaning into the produced item. Therefore, the culture of the group(s) involved in the *production* impart their particular cultural heritage that can reflect the time of the object’s *production* (du Gay et al. 1997; Erikson 2003; MacCannell 1976; Harrison 2013).

Identity can be applied to people (an individual, group or culture), places and things. *Identity* of a person or group can be constructed via self-*identity* and ascribed *identity* tied to a particular place. *Identity* is fluid and can be multifaceted (Berry and

Henderson 2002). In this study, *identity* pertaining to the Washoe at Lake Tahoe is primarily examined.⁵

Representation and *identity* are difficult to separate; to understand *identity*, one need to see how it is *represented*. *Representation* deals with how and where *identity* is *represented* and conveyed: via language, image, media and through exhibits and performance. *Representation* creates and imbues *identity* with meaning (du Gay et al. 1997).

While it is important to understand the factors of the reciprocity of tourism model separately, it is more enlightening to understand them in context of the model itself and this study. As noted in the diagram in Figure 3.2, all aspects of the reciprocity of tourism work together and mutually inform one another. *Representation* deals with where, how and why the Washoe were *represented* in the media, in exhibits or the landscape. Their *representations* depict *identities*, these may be *identities* ascribed to them, or self-*identities* (or internalized *identities*). At different times, the *representations* and *identities* are controlled or authorized by those in power. Thus, the *represented identities* illustrate *agency*. *Identities* can be created and *produced* by the *practice* of tourism. The *practice* of tourism is a formative and transformative process; it *produces* people, places, tourists and landscapes. The *production* of tourism can be *represented* as a performance and therefore possibly inauthentic or authentic depending on the *agency* of those creating the production, the *identity* of those involved in its *production* and how the *production* is *represented*.

⁵ For a discussion of identity as expressions of multiple personal identities created via heritage tourism, see *Intangible heritage tourism and identity* (Vidal González 2008).

The goal of using the model of the reciprocity of tourism is to visually simplify while enabling an accurate and in depth evaluation of the reciprocal impacts of tourism on cultural heritage that are then expressed in landscapes. I do not divide my dissertation by the five elements of the reciprocity of tourism, or limit my discussion to these terms. However, I deal with each element, alone or in combination with others, as each is interconnected. In each section, I switch back and forth between the “reciprocity of tourism,” “reciprocal relationships,” and “cultural production” as my terminology, as I examine *representation, identity, production, practice* and *agency*.

Beyond the five factors, I also add qualifiers or descriptors to one or all five major factors to represent discussions in the text. There is a danger in over qualifying the major factors that can result in unclear and overly-complex diagrams. In such cases, I choose to create more than one diagram to underpin particular discussions.

Hybrid/Cultural Heritage Landscapes

This study of the Washoe at Lake Tahoe explores the concept of the hybrid tourist/cultural heritage landscape. This landscape is proposed as a method to understand the formative processes of landscapes. As will be shown in this dissertation, tangible and intangible heritage of a culture visited is co-produced by the culture itself and the tourists who consume it. Therefore, the hybrid tourist/cultural heritage landscape is formed via tourist visitation to a particular cultural group represented in the landscape. This landscape then represents another type of cultural heritage landscape, the hybrid/tourist cultural heritage landscape itself. Preservation professionals are often called upon to preserve cultural heritage that has already transformed into a hybrid tourist/ cultural heritage creation. Chapter 7 seeks to show

that the formation, transformation and authorization of a culture's heritage can, by varying degrees through time, be attributed to at least three groups with direct involvement: the Washoe as the original culture associated with the place, the tourists interacting with the landscapes and the cultural heritage professionals preserving the chosen cultural heritage.

Summary

This chapter outlines the methods that will be used to excavate, examine and explore representation, identity, production, agency and practice associated with the Washoe in Lake Tahoe landscapes. This chapter highlights the use of Washoe-based and tourist documents as the basis of the study to describe how Washoe identity is ascribed and expressed in Lake Tahoe landscapes discussed in Chapter 5. Before we can explore Washoe identity, survivance and agency within Lake Tahoe landscapes, Chapter 4 provides a brief history of the Washoe and Euro-American settlement and tourism that is needed to give an historical basis for the upcoming examinations.

Chapter 4: Settlement and Tourism at Lake Tahoe

This section is not an in-depth history of Lake Tahoe but an overview of its people and landscapes through time; a selective historical geography. I emphasize certain representative historical events and landscapes to provide background for subsequent chapters that explore how the Washoe used tourism as a means of survival. To understand how the Washoe became part of, and ultimately had some agency within, Euro-American tourist landscapes, it is necessary to first understand how these Washoe, Euro-American and tourist Lake Tahoe landscapes were formed. The reciprocity of tourism model in conjunction with the hybrid tourist/cultural heritage landscape enable a multi-dimensional analysis of tourism influences that can alter the cultural heritage of specific societies as expressed in cultural heritage landscapes. This is seen at Lake Tahoe with the Washoe, as evidenced by the multiple, overlapping and changing cultural heritage landscapes overtime. Therefore, this section explores the history reflected in the cultural heritage landscapes of the Washoe, the Euro-Americans and Euro-American tourist landscapes. This study looks at Lake Tahoe as a singular, large landscape and examines smaller landscapes around it, Tahoe City, Cave Rock, the Tallac area and Meeks Bay, as interconnected and representative of other places and landscapes at Lake Tahoe.

A Brief Overview of Lake Tahoe Settlement

For thousands of years, Lake Tahoe was known only to the Native Americans of the Sierra Nevada. To the Washoe it is *Da ow a ga* and is the center of their physical and spiritual homeland (Nevers 1976; Washoe Cultural Office 2009a). Lake Tahoe was bypassed by the earliest European and American explorers owing to the difficulty of the terrain and the formidable barrier of the Great Basin. It was first mapped by John C.

Frémont in February of 1844, who reportedly would likely have perished in the Sierran winter without the aid of a Washoe guide (Nevers 1976). Lake Tahoe was overlooked by the rush of miners hoping to strike it rich in the California Gold Rush of 1849 and was seen as an obstacle to the reverse-migrating California miners lured by the promise of new riches in Nevada's 1859 Comstock Lode (Figure 4.1). When entrepreneurs, who served the masses of California miners headed for the silver mines in Virginia City (the mining town in the Virginia Range), turned their attention to Lake Tahoe, they realized that a full-service hotel along its shores could be more than just a way station on a wagon road for weary travelers. This sparked early tourism and established Euro-American development, setting in motion the mechanisms that visibly altered Lake Tahoe landscapes (Downs 1966; Goin, Raymond, and Blesse 1992; M. J. Makley 2011; Nevers 1976; Obermayr 2005; Scott 1957; G. W. James 1915).



Figure 4.1: Map of the California Gold Rush Major Strikes and the Comstock Lode in Nevada. Available from <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/goldrush/map/index.html>. (Accessed 3/21/2014).

Lake Tahoe Prehistory

Archaeological evidence dates the earliest habitation of the Lake Tahoe Basin to approximately 8,000 BCE in the Tahoe Reach phase (Lindström 1985, 16). According to archaeologist Susan Lindström (1985), Heizer and Elsaser's 1953 work found that the Tahoe Basin was occupied by two distinct culture groups, the Martis Complex and the Kings Beach Complex (Lindström 1985). Later archaeological evidence enabled a more detailed analysis of the region's culture groups, which found that the early and late Kings Beach phase, 500 CE to the historic era, were the Washoe tribe's direct ancestors (d'Azevedo and Sturtevant 1986; Lindström 1985; Hardesty and Elston 1979). However some scholars consider both Martis and Kings Beach cultures as precursors to the Washoe because these two groups had overlapping traditions that were reflected in the culture of the early Washoe people (d'Azevedo and Sturtevant 1986).

Interestingly, Lindström (1985) notes that the archaeology of the Tahoe Basin was not well understood in the mid-1980s and limited to Hardesty and Elston's 1979 work in the Marlette-Hobart watershed and Davis et al.'s 1974 work at Fallen Leaf Lake (Lindström 1985). Lindström states that most archaeological work in the Tahoe Basin "pertained to various environmental impact reports or literature searches of known sites" (Lindström 1985, 17).⁶

⁶ Archaeologist Susan Lindstrom, with various collaborators, has conducted numerous environmental impact assessments at Lake Tahoe for both federal and state agencies beginning in 1985 to the present. Specific places around Lake Tahoe and those locations' historic associations with the Washoe tribe are examined in Lindstrom's work as well as in work conducted by the State of California in various departments (for example, Parks and Recreation, and General Services), by the Tahoe Regional Planning Agency, and work conducted for Nevada based cultural-resource-management projects. This dissertation relies heavily on environmental impact reports for both archaeological information and details of the ethnographic use of specific places around Lake Tahoe by the Washoe Tribe. The

According to Lindström (1985), Tallac Point, on Lake Tahoe's south shore, has recorded habitation beginning 4,000 years BP to the historic era beginning in the 1800s. Habitation should probably date back further than that but has likely been eroded by the Taylor Creek Marsh or by Lake Tahoe. Evidence of prehistoric use includes now-submerged bedrock mortars, used for grinding foraged nuts, seeds, and dried fish (Lindström 1985, iii). The name "tallac" is derived from the Washoe word *dala ak* or Mt. Tallac (Garey-Sage 2003; Lindström 1985). The Tallac area including Camp Richardson is important to the Washoe not only as a permanent campsite and hunting and gathering grounds, but a historic Washoe cemetery is also in the area (Lindström 1985). Though the prehistoric occupation of the Lake Tahoe Basin remains under investigation, its habitation by the Washoe has been explored and documented by archaeologists, ethnographers, cultural resource professionals, historians and linguists.

Washoe Settlement

According to the Washoe, *Wa She Shu*, they have always been at Lake Tahoe. Their creation legend places Lake Tahoe at its center, where they as a people began (Nevers 1976; Dangberg 1968; Washoe Cultural Office 2004).⁷ Washoe legends, spiritual and religious beliefs and cultural identity all radiate from the center of their physical home, *da ow a ga* (Downs 1966; Hinkle and Hinkle 1987; M. J. Makley 2011; Lindström 1985; Washoe Cultural Office 2004; Washoe Cultural Office 2009a; Dangberg 1968; G. W. James 1915).

environmental impact reports represent some of the most up-to-date ethnographic and archaeological work in the Tahoe Basin.

⁷ Also Wisiw, Washo (d'Azevedo and Sturtevant 1986; Washoe Cultural Office 2009a).

Lake Tahoe nurtured the Washoe people not only spiritually but also physically, as the Lake Tahoe Basin was their seasonal hunting and gathering grounds (d'Azevedo and Sturtevant 1986; Nevers 1976; Washoe Cultural Office 2009a). The Lake Tahoe Basin was too cold and snow-covered for regular year-round habitation, so the Washoe moved from the lower elevations up to Lake Tahoe typically in early spring, with entire family groups settled in their traditional camps along the shores (Lowie 1939; d'Azevedo and Sturtevant 1986; Nevers 1976).

Habitation sites of the Washoe ring the entire shoreline of Lake Tahoe. Scholars document Washoe campsites, describe their traditional names and the subsistence activities primarily conducted at each site (Freed 1966; Nevers 1976; M. P. Rucks 1995). Some scholars identify three geographically distinct Washoe groups that traditionally camped in different areas of Lake Tahoe, and other sources identify four (d'Azevedo and Sturtevant 1986; Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California 2011; Nevers 1976; M. S. Makley and Makley 2010; M. S. Makley 2007). This dissertation describes four; their names are updated according to current spelling, but their association with particular Washoe tribal lands remains the same.

Wel Mel ti's, the northerners, territory in the colder months was north of Carson Valley in the Truckee Basin and the Washoe, Eagle and Sierra Valleys. In the warmer months the *Wel Mel ti* camped around the north end of Lake Tahoe, roughly from Homewood, CA. to Glenbrook, NV.⁸ *Tel me ti*, the westerners, lived in the Truckee and Sierra Valleys, and they typically camped along the western shores of Lake Tahoe. The

⁸ Freed's article referenced McKinney which is the original name of the settlement now known as Homewood (S. A. Freed 1966, p. 75) .

Pau wa lu, the valley dwellers, lived in Carson Valley, and the *Hung a lel ti*, southerners, lived in the south near the California/Nevada border in today's Woodfords, CA and Markeeville, CA (Figure 4.2) (Freed 1966; Washoe Cultural Office 2009a). The *Pau wa lu* fished the area on west shore south of Homewood and both the *Pau wa lu* and *Hung a lel ti* camped on the south end of Lake Tahoe from Homewood to Glenbrook. However, d'Azevedo (1986) noted these four geographic groups resulted from categorization by researchers rather than by the Washoe themselves (d'Azevedo and Sturtevant 1986, 468,469).

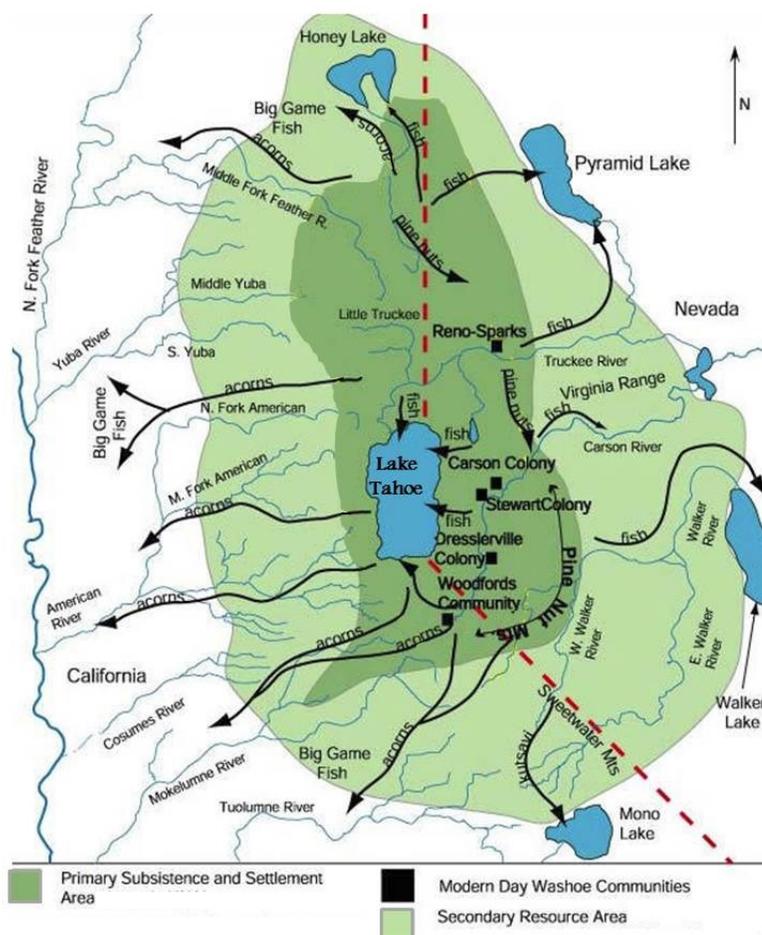


Figure 4.2: Map of Traditional Washoe Lands. Map adapted from Map of Historic Trade Routes in *Wa She Shu "The Washoe People" Past and Present*. Source: Washoe Cultural Office 2009, 18.

Scholars make these distinctions, despite the fact that it is difficult to find visible markers of Washoe campsites due to their lands use practices and site destruction. In Tahoe City little physical evidence remains of Washoe habitation because that area was overtaken by Euro-American settlers in 1863 (Nevers 1976; Scott 1957). Beyond destruction from city construction, scholars note that many campsites could now be under water (Nevers 1976; Freed 1966). A dam of the Lake Tahoe outlet was constructed at Tahoe City, first attempted in 1870 and modified between 1907 and 1913. Water levels can be as much as 10 feet higher than they used to be and envelop Washoe campsites and visible aspects of them, such as bedrock mortars and other cultural material remnants (Nevers 1976; Strong 1984; Blanchard and Lindström 2003).

Art George Jr. (a Washoe tribal member) emphasizes Washoe territorial divisions. “We had our own territorial areas, we did not mix our daily routine with each other; but if we had to, we could mesh really easily because that was our practice that was our way of life” (M. S. Makley 2007, 67). Ethnographer Meredith (Penny) Rucks (1995, 2013) explores Washoe settlement using certain cultural features including bedrock mortars and house pit floors (M. P. Rucks 1995; M. P. Rucks 2013; Obermayr 2005). Rucks examines how the bedrock mortars acted as territorial boundaries of different Washoe kin groups. (M. P. Rucks 1995; M. P. Rucks 2013). However, Rucks notes more permanent physical features in the landscape come from house pits, including roasting and food pits, that are associated with more permanent settlements during the winter season (M. P. Rucks 1995). Rucks contradicts the commonly held ideas of Washoe seasonal habitation only in the warmer months. Her work shows Washoe use of Lake Tahoe through the winter, and she points out most historic photos

of Washoe habitation sites at Lake Tahoe show winter houses, *galais dungal* (Figure 4.3) (M. P. Rucks 1995; M. P. Rucks 2013).

How the Washoe managed ecosystems is studied today, in particular their use of fire to encourage specific plant growth (Taylor and Beaty 2005; M. S. Makley 2007).

Rucks recounts a 1988 discussion with Washoe elders, who recalled their grandparents use of fire to encourage plant growth for the best basketry materials in a meadow behind Meeks Bay (M. P. Rucks 2014).

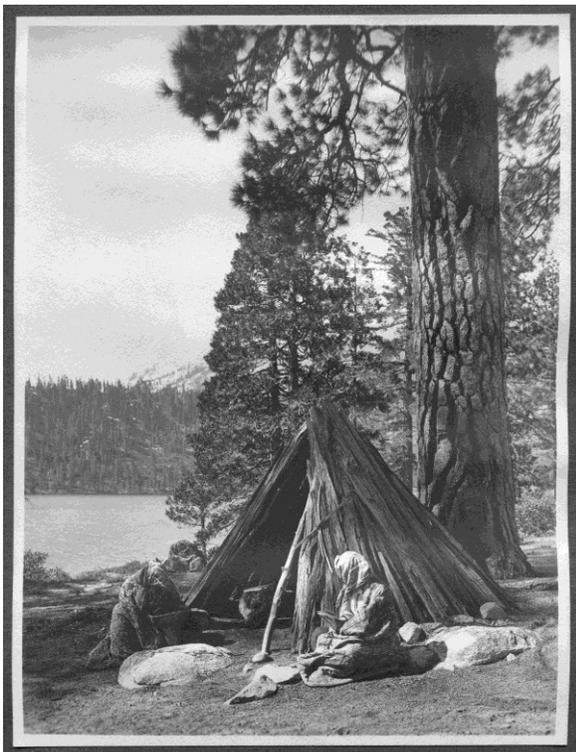


Figure 4.3: “Washoe Indian Camp at North Shore of Emerald Bay.” c. 1910. Black and white photographic print. Putnam and Valentine. Courtesy of the Lake Tahoe Historical Society.

To this day, Lake Tahoe is infused with sacred and secular meanings specific to the Washoe (Washoe Cultural Office 2009a). Many of the Washoe place names result from the legends of the twin weasels *Damalali* and *Pewetseli*’s encounters with other miraculous creatures, including Water Babies (Dangberg 1927; Downs 1961; Lowie

1939; Nevers 1976; Lindström 1985; Bahouth 2006).⁹ Water Babies feature prominently in Washoe legend as both good and bad omens. They occupy every body of water and are often linked to shaman. The most sacred place at Lake Tahoe, and the Washoe's religious center, is Cave Rock, *De'ek wadapush*, where shaman receive spiritual guidance through meditation and rituals. Cave Rock is also the portal of Water Babies to other Washoe lands (Downs 1966; Nevers 1976; M. S. Makley and Makley 2010; Dangberg 1968).

Some Impacts of Euro-American Contact

Euro-Americans and the Washoe people collided at Lake Tahoe beginning with the "discovery" of Lake Tahoe by Frémont in 1844. By the mid-1880s, the lakeshore was ringed with lumber operations and dotted with hotels, inns, camps and summer homes (G. W. James 1915; Strong 1999; Scott 1957; Pisani 1977). Euro-American settlement stressed and depleted the natural resources the Washoe had nurtured and depended on for survival for thousands of years. Unlike many other Native Americans, the Washoe were not removed from their traditional territory and forced onto reservations (Fixico 1986). However, Euro-American development eradicated or restricted access to ancestral campsites and meadows used to harvest food and medicinal plants. Subsistence became increasingly difficult as tourism-driven hunting and fishing reduced game populations. Fishing, including commercial fishing, at Lake Tahoe perhaps damaged the Washoe's physical survival and cultural heritage most. Lindstrom noted the Washoe, meaning *the People*, could be more accurately be called the *Fishing People*, as she determined that fishing occurred 10 months out of the year in the

⁹ Nevers describes these two as brothers, Pewetsile the wise weasel and Damollale the mischievous squirrel (Nevers 1976).

Washoe traditional territory (Lindström 1985; Strong 1984; M. P. Rucks 2014). Euro-Americans saw Lake Tahoe as a productive commercial fishery, with its fish served in Lake Tahoe tourist resorts and San Francisco hotels (Juday 1907; Strong 1984; G. W. James 1915). Late nineteenth and early twentieth-century tourist photos and publications depicted huge fish being caught in large numbers. Even though the native Lahontan cut throat trout was fished into extinction at Lake Tahoe, Lake Tahoe's importance as a sport fishing location remained.

Over time, Euro-Americans colonized Washoe lands; marginalized and dehumanized the Washoe people and limited Washoe access to their lands.¹⁰ The Washoe managed to maintain a foothold in their traditional homeland as they were not forcibly removed to a reservation. Yet Euro-American settlers bought or took Washoe lands and by 1863, the Washoe became a landless tribe (Nevers 1976). Not until the Federal Government created reservations for the Washoe in the Carson Valley and in Reno, NV in 1917 did the Washoe regain some rights in the eyes of Federal Government authorities. Despite or perhaps because of moving onto reservations, Washoe cultural heritage continued to be attacked and demeaned by Euro-Americans, reflecting the attitudes of the time that have yet to be erased (Nevers 1976; M. S. Makley and Makley 2010). However, never fully removed from their lands and cultural

¹⁰ "Encroachment" is the term the U.S. Forest Service uses to describe the process by which the Washoe gradually lost their territory: "The evidence shows that from 1848 to 1863 the area was overrun by miners, settlers and others with the approval, encouragement and support of the United States government. Encroachment continued with increasing intensity until by December 31, 1862 the tribe had lost all of its lands." (United States Forest Service 2013)

practices, the Washoe fought and are still fighting to regain use of traditional lands (M. S. Makley and Makley 2010; Taliman 2002; Cruz 2014).^{11,12}

Euro-Americans Settlement and Tourism

Early Euro-American settlement in the Lake Tahoe Basin was due in part to discovery of gold in California in 1848. Lake Tahoe was between several emigrant trails and wagon roads, and businessmen built roadside hostels along the wagon roads south of Lake Tahoe to service the '49er traffic on the Placerville Road and later the Lake Tahoe Wagon Road (Obermayr 2005). Though sparsely settled by Euro-Americans in the 1850s, before the silver discoveries in the adjacent Virginia Range, the Tahoe Basin did have squatters who established homesteads and took advantage of natural resources. At first, the squatters settled in areas that provided for their own uses, near meadows with the native timothy hay to feed cattle, as in Lake Valley south of Lake Tahoe or in Glenbrook on the eastern shore (Scott 1957; Strong 1984; Hinkle and Hinkle 1987). But settlement patterns dramatically and quickly changed as thousands of miners flowed east along the wagon roads from California, lured by the 1859 Comstock silver strike in the Nevada territory (Hinkle and Hinkle 1987; Scott 1957). As traffic increased, so did wagon road construction; by 1863 the Bonanza Road was built. The Bonanza Road encompassed earlier roads, including the Placerville Road and the Lake Tahoe Wagon Road. It ran along the eastern shore past Glenbrook, down King's Canyon to Carson City and to Virginia City beyond (Obermayr 2005; Hinkle and Hinkle 1987).

¹¹ Washoe seasonal treks to Lake Tahoe are documented as late as 1937 by Siskin (in Rucks 2013), and substantiated by Washoe tribal member's oral histories on file at the Baldwin Museum and Lake Tahoe Historical Societies (M. George et al. 1983; Peden 1993; M. P. Rucks 2013, 83).

¹² For in depth information about regaining Washoe tribal lands, colonies and reservation see Forbes (1967) Makley (2007), Nevers (1976) and The Washoe Tribe (2011) (M. S. Makley 2007; Nevers 1976; Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California 2011; Forbes 1967)

Euro-American Tourist Amenities

With the influx of people and improved and expanded transportation systems, entrepreneurs expanded roadside hostelries and built new lakeside accommodations. One of the first among Lake Tahoe's colorful hotel owners was Ephraim "Yank" Clement, who moved his wayside inn in 1873, Yank's Station, from the "Bonanza Road to Washoe," in Lake Valley, to the lakeshore (Scott 1957, 151). With the new location on the south shore, came a revised business plan to have higher quality services commanding higher prices. Yank boasted he charged "city prices" in keeping with the other fashionable hotels now at Glenbrook, on the east shore, and the Grand Hotel in Tahoe City, on the north shore (Scott 1957). Yank's hotel offered better accommodations, including a spring-loaded dance floor and steamer service to lakeshore settlements of Glenbrook, Tahoe City and Campbell's Hot Springs (Scott 1957). Thus, travelers passing by Lake Tahoe became tourists to Lake Tahoe and the beauty of Lake Tahoe could not be ignored.

"Lucky" Baldwin purchased Yank's hotel in 1881, renaming it Baldwin's Tallac House, and he improved the hotel and grounds to make it one of Lake Tahoe's most exclusive resorts (Scott 1957; G. W. James 1915). Baldwin's purchase was during the time when the Comstock Lode came to life in its second boom, the Big Bonanza of 1873, and Lake Tahoe was further developed by the elite and wealthy created by Lake Tahoe's timber and Comstock riches. During this phase more hotels were constructed or remodeled, and logging by then was an industrial-scale activity (Figure 4.4 and 2.1). This phase also marked the most obvious and destructive change to the forests in the Tahoe Basin. The mountains surrounding the lake were almost denuded of all valuable timber; the lake shore vibrated with noise from sawmills, the shores, the water and

hillsides despoiled with lumber waste (G. W. James 1915; Strong 1999). Yet during this phase, tourism continued and expanded, encouraged by hotel proprietors such as Baldwin and promoted by the regional elite, including lumber baron and Comstock banker D. L. Bliss (Wheeler 1992; Pisani 1977; G. W. James 1915).



Figure 4.4: “Carson and Tahoe Lumber and Fluming Co. Bijou.” c.1886. Black and white photographic print. Courtesy of the North Lake Tahoe Historical Society.

Tourism and Early Environmentalism

Nineteenth-century tourism in what we might now call an environmental wasteland is almost incomprehensible to a person with modern sensibilities, but this was not the case for late nineteenth-century Lake Tahoe tourists and early summer homeowners. However, Baldwin’s purchase of Yank’s Hotel and property was in part motivated by what today would be labeled environmental activism. Baldwin worried that Yank Clement would sell his hotel and land, which included six acres of old growth forest, to a logging operation, so Baldwin bought the property in part to preserve one of the last remaining stands of old growth forest on the lakeshore (Scott 1957; Strong 1999). Not

long after Baldwin purchased Tallac, an area of forest to the southwest around Glen Alpine Springs Resort became the first government-sanctioned protected area in the Lake Tahoe Basin. It became part of the first United States National Forest in 1899, largely through the efforts of John Muir, after failing a nomination for National Park status (Strong 1984; Knisely 1972; Pisani 1977).

This area was also significant to the Washoe because it was part of their hunting and gathering grounds (Downs 1966; Lindström 1985). The south shore had several Washoe campsites, and the area adjacent to the Upper Truckee River and Taylor Creek were productive Washoe fishing grounds that today are part of the Tallac Historic Site, the Taylor Creek Visitor Center and Camp Richardson Resort (Nevers 1976). One visible sign of Washoe campsites visited today are pounding rocks or bedrock mortars, used to grind seeds, nuts, berries and dried fish preparing them for winter food stores, located near Stateline at the *Lam Wataha* cultural site (Nevers 1976; Obermayr 2005). Washoe cultural practices left little physical imprints on the lands that Euro-Americans could easily detect (Downs 1966; Nevers 1976; Washoe Cultural Office 2009a). However, this was not the case with Euro-Americans land use practices which sparked environmental activism to protect Lake Tahoe.

Retaining Washoe Cultural Heritage via Tourist Landscapes

As Euro-Americans settled Lake Tahoe, the Washoe attempted to retain their cultural heritage, although access to land and the lakeshore became increasingly difficult as properties came to be owned, built and fenced by Euro-Americans (Nevers 1976). By becoming part of Euro-American tourist landscapes, the Washoe continued their cultural practices, with some modifications, and also integrated their practices, to some extent,

into late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Euro-American dominated society. The Washoe worked as employees in the tourist industry; they worked in hotels and summer homes of the Euro-American settlers (Nevers 1976; d'Azevedo and Sturtevant 1986). Washoe artists altered traditional basketry to be sold to the tourists, and today represents the pinnacle of Native American basketry (Cohodas 1982; Cohodas 1979). South shore hotels, and specifically the Tallac House and the adjacent resort that is now Camp Richardson, provided guests with fishing, hunting, and camping guides. Some Washoe were hunting and fishing guides, and employed their expert knowledge of their lands for tourists (Scott 1957; W. James 1984; G. W. James 1915; Nevers 1976). One of the notable Washoe enterprises was the James' stables at Camp Richardson, a long running business; the James provided pack trips into the back country (Nevers 1976; W. James 1984).

Washoe Basketry in the Tourist Landscape

The south shore was not the only place where Washoe cultural heritage was impacted by Euro-American tourism at Lake Tahoe. One of the most well-known tourist attractions in Tahoe City, on the north shore, was the Washoe basket maker Dat So La Lee, also known as Louisa Keyser. During the summer, Dat So La Lee wove baskets in front of the tourist curio shop where she lived, conveniently located adjacent to the Tahoe Tavern (Scott 1957; G. W. James 1915; Cohodas 1992). Although other basket makers sold baskets at Tahoe City, Tallac, Glen Alpine and other resorts, Dat So La Lee was (and remains) the preeminent Washoe basketry artist (G. W. James 1915; Nevada Women's History Project; Cohodas 1982; Cohodas 1979; Brandeis 1918). Dat So La Lee's link to Lake Tahoe tourist landscapes is explored further in Chapter 7.

Expanding Tourism Landscapes Enabled by Technology

In the early twentieth-century, logging operations gave way to small settlements and the number of hotels, summer home enclaves and summer estates increased (G. W. James 1915; Strong 1999; Scott 1957; Pisani 1977). Tourism was in full swing by the turn of the twentieth-century, due in large part to the efforts of the Bliss family discussed further below (Scott 1957; Wheeler 1992). Technology and transportation increased tourism in the Tahoe Basin. In the 1860s and 1870s, roads to and around Lake Tahoe were limited. Access to hotels and resorts at Lake Tahoe was primarily accomplished by water via steamboats; a wagon road from Truckee, California to Tahoe City on the north shore; and the Placerville/Bonanza Road reached resorts on the south and eastern shores. Two of the notable early resorts were both beneficiaries of the traffic on the Bonanza Road, the Tallac House, on the south shore, and the Glen Brook House, on the east shore (Wheeler 1992; Obermayr 2005; Scott 1957). Glen Brook House, established in 1864, catered to traffic on the Bonanza Road and was the closest hotel at Lake Tahoe to Carson and Virginia Cities. After the 1873 purchase of Glenbrook by the powerful D.L. Bliss, H.M. Yerington, and D.O. Mills, owners of the Tahoe Timber and Lumber Company (TTLC), the focus of the hotel switched to capture the well-heeled city crowd. Bliss encouraged tourism at Lake Tahoe. He used the steamboat *Meteor*, whose main purpose was to convey large rafts of timber to the saw mills at Glenbrook, to ferry passengers to Tahoe City and other resorts (Scott 1957; Obermayr 2005).

By the end of the nineteenth-century, logging waned in the Tahoe Basin as most of the useable timber was cut, leaving denuded hillsides. So the Glenbrook-based Bliss family, deploying their timber infrastructure and wealth, switched their focus to tourism, the next, largest and ultimately most lasting industry at Lake Tahoe (Wheeler 1992;

Pisani 1977). By 1901 Bliss built a web of tourist services aimed at the wealthy elites, primarily from San Francisco. Bliss built a railroad along the upper Truckee River valley to link Tahoe City with Truckee and the Central Pacific Railroad, re-purposing the narrow gauge trains used in his lumber mills. He built the most luxurious Lake Tahoe resort in 1901, the Tahoe Tavern, and operated the most deluxe steamship, the *Tahoe*, to transport tourists in a circuit around the lake to his holdings at Tahoe City and Glenbrook with stops at other Lake Tahoe resorts and scenic spots (Wheeler 1992; G. W. James 1915; Strong 1999). Thus, by train, a San Francisco business man could leave work Friday night and arrive at the Tahoe Tavern the next morning in time to breakfast with his family, who were spending the summer at the Tavern. Tourists arrived at the Tahoe Tavern station, built on a pier extended over the lake, and could directly transfer to the steamship *Tahoe*, whose schedule was linked with train arrivals and departures, and take a scenic tour of the lake or disembark at one of the twenty other resorts built by 1915 (Scott 1957; G. W. James 1915). Like the Tallac House built for the elite of the Gilded Age, the Tahoe Tavern was not the first hotel in Tahoe City, but it was the most elegant of its time. The Tahoe Tavern catered to all the needs of its high paying clientele; it even provided chauffeurs, as the automobile and improved roads made the shores of Lake Tahoe ever more accessible to tourists.

In the twentieth-century, the economic activity at Lake Tahoe switched from lumber to tourism based on the scenic beauty of the mountains and lake. With this switch in economic activity and changes in transportation from railroad and steamship to car, the landscape ethic changed as well. Historian C. Elizabeth Raymond (1992) notes that early tourists primarily experienced Lake Tahoe by boat, viewing the lakeshore and

landscapes beyond. However, by 1915 the shoreline wasn't the main focus of the tourists, the lake itself and the vistas beyond were. This change was due the automobile and new and improved roads (Goin, Raymond, and Blesse 1992). With the arrival of the twentieth-century, more and more tourists came to Lake Tahoe to stay in exclusive hotels, more modest inns and camps and in summer homes. The latter turned tourists into part-time residents resulting in a complex interplay between insider and outsider; local, resident, native and tourist, that has marked the landscapes of Lake Tahoe as much as the clear cutting of the forests at the end of the nineteenth-century (Strong 1984; Scott 1973; Rothman 1998b; G. W. James 1915; Hyde 1990; Hinkle and Hinkle 1987; Goin, Raymond, and Blesse 1992; Brechin 1999; Knudsen, Soper, and Metro-Roland 2007).

Landscapes of Euro-American Elites

Lakeshore developments increased in the twentieth-century. Some Lake Tahoe summer homes built primarily between the 1920s and 1940s on the eastern shore, including the Thunderbird Lodge, are recognized as National Historic sites representing the unique "Old Tahoe Style" architecture. Some of these residences are linked to the Washoe, via oral tradition and folklore, as they purportedly constructed the stonework (R. M. James and James 2005; M. J. Makley 2011).¹³ Wealthy businessmen in the 1930s lured millionaires to settle in Lake Tahoe and Nevada for tax purposes; one included George Whittell, original owner of the Thunderbird Lodge (Biltz 1969; Bixler 1964). These wealthy elites, like earlier wealthy elites, worked on natural heritage and

¹³ Oral tradition, including in my family, the Washoe Tribe, other Lake Tahoe residents and the Thunderbird Lodge publication recount students stone masons from the Stewart Indian School, including Washoe tribal members, were responsible for much of the stonemasonry at Lake Tahoe during this time. No documentation corroborating this has been found to date (R. M. James and James 2005).

natural landscape preservation efforts with mixed rationale. They sought to preserve natural landscapes by restricting development, but their altruism was mostly for their own advantage (Heslop and Starrs 2012; Goin, Raymond, and Blesse 1992).

The post-World War II boom saw an exponential expansion of development in the Tahoe Basin: businesses and casinos, summer homes for elite and middle-class and year-round residences, some for workers in the newly established year-round tourism industry. Highways enabled year-round settlement and tourism, because of road clearing equipment, and access to the highly promoted 1960s Winter Olympic Games (Antonucci 2009; Obermayr 2005; McLaughlin 2010).

Gaming has a long history at Lake Tahoe beginning with the Washoe and the early wagon roadway stations. The 1930s through the 1960s glamour years are gone, but the Cal-Neva Casino on the North shore evokes the gangster-movie star era that some tourists seek. The gaming landscapes, their locations concentrated at the state borders, excepting Incline, is due to elite activism (Heslop and Starrs 2012). Primarily self-serving, the elite suppressed development, like casinos, and promoted the natural heritage and natural landscape preservation. Yet elite homes and contention over development still exist at Lake Tahoe, with the wealthy obtaining building permits for piers and homes that would be denied to the less well-connected. The presence of elites is a continuing thread in the history of Lake Tahoe and its landscapes; including, for example, the land for many of the State Parks was donated by wealthy families.

Natural Landscapes: Lake Tahoe's Most Valued Tourist Landscape

In conjunction with the increased tourist use of the lake, environmental concerns over water, air and scenic pollution increased. Concerns about preservation and

sustainability of cultural heritage landscapes, both built and natural, are the main issues today (Goin, Raymond, and Blesse 1992; Strong 1999). The natural landscape itself is intensely managed, with the scenic and ecological health of interest to multiple governments, including the Washoe Tribe, and citizen organizations. The natural heritage of Lake Tahoe is symbolic of environmental activism to protect it. It is the focus of international summits and intense academic study. The natural heritage of Lake Tahoe is its most valuable tourism resource and its most widely recognized and actively preserved landscape.

Today Lake Tahoe is an international tourist destination, known for year-round outdoor sporting pursuits and indoor gaming and entertainment. Tourists remain captivated by the beauty of Lake Tahoe (Bahouth 2006). Gaining a sense for how Lake Tahoe was developed through settlement and tourist use provides the foundation for understanding how the Lake Tahoe tourist landscapes developed over time, and how this impacted Washoe cultural heritage.

Evolving Cultural Heritage Landscapes of Lake Tahoe

The cultural heritage landscapes of Lake Tahoe were first Washoe cultural heritage landscapes. Their land use practices and land ethics left little obvious physical evidence, and their landscapes remained primarily natural cultural heritage landscapes. Euro-American settlement quickly altered the natural cultural heritage landscapes of the Washoe. Euro-American land use practices and land ethics were visibly imprinted on Lake Tahoe landscapes via logging, commercial fishing and development. Euro-Americans created both built and natural cultural heritage landscapes representative of them. These Euro-American landscapes were dynamic with multiple purposes. Initially

Euro-American settlers created commercial landscapes: tourist landscapes with hotels, settlement landscapes with dairies and ranches and logging landscapes with sawmills and railroads. Additionally nineteenth-century Euro-Americans built seasonal settlements, some with the purpose of habitation and commerce and others with the purpose of tourism. Although the earliest travelers were not tourists, by the late-1880s part-time residents engaged in tourism. Today many late nineteenth-century Euro-Americans landscapes (tourist, residential or commercial) have evolved into tourist landscapes; therefore, Euro-American cultural heritage landscapes are multifaceted and change through time.

In contrast to Washoe land ethics, Euro-Americans not only left visible imprints on the landscapes, they left a negative environmental legacy. Euro-American land use practices caused the clarity of Lake Tahoe to plummet, as well as changed the forest and lake ecosystems. Through time Euro-Americans promoted environmentalism at Lake Tahoe, yet stewardship and environmental responsibility were the Washoe cultural ethos (Washoe Cultural Office 2004). This ethos was one reason the Washoe were colonized and subjugated by Euro-Americans. Euro-American ideologies were not only imprinted on the Lake Tahoe landscapes, these ideologies were used to ascribe identities onto the Washoe, as discussed further in Chapter 5.

Chapter 5: Producing Washoe Identity: Landscape, Land Use and the Media

Euro-American Cultural Ethos and Agency

This chapter deals primarily with the identity part of the reciprocity of tourism model, a model that, as noted in Chapter 3, is a circuit, where each part imparts meaning to the others (du Gay et al. 1997). In order to understand how the Washoe are represented in the tourist landscapes at Lake Tahoe through time, one must first understand how those representations of identities were produced and co-produced. This chapter examines why and how a multifaceted generic “Indian” identity of the Washoe was created and supplanted the individual identity of the Washoe Tribe. In particular, the chapter deals with identities ascribed to the Washoe by late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Euro-Americans as represented in the tourist media (written and visual). At the heart of the discussion is the idea that prevailing cultural attitudes of the time are expressed in the media and reflect how one society deals with and interprets another. These era-specific attitudes become a dominant narrative that shapes societal practices and manifests itself in the landscapes through time. In the case of the Euro-American settlers in Lake Tahoe, the dominant narrative is a reflection of the nineteenth-century American frontier ideology of Manifest Destiny and its attendant westward expansion, colonization and subjugation of Native Americans.

The formation of the dehumanized generic “Indian” identity segregating the Washoe from their land and cultural heritage landscapes did not arise only from Euro-American encounters with the Washoe. It was formed from ideas and stereotypes that began with Euro-American’s colonization of the east coast. The attitudes toward Native Americans encountered by Europeans and then Euro-Americans as they colonized the

eastern part of what is now the United States were transferred and translated as the American frontier shifted west (Cronon 1983; Cronon, Miles, and Gitlin 1992; Hyde 1990; Francaviglia 2005). Today, as in the past, Native Americans self-identify “with a particular band, community, tribe, or nation of origin, not with a generalized racial group” (Berry 1998, 102). Yet Euro-Americans in the nineteenth and early twentieth-centuries did not view Native Americans as such but categorized them within a hierarchical construct of “Indian.” Paraphrasing geographer Kate Berry (1998), underlying ideologies of a culture give ascribed identities their potency (Berry 1998, 102). The generic “Indian” identity ascribed by the Euro-Americans was a potent, negative identity that dehumanized the Washoe and divorced them from their culture and homelands. This chapter examines the production of Washoe identity by Euro-Americans and allows for the examination of how Washoe identities were used and represented in the practice and production of tourism in Chapter 6.

Euro-American Colonization: Mapping and Imagining Washoe Lands

Before delving into the tourist media, it would be good to consider one means by which the Euro-American cultural ethos was imprinted on the American west and in particular on the Great Basin and Sierra Front, home of the Washoe. As indicated in the reciprocity of tourism model, identity is an often-fluid social construct, changing depending on cultural inputs and agency (du Gay et al. 1997; Berry and Henderson 2002). Geography, topography, place and landscape are also part of the reciprocal process shaping identity; the places and landscapes we create and shape simultaneously influence us (Berry and Henderson 2002). Therefore cultural heritage landscapes and landscapes in general are important factors in understanding identity.

Mapping and Imagination in the Great Basin (2005) explores this through maps, and the visual clues in the evolution of Euro-American maps attest to the early Euro-American ethos of expansion and colonization. Early maps of the United States show the Great Basin as a mostly void region with imagined rivers and caterpillar-like mountain ranges—the Great Basin was literally “*terra incognita*” (Francaviglia 2005, 17). Fur trappers and then those leading military expeditions, such as Smith, Lewis and Clark and Frémont, set out to explore and map the west, including the Great Basin and its people. They came armed with scientific equipment and a set of prejudices and assumptions based on their experiences of what today is the eastern United States. Included in the set of assumptions were expectations that the people, places and landscapes would resemble those in the east. Up to the 1840s, maps show the Great Basin as literally unexplored land; a blank slate to be embellished—the “*tabula rasa*” (Francaviglia 2005, 24). The fact that a mythical river, Rio Buenaventura, and other erroneous information persisted in maps “points to the potency and durability of an image that once seen but [*sic*] hard to forget.” (Francaviglia 2005, 82). Francaviglia notes, “...the persistence of graphic images is explained by their becoming *ideas* that are increasingly embedded in popular thought. Once this happens, they are regarded and then respected as true, even if the image is, in reality, incorrect” (Francaviglia 2005, 84). The ideas expressed first in the maps and illustrations of the mapping expeditions, then through photography,¹⁴ represent ideologies and attitudes of the people and society that created them. At first the Washoe were not mentioned in early tourist and other literature of the mid-1800s; their land was *terra incognita* and the Washoe were

¹⁴ Interestingly in 1842 Fremont attempted but failed to document his expeditions with photography (Francaviglia 2005, 85)

unknown people. Euro-Americans measured the Washoe by Euro-American culture and ideologies and ascribed a monolithic identity of “Indian” to the Washoe. By the 1880s, the Washoe were represented as generic “Indians,” grouped with other Native Americans, regardless of the multiple cultures embodied within the stereotypical and generic term “Indian.”

Washoe Identity Embedded in Landscapes

Although the generic “Indian” identity supplanted the individual Washoe identity, the Washoe are embedded in the Lake Tahoe and Western Nevada landscapes. Through time Washoe names, place names, publications, businesses and activities all tied the Washoe to the Eastern Sierra. Yet even with this constant evocation of the Washoe, they remained a marginalized people, particularly from the history of Lake Tahoe and were rarely associated with Lake Tahoe landscapes.

One of the first settlements in the Western part of the Utah territory is Washoe City, along the shores of Washoe Lake in what was to become Washoe County, NV. According to *Nevada Place Names* (1964), the local residents of the Utah territory wanted to call it “Washoe” territory and call the subsequent state, “Washoe,” *not* Nevada, yet this was not allowed by Congress (Leigh 1964). However, the use of “Washoe” as a place name along the eastern front of the Sierra is impossible to avoid. According to the *Bibliography of Nevada Newspapers 1858-1875*, there were four newspapers with Washoe in the title, the name indicative of the place (McMurtrie 1935).¹⁵ The moniker given to the Comstock Lode silver strike and the miners rushing to it, perhaps mimicking the “Gold Rush,” was the “Rush to Washoe” (Browne 1864,

¹⁵ The Newspapers were *The Washoe Times*, *Washoe Weekly Star*, *Washoe Weekly Times*, and *Daily Evening Washoe Herald* (McMurtrie 1935).

319).¹⁶ According to Stanley Paher (1980), before Nevada became a state, “Washoe” was the name for early Western Nevada, a mining district and a mining process.

Washoe-derived place names, though appearing elsewhere in the Eastern Sierra, are conspicuously absent from Lake Tahoe, except Tallac and of course Tahoe itself. In *Tahoe Place Names*, Barbara Lekisch (1996) notes, “Few people are aware of the Washoe heritage at Lake Tahoe, since so few Washoe names exist to remind us of their past presence” (Lekisch 1996, xvi). The Washoe’s absence from Lake Tahoe landscapes seems contradictory because Tahoe is a derivation of the Washoe word for lake *Da ow* and *Da ow aga* means the edge of the lake (Washoe Cultural Office 2004; Washoe Cultural Office 2009a).¹⁷ Lake Tahoe is the name most commonly used both officially and unofficially, yet the lake has had numerous names, though none persisted. LeConte writes of the naming of Lake Tahoe, noting that the first names given to it by Frémont, “Mountain Lake,” Preuss, “Lake Bonplant,” and later “Lake Bigler” (after a governor of California), were all supplanted by the Washoe-derived name, Lake Tahoe. LeConte accounts for the persistence of the Washoe-derived name Tahoe.

Few natural features of our country have enjoyed a greater diversity of appellations than this remarkable body of water. ... On the map of California and Nevada published in 1874, it is still put down as Lake Bigler; but on the map of the same two States published in 1876, it has the double designation of "Lake Bigler and Tahoe Lake." At the present time this beautiful body of water seems to have entirely lost its gubernatorial appellation; for it is now almost universally called Lake Tahoe.

...The cause of this change of name can hardly be sought for exclusively in the waning popularity of the worthy ex-governor, but rather in the following

¹⁶ The earliest reference to “the rush to Washoe” that I found was in a book published in 1864 (Browne 1864).

¹⁷ The Washoe language is currently being revived and the word for Lake Tahoe is spelled differently in these two tribal publications. For the most up-to-date Washoe vocabulary see the Washoe Tribal website (<https://www.washoetribe.us>) and view the tribal newsletters under the *News* tab.

considerations: First, in the strong tendency of the American people to retain the old Indian names whenever they can be ascertained; second, in the instinctive aversion in the popular mind to the perpetuation of the names of political aspirants by attaching them to conspicuous natural features of our country; and third, in the fact that the State of Nevada designated its portion of said lake by the Indian name.

The meaning of the name Tahoe is by no means certain. It is usually said to be a Washoe Indian word, meaning, according to some, "Big-Water," according to others, "Elevated-Water," others, "Deep-Water," and others, "Fish-Lake." Whatever may be the meaning of this name, there can be no question but that the Washoe Indians designated this remarkable body of water by some characteristic name, long before the earliest pioneers of civilization penetrated into its secluded mountain recess. (LeConte 1883, 507–508)

Place names derived from the Washoe language and the Anglicized tribal name applied to businesses and a nationally significant economic event acknowledges the Washoe. Their presence within the landscapes and the importance of the landscapes to them is evoked each time the Washoe and Tahoe are used. Despite this, landscapes at Lake Tahoe are associated with Euro-Americans. LeConte (1883) illustrates how deep the Euro-American biases are embedded in the American consciousness and are not easily overcome. The Native American stereotypes and generic "Indian" ascribed identity generated by the "pioneers of civilization" remain, and are still seen in the tourist landscapes of Lake Tahoe (LeConte 1883, 508).

Land Use and Identity: the Savage and Civilized

Nineteenth and early twentieth-century Euro-American attitudes toward the Washoe and Native Americans in general can be traced, in part, to their visible presence in the landscapes tied to land use practices. Many Native American groups including the Washoe worked with the rhythms of the land, utilizing seasonal food items, medical plants and raw materials. They were hunters and gatherers, migrating cyclically to and through their traditional territories, sustainably using their resources. Their mode of

subsistence left little obvious imprint on the land and differed greatly from subsistence patterns of Euro-Americans. The Washoe did have divisions of land that were tied to family groups; territorial markers, in the form of bedrock mortars, were obvious to the Washoe, yet misunderstood by and invisible to Euro-Americans, who fenced their land (M. P. Rucks 1995; M. P. Rucks 2013). Viewed through a nineteenth-century Euro-American lens, land that was not visibly utilized was fair game for homesteading, squatting and colonizing (Fixico 1986; Anonymous 1900).

Makley (2007) takes this concept of visible land use as a justification for colonization further by noting that Darwin's nineteenth-century Theory of Evolution was misapplied to people, particularly indigenous hunters and gatherers, who were labeled inferior, uncivilized savages compared with Euro-Americans (M. S. Makley 2007). "Civilized" people visibly utilize and alter the landscape through farming, ranching and building infrastructure including roads and fences (Figure 5.1). These landscape-altering practices embodied the nineteenth and early twentieth-century frontier ideology and America's Manifest Destiny that would bring enlightenment and civilization to the land and people that would become the United States (Berry 1998). In part, because Native Americans did not utilize the land in the same way as Euro-Americans, they were considered evolutionarily inferior and in need of Euro-American enlightened cultural practices. Judging Native Americans by their subsistence practices and land ethics enables a generic "Indian" label and identity to be ascribed to a single person, tribe or regional group. This situates the Euro-American civilized identity in a patriarchal and patronizing relationship over the generalized ascribed identity of "Indians" as uncivilized, and this relationship was used to justify many actions towards Native Americans.



Figure 5.1: “Glenbrook, Lake Tahoe Nevada.” c. 1900. Putnam and Valentine. Black and white photographic print. Courtesy of the North Lake Tahoe Historical Society. An example of Euro-American settlement patterns at Lake Tahoe.

Media and Identity

These Euro-American attitudes toward the Washoe are found in the popular media of the time, including regional media depicting Lake Tahoe. Among the source material examined are Lake Tahoe-based tourist publications and *The Overland Monthly* magazine published between 1868 and 1935.¹⁸ This San Francisco-based magazine reveals Euro-American attitudes towards the Washoe people as well as Native Americans more broadly. *The Overland Monthly* had national readership and included articles about Lake Tahoe and the Sierra region. It published scientific investigations,¹⁹ “travel narratives, regional and national political analysis, short fiction, poetry, and the early work of such canonical writers as Bret Harte, Mark Twain, Jack London, Henry George, Frank Norris, John Muir and Willa Cather” (Mexal 2013). The forward-thinking

¹⁸ *The Overland Monthly* merged with other publications, first *The Californian* in 1882, and then *Out West* in 1923, after which it was referred to as *The Overland Monthly and Out West Magazine*. However, Mexal simply refers to the merged publication as *The Overland Monthly* and this title will be used in this dissertation as well (Mexal 2007; “Overland Monthly” 2014).

¹⁹ John Le Conte’s environmental examination of Lake Tahoe, including water clarity studies, was published in *The Overland Monthly* (LeConte 1883).

and liberal editorial goals of *The Overland Monthly* were to be "...a great western magazine that should give proper emphasis, not alone to the literature of the West, but should feature as well the industrial development of the country, the commercial growth, the scenic beauties and all the rest" (Anonymous 1923, 39).

Stephen J. Mexal's dissertation (2007) and subsequent book, *Reading for Liberalism: The Overland Monthly and the Writing of the Modern American West* (2013), examine the history of the *Overland Monthly*, noting its influence on creating American cultural ideologies of the era based on its promotion of eastern American white-dominated society. He argues:

Membership in a public or peoplehood—originates in magazine narratives that normalize white, bourgeois, Eastern American liberal subjectivity. Even more important, though, is the way in which Western regional publicity is shaped by the ideology of civilization. This allows a white, bourgeois public to sustain its dominance over non-white peoples, assert its ownership over "savage" or "wild" spaces, and still operate under the aegis of classical liberalism. (Mexal 2007, iii–iv)

By examining this magazine and other era-specific and region-specific media, one can see how the media both reflected and then helped further shape Euro-American attitudes towards Native Americans and the Washoe. Though not every Euro-American thought about "Indians" in the same way, there is a pervasive disdain for Native American cultures at this time. Euro-Americans created a generic "Indian" identity or the "other" that they then ascribed, as needed, to many different Native American groups, including the Washoe, in their quest to justify and understand themselves and their actions in relationship to and treatment of the "other" (Pratt 2007). This radiates from Euro-Americans' need to justify westward expansion and subjugation of Native Americans through colonization.

Tourist Media and Identity

Although the Washoe are categorized and ascribed with a negative generic “Indian” identity in the media, they also are identified as Washoe. Yet the label Washoe too is another facet of the generic “Indian” identity, sometimes showing a hierarchy ascribed to “Indians.” Though a hierarchy within an “Indian” identity is contradictory, this reflects divergent Euro-American attitudes. Therefore the Washoe are represented as an individual tribe while conflating them with a multifaceted generic “Indian” identity of the “other.”

While the present day, half-educated, half-civilized Washoes [sic] are by no means representative of the highest elements of natural enlightenment among the Indian races, they do possess legends about Tahoe the following being the most interesting (G. W. James 1915, 39)

Here James (1915), author of the one of the classic Lake Tahoe guidebooks, *Lake of the Sky*, contextualizes the Washoe as inferior to Euro-Americans as well as other “Indian races,” though James considered himself a friend to the Washoe. James (1915) illustrates one way to comprehend often contrasting attitudes towards Native Americans by ascribing a dichotomous image of “Indians” as the *noble savage*. This is tied to Manifest Destiny and migrating Euro-Americans conquering the westward shifting frontiers.

Manifest Destiny promotes the ideology that white, Christian, Euro-American males have the mandate to civilize the untamed west; to conquer and exploit the land and the “savages,” thereby bringing them out of darkness into an industrialized, Christianized civilization. This concept was promoted in tourist images as well as other media. For example, John Gast’s 1872 work, *American Progress*, is an allegorical representation of the United States pictured as the floating Columbia, banishing

darkness and savagery while bringing enlightened civilization in her wake via Euro-American settlement and industrialization (Figure 5.2). This chromolithograph was commissioned and published by George Crofutt, a tourist promotor and publisher of western travel guides in the late 1800s (Sandweiss 2015; Crofutt 1878, 26). This ideology is also promoted in a mural, *Westward the Course of Empire Takes Its Way*, (Figure 5.3) commissioned for the U.S. Capitol: “Emanuel Leutze’s mural celebrates the western expansion of the United States” (Anonymous 2014a). Both the chromolithograph and the mural represent the Euro-American cultural ethos of “Indians” to be conquered, subdued and subjugated.



Figure 5.2: John Gast, *American Progress*. 1872. Chromolithograph. Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress. Available from <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/97507547/>. (Accessed 02/17/2014).



Figure 5.3: Emanuel Leutze, *Westward the Course of Empire Takes Its Way*. 1862. Stereochrome. The Architect of the Capitol. Available from: <http://www.aoc.gov/capitol-hill/other-paintings-and-murals/westward-course-empire-takes-its-way>. (Accessed 03/05/ 2014).

Shaping the Generic “Indian” Identity

Euro-Americans were familiar with illustrations in magazines and propagandist paintings promoting “Manifest Destiny” that depicted a generalized, generic “Indian” loosely based on Plains or Eastern Native Americans, including the Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw and Seminole nations. These represented some of the Native Americans tribes first encountered by Euro-American settlers, fur trappers and explorers. And these were among the first Native American tribes removed from their lands and relocated west during the removal period of the early 1800s resulting in the Indian Removal Act of 1830 (Cronon 1983; Fixico 1986; Hoelscher 2008) Coincidentally, the removal and relocation of the Plains Indians in the later nineteenth-century coincided with mass tourism and photography. Hoelscher (2008) notes, “The combination of

these layered events created a powerful imaginary image in the mind of most Americans” (Hoelscher 2008, 9). With photography came another method to represent stereotypical images of Native Americans, with “idealized” imagery of Native Americans reaching its peak during the mid to late nineteenth-century Indian removals (Hoelscher 2008, 12). As Euro-Americans pushed the boundaries of the United States’ frontier to the west, they encountered diverse Native American cultures and tribes that were lumped in with other “Indians.” Native American photographer and scholar Rick Hill (1996) detailed how non-Natives have made images of Native Americans a staple of pop culture shaped by the media—especially photography. Hill documented no fewer than 10 stereotypical images: Indian as Warrior, as Chief or Medicine Man, as Naked Savage, as Sex Fantasy, as Prisoner, as Noble Savage, as Vanishing Americans, as Object of Study, as Tourist Prop, and as Victim (Hill 1996, 117). These 10 stereotypical images helped make up the multifaceted generic “Indian” identity. Therefore the generic “Indian” identity was fluid with some facets emphasized over others, depending on how Euro-Americans produced it. Media helped shape cultural attitudes, and generic representations related and reinforced Native American stereotypes. This unequal relationship revealed underlying assumptions about the subject (the produced) and authors (the producer).

Washoe and the Generic “Indian”

The “Washoe” as identified by the Euro-Americans were produced as part of the multifaceted generic “Indian” identity; as needed, Euro-Americans imprinted Plains Indian and other Native American cultural practices on the Washoe. Euro-Americans recognized individual tribes yet combined Native Americans in many ways, as Hill

suggested, creating multiple ways the generic “Indian” identity can be produced and represented. This is illustrated in a pamphlet representing “Tahoe Indians” wearing generic “Indian” clothing and regalia (Figure 5.4). The ascribed identity and its representations can be both positive and negative concurrently. This dichotomous representation is exemplified in James’s *Lake of the Sky* (1915), particularly in the chapter “The Indians of Lake Tahoe.” James (1915) highlights the Washoe and their language, noting the Washoe origins, spelling and pronunciation of words including Tahoe, Tallac and Washoe.

Prior to the coming of the emigrant bands in the early ‘forties of the last century, the only white men the Indians ever saw were occasional trappers who wandered into the new and strange land. Then, the beautiful Indian name, soft and limpid as an Indian maiden’s eyes, was Wasiu – not the harsh, Anglicized, Washoe. (G. W. James 1915, 26)

Two paragraphs later James writes:

In appearance they are heavy and fat, though now and again a man of fine, muscular form and good height is found. The women have broad, shapeless figures and clumsy, deliberate movements. The older they get the more repulsive and filthy they become. While young some of the women have pleasing, intelligent and alert faces, while children of both sexes are attractive and interesting. (G. W. James 1915)

Though a modern reader may disagree, in general James tends to be favorably inclined toward the Washoe, referring to his Washoe informants as friends, yet even he cannot escape the pervasive attitudes of the era that infuse his own attitudes and writing.

Beyond his own writings, this contrasting representation of Native Americans is seen in a tribute article in the *Overland Monthly* dedicated to James, who was an editor and frequent contributor. "Always Dr. James had been intensely interested in the problems of the American Indian and did much in the interest of the Red Man, even up to the day of his death" (Anonymous 1923).

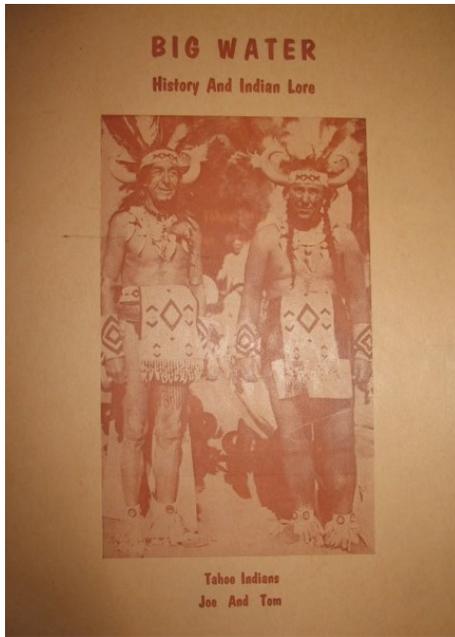


Figure 5.4: “Big Water, History and Indian Lore, Tahoe Indians Joe and Tom.” Pamphlet. No date. Color photograph of the document. Courtesy of the North Lake Tahoe Historical Society. Pamphlet depicts generic “Indians.”

Cultural Stereotypes and Washoe Identity

Makley (2007) traces the roots of stereotyping the Washoe Tribe and the dominance of the generic “Indian” identity to Euro-Americans’ lack of comprehension of Washoe cultural practices. His work primarily focuses on anthropologists and others supposedly acquainted with the Washoe. Unlike James, the Nevada Territory Governor Nye (1861-1864) did not rely on firsthand knowledge of the Washoe, but on the culturally accepted views of the time generated by Euro-Americans who exhibited no cultural understanding of the Washoe and who had ulterior motives (Makley 2007). Nye was a former official of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and represented the Washoe as “nearly brutes,” buying into the evolutionary path of mankind with brutes being lowest on the evolutionary scale (M. S. Makley 2007, 48).

John C. Frémont himself shaped Euro-American cultural ethos toward the Washoe and other Native Americans through the publication of his diary and exploits

from his three expeditions, during which he interacted with several different Native American groups (Frémont and Smucker 1856). During the second expedition (1843–1845), he interacted with the Washoe somewhat frequently and hired tribal members as guides several times. Though the Washoe helped Frémont and his party, their assistance and show of trust was overshadowed by his prejudice about “Indians” and lack of understanding of the Washoe culture. After he and his Washoe guide were warned by a Washoe elder of the dangers of traversing the Sierra during the winter, Frémont wrote:

(February) 5th. --... Our guide was standing by the fire with all his finery on (payment of cloth and skins for his guiding service); and seeing him shiver in the cold, I threw on his shoulders one of my blankets. We missed him a few minutes afterwards, and never saw him again. He had deserted. His bad faith and treachery were in perfect keeping with the estimate of Indian character, which a long intercourse with this people had gradually forced upon my mind. (Frémont and Smucker 1856, 395)

Makley goes into detail about Frémont’s lack of cultural understanding, highlighting each encounter with the Washoe, and presents the Washoe side of the interactions. In the above case, he notes that in leaving Frémont, the Washoe guide listened to his elders, showing respect for their counsel as is their custom (M. S. Makley 2007).

Frémont thought he understood his guide, because he categorized all Native Americans together as having an “Indian character” created from his experience with Native American tribes across the U.S., experiences that he generalized across all tribes in keeping with the accepted cultural ideologies of the time.

Ascribing Identity Through Colonization

Euro-Americans grappled with issues surrounding Native American subjugation. This was examined in articles published in *Overland Monthly*. By 1900, some considered the

“Indian Problem” mostly over, and the remaining Native Americans—estimated at 250,000 down from 900,000 pre-contact—no longer a threat (Library of Congress 2015). One editorial, written in 1900, was somewhat critical of the Euro-American ideology of Manifest Destiny:

And now, in these later days, we find power asserting its right to push civilization forward, by armed force if necessary, over all the frontiers that face savagery or the half-developments of mankind. In other words, we have adopted, in place of the divine right of kings, the divine right of civilization. The aboriginal man and the tardily evolving man are no longer tolerated (Anonymous 1900, 86).

Yet numerous other articles in the *Overland Monthly* promote the sentiments of expansion, colonization and enlightenment of the “Indians” as a whole. Two examples come from the articles “The Indian Question” and “Civilizing the California Indian.” Huntington, a government agent in the Washington Territory, began a school for the Yakima tribe and described his work as “civilizing and Christianizing the Indian race” (Huntington 1893, 517). Huntington deals with Washington Native Americans, yet the concept and attitude applied to one tribe is the Euro-American attitude toward all Native Americans. This article, though offensive to today’s readers, encapsulates the ideas behind Manifest Destiny both explicit and implicit, as is seen in the last sentence:

Thus protected by the arm of power, they (the Indians) can be taught husbandry, home, domestic purity, religion, and its practical virtues, without which the happiness of the Indians on the one hand and the security of the white men against Indian depredations on the other are impossible. (Huntington 1893, 519)

One decade prior to the Huntington article, Day (1883) wrote about California tribes. He too deals with specific culture groups on one hand while representing them as a generalized whole on the other. His ideas, in line with subjugation of Native Americans generally, are more sympathetic towards Californian Native Americans. Though he

categorizes their current practices of the time as “savage” and “barbarous,” he promotes education, specifically Indian boarding schools, as a way to civilize Native Americans, leading ultimately to their equality: “The true destiny of our California Indians is to become full citizens, with constitutional, legal, and social rights equal to those enjoyed by the whites, or the African or Moorish races born on our soil” (Day 1883, 578).

As did other publications, *The Overland Monthly* generally represented all Native Americans as a single group, subsumed in a generic “Indian” identity. Though different Native American tribes were acknowledged they were placed in a hierarchy as exemplified by James (1915). Makley (2007) surmises the hierarchical characterizations of the Washoe are attributed to the generalized conception of an “Indian” and more specifically to the type of subsistence Native American groups practiced, particularly hunter-gathers with Euro-Americans representing them as “primitive,” “simple,” or “barbaric” (M. S. Makley 2007, 17).²⁰

Beyond Tourist Media: Washoe Cultural Practices and Ascribed Identity

Euro-Americans unquestionably had a lopsided relationship with the Washoe, yet the Washoe too played a part in Euro-Americans’ cultural attitudes toward and misrepresentations applied to them. Part of this lack of understanding of the Washoe, and their marginalization from the historic record, was their small numbers, low profile, confusion with and comparison to their more violence-inclined neighbors and Washoe attitudes toward Euro-Americans.

²⁰ Makley’s dissertation *These Will Be Strong*, explores the subsistence practices of the Washoe and Native American in general as a basis for colonization. As he notes, “The Euro-American understanding of land use became an ‘ideology of conquest.’” (Makley 2007, 80).

Even prior to Euro-American settlement of their lands, the Washoe were a small tribe, estimated to have about 1,500 members. Once contact happened, their numbers plummeted and by the early 1900s they considered themselves to be becoming extinct, with their numbers estimated around 300 (Somerset Publishers 2000, 173).²¹ They attempted to impress this on President Woodrow Wilson by sending him a gift of the highest cultural importance, a Washoe-made basket. Renowned Washoe ethnographer Warren d'Azevedo chronicles the event.

The great importance the Washoe attach to their basket-making tradition is illustrated by a poignant historical event that took place in 1914—just three years after the death of *Gumalanga*, the last Captain Jim.^[22] A group of Washoe leaders prepared yet another petition to the government, listing again the many grievances that had been so long ignored. At the same time Sara Jim Mayo—said to be the daughter of the first Captain Jim (He'nu-keha) who had died in the 1860s—completed a large commemorative basket into which she had woven the figure of an eagle with the wings outspread and the words: NEVADA AND CALIFORNIA... CAPTAIN JAMES, FIRST CHIEF OF THE WASHOE TRIBE... SARAH, I AM HIS DAUGHTER... THIS BASKET IS A SPECIAL CURIO... 1913. It was sent to President Woodrow Wilson along with the petition which stated, in part, "The committee presenting this memento desires that it be kept in the White House as a lasting token of the friendship of the Washoe Tribe towards the Whites, and as a reminder of a tribe now becoming rapidly extinct." Receipt of the gift was acknowledged by the President, but no action was taken. The basket disappeared and only a faded photograph remains to reveal its skilled workmanship and unique design. (d'Azevedo 1993a)²³

Not only does this exemplify the cultural importance of basketry, it points to the diminished Washoe agency and their absorption of Euro-American ascribed identity.

²¹ Makley estimated the Washoe pre-contact numbers between 500 and 1,500 depending on the source (Makley 2007, 64-65). d'Azevedo notes contradictory estimates (d'Azevedo and Sturtevant 1986, 492). James notes their numbers to be approximately 600 in 1915 (G. W. James 1915, 26).

²² "The captains were political leaders of local influence during the period of Washoe basketry florescence" (Cohodas, 1979, 74). d'Azevedo notes Captains were leaders "selected by Whites as spokesmen" (d'Azevedo and Sturtevant 1986, 469)

²³ This is an extended revision of an entry prepared for the encyclopedia, *Native America in the Twentieth Century* (Davis 1994).

Years before the basket was sent to Washington, by the 1870s, the Washoe were considered “forgotten” Indians. Unlike other tribes in Nevada, they didn’t have a reservation, did not receive assistance from the Bureau of Indian Affairs and did not receive compensation for the takeover of their lands, which included depriving them of the riches from the Comstock Lode and the destruction of their traditional food supplies (Merrifield 1957; Forbes 1967).

Merrifield observes, “They were a small group, which might have made it possible to combine them with the Paiutes, except for the fact that the two tribes were hostile toward each other. As a result, the Washoe were left to fend for themselves—a precedent to be followed in the future” (Merrifield 1957, p. 75). Quoting a 1860 report of Indian Affairs, Forbes notes, “The callous policy pursued by the government as regards the Washoes [*sic*] is typified by the following: ‘There is no suitable place for a reservation in the bounds of their territory, and in, in view of their rapidly diminishing numbers and the diseases to which they are subjected, none is required’” (Forbes 1967, 119). The Washoe were a marginalized people inside a group of marginalized people.

Makley (2007) recounts how the Washoe were misrepresented as violent due to an early confusion or conflation with the Northern Paiute by Jacob H. Holeman, an Office of Indian affairs agent for the Utah Territory, in 1851. Holeman along with other Euro-Americans either did not understand, or perhaps care, that the Northern Paiute and the Washoe were two distinct people with adjacent homelands. It may be a mischaracterization to say the Washoe were not circumstantially violent as some accounts show (Auchoberry and King 1984, 19; Angel 1958, 36). Still, violent acts attributed to them were sometimes perpetrated by Euro-Americans or neighboring tribes

(Forbes 1967; M. S. Makley 2007; Angel 1958; d’Azevedo and Sturtevant 1986). In *Nevada Indians Speak*, Forbes (1967) notes the problem of a lack of source material for the Washoe. They were overshadowed—under and misrepresented because there was much more source material about and generated by the Paiutes and Shoshone. Therefore, even for early ethnographers attempting to highlight Washoe-based history, the scarcity of material too accounts for a lopsided historical record preferencing other Nevada Native Americans (Forbes 1967).²⁴ Another small part of this lack of comprehension of the Washoe was their avoidance of Euro-Americans. Due to early encounters with Euro-Americans, Frémont and especially the cannibalistic Donner Party, the Washoe considered the Euro-Americans to be “monstrous” and “inhuman” (M. S. Makley 2007, 58; Nevers 1976, 44).²⁵ Indeed as Nevers (1976) notes, the Washoe were wary of strangers, and this attitude is passed on in oral traditions (Nevers 1976). Therefore, this suspicion of foreigners, augmented by their encounters with Euro-Americans, led to the Washoe’s opinions and avoidance of Euro-Americans. The

²⁴ In his review of *Nevada Indians Speak*, anthropologist Don Fowler is critical of the one-sided nature of the “wrongs and claims” of Nevada’s Native Americans that Forbes recounts (Fowler 1969). However, the Nevada Indian-based viewpoint is the point of the book and acts as a counterbalance to the history reflecting the Euro-American point of view.

²⁵ Frémont recounts several meetings with the Washoe. The first is a surprise encounter, frightening a woman and her children. In the second a man bringing pinenuts is hired as a guide with his companions “who had been waiting to see what reception he would meet with” (379); later they were joined by other Washoe at different times, or encountered Washoe singularly and in groups, who Fremont stated “... appeared to have no fear” (382). Later however, the Washoe were more cautious of Fremont’s party: “29th.-- ...we suddenly found ourselves in presence of eight or ten Indians. They seemed to be watching our motions, and, like the others, at first were indisposed to let us approach, ranging themselves like birds on a fallen log, on the hill-side above our heads, where, being out of our reach, they thought themselves safe. Our friendly demeanor reconciled them, and, when we got near enough, they immediately stretched out to us handfuls of pine-nuts, which seemed an exercise of hospitality. We made them a few presents, and, telling us that their village was a few miles below, they went on to let their people know what we were.” (385) Fremont engaged Washoe guides at various times while in their territory, particularly necessary as his party attempted to cross Washoe territory and the Sierra during the winter. This idea the Washoe thought foolish, and at numerous times encouraged the expedition to camp for the winter, including on February 4, 10 days before sighting Lake Tahoe: “Two Indians joined our party here and one of them, an old man, immediately began to harangue us, saying that ourselves and animals would perish in the snow; and that if we would go back, he would show us another and a better way across the mountain” (Frémont and Smucker 1856, 394).

Washoe were a difficult people to find, and, not just because of their small numbers, they were excellent at avoiding strangers, as highlighted by ethnographer J.W. Hudson 1902 endeavors to find Washoe campsites:

I have never had such difficulty in locating Indians. It was told to me that there are over one hundred [Washoe] Indians in this valley, but I have searched all through this sage brush for miles yet found only seven arbors... . The only sure way to find them is to follow up a stream, necessarily afoot, and search for the water trail in a camp or to patiently follow the visiting Indian when in town to his lair. He will never direct you nor explain anything at any price... ." (M. S. Makley 2007, 60)

Though Euro-American ignorance of Native Americans was the rule in the nineteenth and twentieth-centuries, the misrepresentation of the Washoe was augmented by their avoidance of strangers. They were not part of Euro-American society and they were suspicious of it. It is unlikely that increased interactions with Euro-Americans would have changed the identities ascribed to the Washoe.²⁶ No matter the realities of the Washoe and other Native American groups, they were viewed through a nineteenth-century Euro-American-centric lens and their representation reflected this.

Summary

Native American stereotypes were first created when the first wave of Euro-Americans colonized the east, coming into contact with Eastern and Plains Native Americans and the colonists' characterizations spread beyond New England (Cronon 1983). The subsequent interactions, along with Euro-American ideologies, created a generic

²⁶ Frémont chronicles his interactions with the Washoe in 1844: "(January) 19th.—A great number of smokes are still visible this morning, attesting at once the alarm our appearance had spread among these people, and their ignorance of us. If they knew the whites, they would understand that their only object in coming among them was to trade, which required peace and friendship ; but they have nothing to trade — consequently, nothing to attract the white man ; hence their fear and flight." pg 377
Fremont's expedition was first approached by a Washoe man offering pinenuts (though Fremont did not recognize this as a special gift prized by the Washoe). Later the expedition was approached and watched by several groups of Washoe.

“Indian” identity that indiscriminately and often mistakenly applied cultural practices of particular tribes to all Native Americans. Euro-Americans needed to create an image of the Native American “other” as a rationale for their actions to shape the emerging U.S. in their self-image (Pratt 2007).

Euro-American ethnocentrism of the mid-1800s explains how the Washoe, along with all Native Americans, were stereotyped, and these stereotypes linger. Noted Washoe ethnographer James Downs espoused these stereotypes in some form even in the 1960s (Downs 1966). The Washoe were seen as evolutionarily inferior, in large part because their subsistence and land use practices were so different from Euro-American practices. The photograph, "Digger Indian Weaving Baskets Near Bay View Resort, Lake Tahoe, Calif" illustrates this (Figure 5.5 and 5.6). “Digger” is a derogatory term used to categorize Great Basin and California Native Americans and their practice of digging up edible roots and other foodstuffs (Lonnberg 1981; Lowie 1939). Their supposed inferiority was the rationalization for colonization, subjugation and Christianization. Though later scientists, journalists and other people felt they had a true picture of the Washoe, the Euro-American late nineteenth-century cultural biases colored scholarship and cultural attitudes well into the late twentieth-century (Powers 1975; Price 1980; Cohodas 1979; Downs 1966).²⁷

²⁷ In *Degikup*, written in 1979, Cohodas’s characterization of the Washoe prospering due to compromises with Euro-Americans shows racial biases (Cohodas 1979, 11). According to Makley (2007, 49), Price “glosses over” the rich cultural knowledge of the Washoe, categorizing them simplistically as hunter-gathers, whereas Downs also reveals a bias when he says that the Washoe share an affinity with “early man.”



Figure 5.5: “Digger Indian Weaving Baskets Near Bay View Resort, Lake Tahoe, Calif.” No date. Black and white photographic print. Courtesy of the Lake Tahoe Historical Society. The Washoe woman is likely Susan Jackson, identified in the photograph in Figure 5.6.



Figure 5.6: “Susan Jackson Indian Basket Weaver.” No date. Black and white photographic print. Lake Tahoe Historical Society web resources. Available from http://www.laketahomuseum.org/online_gallery.html. (Accessed 01/27/2014).

Chapter 6: Washoe Identity and Lake Tahoe Tourist Landscapes



Figure 6.1: “Indian Basket Makers.” Date unknown. Black and white photographic print. Mildred Watson Collins Collection. Courtesy of the North Lake Tahoe Historical Society.

For the Washoe, the confusion and convergence of the individual tribe with the representations of a multifaceted generic “Indian” identity discussed in Chapter 5 is expressed in their media representations, as well as in the tourist landscapes of Lake Tahoe over time. This chapter illustrates how the Washoe are part of the tourist landscapes at Lake Tahoe and how the Washoe’s part in tourism reflects the nineteenth-century Euro-American ethos regarding concepts of conquest, colonization and subjugation. Importantly, the Washoe’s use of tourism shows Washoe agency in the tourist landscapes and looks beyond the skewed, Euro-American authored history of Lake Tahoe that marginalizes the Washoe. The Washoe were forced into a necessary relationship with Euro-Americans and worked for them in the tourist industry, including at resorts and in summer homes.

The Washoe exemplify the reciprocal impacts of tourism. From Euro-American contact to the first part of the twentieth-century, the Washoe were part of the service economy of tourism at Lake Tahoe—they produced tourist goods, worked as laborers, domestics, fisherman, hunters and horseback-riding guides, and retained traditional cultural practices, if in altered forms. Viewed solely through a nineteenth-century Euro-American lens, the Washoe were represented as stereotypical, subjugated and uncivilized generic “Indians” on the margins of Euro-American society. Tourism, seen as a colonizing force, reinforced negative stereotypes of indigenous workers and placed them in the role of servant. Viewed through a modern lens, the Washoe had agency within the tourist landscapes. The Washoe were hired for their expert skills and knowledge of Lake Tahoe, its flora and fauna. Their expertise was prized and sought after, in the intangible heritage of the knowledge of their land and also tangible heritage including their famed basketry.

The reciprocity of tourism explores how the practice of Euro-American tourism alters Washoe cultural heritage. The Washoe respond and adapt, creating new and altered cultural heritage, ultimately leading to new and altered self-identities. For the Washoe, tourism is both a force of domination and a tool of survivance, which is demonstrated in the tourist media and expressed in the landscapes of Lake Tahoe.

In this chapter, the Washoe, their representations and their cultural heritage are discussed in context of tourist landscapes and Washoe agency within them. The first half of this chapter explores the Euro-American-ascribed generic “Indian” identity of the nineteenth and early twentieth-century. The second half of this chapter, beginning with

the “Indian New Deal” of 1935, examines the formation of pan-Indian, pan-Nevada Indian and Washoe identities.

Forming Tourist Landscapes: Euro-American Contact to 1935

Tourism at Lake Tahoe followed a similar path during much of the nineteenth and twentieth-centuries in Europe and the United States. Industrialization enabled more time and money for leisure pursuits (Towner 1996; Smith and Brent 2001; Gmelch 2004b; Leiper 1979). At Lake Tahoe, the industrial infrastructure enabled Euro-American tourist landscapes. Industrialization, in the form of mining and lumber, brought Euro-American tourists to the shores in 1859 when Dean and Lampham opened the first shoreline waystation,²⁸ known under various names including the Lake House, on the south shore of Lake Tahoe in what today is known as AI Tahoe in South Lake Tahoe, California (Scott 1957, 203; Vestal 2013). Tourist media, including photographs and prints, represented the industrialization that enabled the practice of tourism at Lake Tahoe (see Figure 6.2, 6.3 and 6.4). The Bonanza Wagon Road, precariously skirting the edge of Cave Rock, was constructed along the eastern side of the lake to accommodate the throngs of fortune seekers heading for the Comstock silver mines and was featured in postcards and photographs (Vestal 2013; Obermayer 2005; Larson 2008).

²⁸ This resort is known under various names as Van Wagoner’s Hotel, Dean and Martin’s Station, Lake House (hence its confusion with Lake Shore House at Glenbrook), Lake Bigler House, Rowland’s Lake House and Station, and in post cards is noted as AI Tahoe (Scott 1957).



Figure 6.2: “Horses pulling carriages on an old dirt road, Cave Rock, Lake Tahoe, Nevada, 1860s.” Black and white photographic print. Free Historical Stock Photos. Available from http://www.historicalstockphotos.com/details/photo/166_horse_drawn_carriages_lake_tahoe.

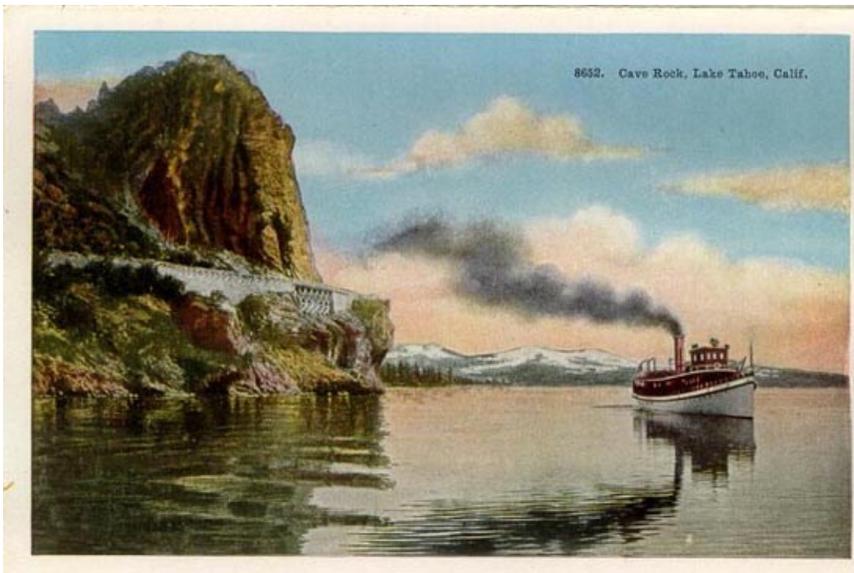


Figure 6.3: “Cave Rock, Lake Tahoe, Calif.” c. 1915. Postcard. Courtesy of the North Lake Tahoe Historical Society. Cave Rock and the Steamer Tahoe with Bonanza Wagon Road in the background. Original black and white photograph taken by Putnam and Valentine.



Figure 6.4: Lake Tahoe Railway and the Steamer Tahoe at the Tahoe Tavern Pier. c. 1910. Black and white photographic print. Courtesy of the North Lake Tahoe Historical Society.

Because of the timber industry, the shores of Lake Tahoe were sprinkled with logging camps and settlements, many with various tourist amenities. Two ledgers and two day-books in the North Lake Tahoe Historical Society library chronicle early lake shore settlements, commerce and tourism (McKinney 1889a; McKinney 1889b; McKinney 1890; McKinney 1864). The accounts of John McKinney detail goods and services for Lake Tahoe-based businesses and now famous Euro-American residents. The types of services he listed include mail delivery, fares paid on the steamer *Governor Stanford*, groceries and raw building materials, with the earliest entry dating to 1864 (McKinney 1864; McKinney 1889a). One of McKinney's day books also contains a partial register for the Tahoe Hotel in Tahoe City from May 1886 to July 1886 and May 1887 to October 1887 (McKinney 1864). The day book details the names of guests, where they hailed from (the farthest afield were Kansas City and New York City) and occasionally how long they stayed (McKinney 1864, 172–198). What these two ledgers and day books show is a bustling Lake Tahoe economy, how many visitors and

business people moved in and around the lake and the amount of commerce taking place as early as the 1860s. They also reveal the names of settlements that either began as or later became tourist resorts and summer-home enclaves, including McKinney's. McKinney's Resort (Figure 6.5), owned and operated by John McKinney of the ledgers, later became Chambers Lodge, now called Chambers Landing, began in 1862 or 1891-2 depending on the source (Scott 1957, 81; G. W. James 1915, 206). It was one the many resorts on the steamer circuit around the lake, first built to accommodate sportsmen in the "Hunter's Retreat" that accommodated "...Nevada's mining nabobs, who were drawn by what was claimed to be the finest hunting and fishing found in the Sierra Nevada" (Scott 1957, 83). Euro-American settlers settled Washoe land, and the Washoe seasonal campsites and food processing areas that once ringed Lake Tahoe's shores became cities, resorts, and summer-home sites, including tourist accommodations of all types and for all budgets.



Figure 6.5: McKinney's Resort. c. 1890. Black and white photographic print. Courtesy of the North Lake Tahoe Historical Society.

Tourist Attractions Producing Tourist Landscapes

Unlike Hoelscher's (2008) Ho-chunk of the Wisconsin Dells, the Washoe were not cultivated as the main tourist attractions themselves, except for Dat So La Lee who is discussed in Chapter 7. The primary attractions were the astonishing beauty of the lake itself and the sporting and recreational opportunities it afforded. Yet because the Washoe remained at Lake Tahoe, they became part of the tourism landscapes, as a means of survivance, featured in tourist postcards, photographs and guidebooks (G. W. James 1915; MacDonald 1929; Larson 2008). Washoe representations were consumed as part of the practice of tourism at Lake Tahoe; they were a commodity, produced tourist goods and were employees of the tourism infrastructure as well.

The Washoe were iconic of one type of tourism and landscape Urry (1992) and Sears (1989) discuss, that of the romantic tourist preferencing nature and romanticized wilderness landscapes. Romantic tourism was a new form of tourism of the late nineteenth-century, because the North American wilderness became to be seen as uniquely American and as or more valuable than European landscapes (Sears 1989; Hyde 1990; Urry 1990). As the land was conquered and explored, it was no longer represented as a dangerous threat, but as something of value that was tamed. Native Americans were part of the tamed wilderness to be explored. Part of the process of taming the wilderness was the practice of tourism and representing it in the media (Towner 1996; Urry 1990; Ballengee-Morris 2002; Hyde 1990; Neel 1996; Hoelscher 2008). Tourist destinations were shaped by the tourists themselves, imparting their values onto the tourist landscapes, highlighting the reciprocity of tourism in the formation of tourist landscapes (Towner 1996; Smith and Brent 2001; Knudsen, Soper, and Metro-Roland 2007; Urry 1990).

Once the wilderness and the indigenous people associated with it were no longer threatening, they became tourist attractions, with one facet of the generic “Indian” identity, “the vanishing race,” considered novelties (Hoelscher 2008). The Washoe were truly vanished from the landscape in some of the early guide books, as they focus on the wilderness, beauty and healthful benefits of Lake Tahoe, not mentioning the Washoe at all (Crofutt 1878; Anonymous 1884; Chittenden 1884; Durey 1913; Wood 1908). The Washoe could be seen as a novelty in the tourist landscapes, both because of their small numbers and also because they were not the main tourist draw—Lake Tahoe was. Although a small part of the Lake Tahoe experience, the Washoe were marketed—produced and consumed, via post cards, tourist shop brochures and sometimes guide books (Bibby, Givens, and Larson 2010; G. W. James 1915). The idealized version of generic “Indians” as part of Lake Tahoe appealed to the late nineteenth-century Euro-American tourist who sought health, novelty, luxury, a wilderness experience, marvels of industrialization and scenic beauty.

Via the practice of tourism, the tourists and the tourist attractions both produce tourism and are a production of tourism—both perform tourism. Tourism as performance has been put forward as a more active way to examine the reciprocal nature of tourism beyond the tourist gaze in order to better understand the increase in and pressure on tourist destinations from tourism for novelty and authenticity (Perkins and Thorns 2001; MacCannell 1976; Gmelch 2004b). Thus, the Washoe and the clarity of the lake were produced and represented within the Lake Tahoe tourist landscapes as novel and authentic attractions. Both were subjects of tourist photography, yet the Washoe were less well represented in the written media, while the beauties of Lake

Tahoe were extolled (G. W. James 1915; MacDonald 1929; LeConte 1883). Indeed if the Washoe were represented, especially in the nineteenth-century, it was a pejorative Euro-American representation of the generic “Indian” (Edwards 1883; MacDonald 1929). This pejorative representation can be seen in the 1918 *Overland Monthly* article, “Indian Legends for Profit.” Its derogatory introduction begins with “Where is the Indian of yesterday? In the moving pictures—only in the moving pictures” (Brandeis 1918). The article is about how “real” “Indians” as described in “Fennimore Cooper’s tales” are nearly gone (except the “dirty, shapeless, lazy hanger-on”) and are incorporated into Euro-American society (Brandeis 1918, 1). This shows Euro-American nostalgia for the generic “Indian” of bygone days. Yet the main focus of the article is the Washoe creation legend of Lake Tahoe. Therefore, examined through a twenty-first century lens, the article exemplifies a degree of Washoe agency in both Lake Tahoe and tourist landscapes.

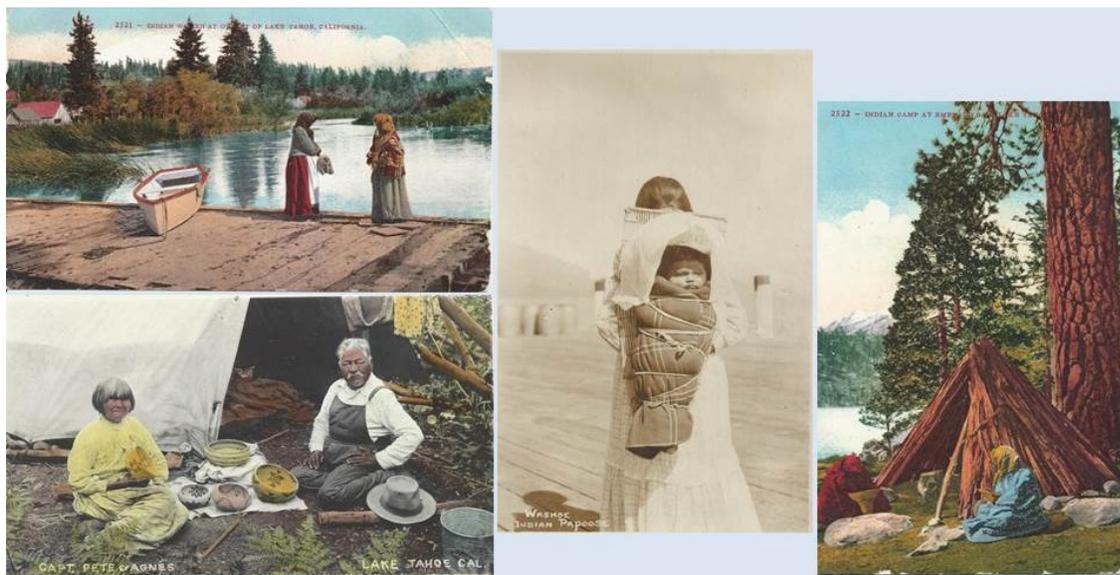


Figure 6.6: A selection of postcards depicting Washoe tribal members. Only the sepia tone postcard denotes the name Washoe, and the bottom left postcard names the two subjects Captain Pete and Agnes. Postcard collage created by the author. Postcards Courtesy of the Lake Tahoe Historical Society.

By 1901, Lake Tahoe had a variety of resorts that could accommodate all levels of tourism, including two sumptuous tourist hotels on opposite shores (G. W. James 1915; Scott 1957). Baldwin's Tallac House, built on the site of Yank Clement's first lake shore hotel, and the Tahoe Tavern, which the Bliss family built in Tahoe City on the north shore, rivaled east coast hotels (Durey 1913; G. W. James 1915; Scott 1957; Scott 1973). The Washoe worked at these resorts and at others, as well as in summer homes around the lake (MacDonald 1929; Peden 1993). Several Washoe individuals, occasionally identified, are represented in tourist guides, postcards or photos at several resorts around Lake Tahoe (G. W. James 1915; MacDonald 1929; Cohodas 1979). Captain Pete and Agnes, identified in one post card in Figure 6.6, are two of the most prominent, as seen in Figures 6.8 and 6.9. "Captain Pete and Agnes were well known figures throughout Tahoe and Carson Valley. Known for promoting 'white' ways, he frequently presented himself as a spokesman and representative of the Washoe"(Blanchard and Lindström 2003, 6). Photos place them primarily on the north shore and Rucks and Lindstrom's 2007 ethnographic study places them at Homewood as well (P. Rucks and Lindström 2007). It may be easy to confuse Captain Pete and Agnes with Captain Pete Mayo and his wife, noted basket maker, Sara Mayo, pictured at Al Tahoe on the South Shore in Figure 6.7. Often the Captains Pete are referred to as such, so it is difficult to identify them without their last names or spouses.²⁹

²⁹ The identification of Sarah Mayo was from the UNR Special Collections website Images of Lake Tahoe ("Images of Lake Tahoe" 2015). d'Azevedo discusses the two Captain Petes (d'Azevedo and Sturtevant 1986). Identifying individual people is difficult because through time, some photographs have been misidentified and this misidentification lingers in scholarship.



Figure 6.7: “Capt. Pete and Sarah Mayo, center front, Al Tahoe Inn.” 1915. Black and white photographic print. Courtesy of the North Lake Tahoe Historic Society. Note the baskets at Sarah Mayo’s feet.



Figure 6.8: Two Photographs of Captain Pete and Agnes. c. 1920. Black and white photographic prints. Courtesy of the North Lake Tahoe Historical Society.



Figure 6.9: “Washoe Captain Pete and his wife Agnes seated on a bedrock mortar that was remove from Lake Tahoe’s outlet in 1924.” Black and white photographic print. Courtesy of the North Lake Tahoe Historical Society. Source: Blanchard and Lindström 2003, 6.

Photographs of the Washoe were taken both by Euro-Americans to document their holidays and professional photographers and companies who produced images of Lake Tahoe and the Washoe for the tourist market including: Putnam and Valentine, Lawrence and Houseworth, R. J. Waters, Watkins and Benning (Goin, Raymond, and Blesse 1992; Bell 2000; Larson 2008). These photographs importantly document Washoe tribal members retaining their cultural heritage, if in altered forms, while integrated into the tourist landscapes of the resorts.

In addition to the other photographs in this chapter, another example is the photo of Emerald Bay (Figure 6.10) that shows a traditional Washoe winter home, *galais dungal*, adjacent to the tourist boat dock and resort. Tourist images point to an identifiable Washoe identity, especially in the instances where the tribe’s name was

used in the images, yet reinforce their hierarchy within Euro-American society. Not surprisingly, many photos, not featuring Lake Tahoe itself, depict Washoe basketry and their makers as seen in Figures 6.1, 6.6-6.9. Basketry is clearly important to and iconic of Washoe cultural heritage.

Lake Tahoe tourist art became synonymous with Washoe basketry, especially through the marketing efforts of Carson City and Tahoe City based curio shop owners, Abe and Amy Cohen (Cohodas 1979; Cohodas 1982; G. W. James 1915; Mason 1988; G. W. James 1901). Therefore, we see Washoe cultural heritage producing one type of tourist landscape, the basketry landscape of Lake Tahoe, discussed in Chapter 7.



Figure 6.10: Steamer Tahoe at Emerald Bay Resort. No date. Black and white photographic print. Courtesy of the North Lake Tahoe Historical Society.

Generic “Indians” in the Tourist Landscape

Tourist resorts, including the *May-Ah-Mee Lodge* promoted the generic “Indian” at Lake Tahoe. They represent the generic “Indian” identity of tomahawks and tipis, headdresses and horses rather than the Washoe (Martin 2014).³⁰ May-Ah-Mee Lodge’s promotional pamphlet notes:

The name Tahoe is of Indian origin and means “Big Water”,³¹ ...“MAY-AH-MEE— This name is also of Indian origin meaning “On the Shore of Big Waters” which is an appropriate name for a lodge on the shore of a lake such as Tahoe.”
(Anonymous)

The pamphlet represents a pastiche of designs from Plains and Southwest Native American cultures, as well as what appears to be a made up “Indian” language—non representative of Washoe cultural heritage.

³⁰ In a Lake Tahoe Historical Society sponsored program, longtime South Lake Tahoe resident Jack Martin recalls a 1960’s era tourist shop in Meyers the “Twin Teepee’s” that sold “Indian” curios, especially things not from the area or associated with the Washoe including spears with a bamboo handle with a rubber tip and fake feather (Martin 2014).

³¹ Though this meaning of the word Tahoe can be found in literature including LeConte, the meaning of the word in the Washoe language is “the lake” with Tahoe being a mispronunciation of the Washoe word for lake, *Da ow* (The Washoe Cultural Office 2009, p.5).

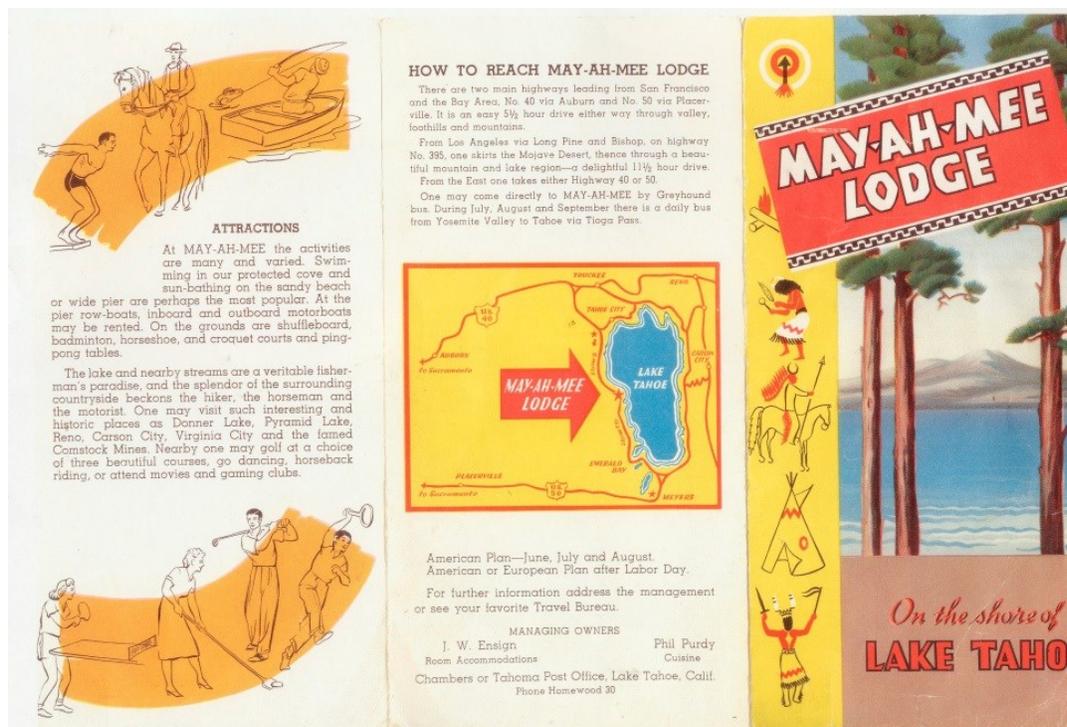


Figure 6.11: May-Ah-Mee Lodge Promotional Pamphlet Verso. No Date. Color photograph of the document. Courtesy of the North Lake Tahoe Historical Society.



Figure 6.12: May-Ah-Mee Lodge Promotional Pamphlet Recto. No Date. Color photograph of the document. Courtesy of the North Lake Tahoe Historical Society.

The Washoe Motel fits within the generic “Indian” stereotype at Lake Tahoe. The motel’s neon sign in Figure 6.13 represents a generic “Indian” with a feathered headdress and tomahawks—attributes not originally associated with the Washoe.



Figure 6.13: The Washoe Motel, South Lake Tahoe, CA. 2014. Digital image. Image taken by the author.

One of the few locations at Lake Tahoe with a Washoe-derived name, a popular tourist beach at Tallac Point was renamed for a Southwest Indian structure, a Kiva. This re-naming of Tallac Point as Kiva Point in the 1960s emphasizes how a generic “Indian” identity could still supplant the Washoe identity into the end of the twentieth-century, even by the United States Forest Service (U. S. Forest Service) as this site remains under Forest Service management to date.

The name Kiva Point is a misnomer applied only a few decades ago. Tallac Point was renamed Kiva Point for a circular rock-lined fountain within the Tallac Resort Hotel Complex, which resembles the prehistoric semi-subterranean structure, or kiva, of the American Southwest. Tallac Point is the name supported

in the historic literature and the name that survives in the informant's memories. Therefore, the original name, Tallac Point, is retained in this report as it more appropriately reflects the rich ethnographic and historic tradition of the Tahoe Basin. (Lindström 1985, i)

This transposition of one Native American culture into another is yet another example of generic "Indian" identity being produced and reworked in the Lake Tahoe tourist landscapes up to the present. Tallac Point is the Washoe-derived name of the area, yet there is a designated Kiva Picnic area and Kiva Beach noted on U.S. Forest Service maps and on the website (U.S. Forest Service 2015).

One image that has had a lasting impact on the conflation of Washoe cultural identity with a generic "Indian" identity, and was the inspiration for this section, is this image titled "Indian Camp at Emerald Bay, Lake Tahoe" (Figure 6.14). I have puzzled over this photograph for some years. I have seen it in Lake Tahoe tourist shops, local frame shops and in homes and businesses at Lake Tahoe. A casual or uninformed viewer sees "Indian" cultural artifacts—totem poles and tipis. What is more "Indian" than that?

As an art conservator working extensively with Native American artifacts, I know the "Indian" artifacts in the photo are not culturally associated with the Washoe. Totem poles are a Northwest Coast Native American tradition, and tipis are primarily associated with Plains Indian traditions. The only aspect of the image that is associated with the Washoe cultural heritage is Lake Tahoe. So why was this generic "Indian" pastiche created that now is mistakenly symbolic of Washoe cultural traditions? "Indian Camp at Emerald Bay, Lake Tahoe" is a photo still for the Jeanette MacDonald and Nelson Eddy movie *Rose Marie* (Vernon 1980; Vernon and Vernon 1935). The movie,

filmed at Lake Tahoe in 1935, depicts an “Indian” culture somewhere in the Canadian Rockies as a backdrop for the movie and features the famous “Indian Love Song” (Figure 6.16) (Vernon and Vernon 1935). The beginning of Brandeis’ “Indian Legends for Profit” is strangely prophetic—“Where is the Indian of yesterday? In the moving pictures—only in the moving pictures” (Brandeis 1918, 1). Many of the extras in the movie were indeed local Native Americans. According to Vernon and Vernon (1935), who were press agents for the film, over 200 Native Americans, including Washoe tribal members (one being Captain Pete) were employed for the scenes featuring Native Americans. Ethel and Judge (Bill) Vernon’s personal photos, press release and professional photos of the making of *Rose Marie* are in the North Lake Tahoe Historical Society collections; a few are on the following pages (see Figure 6.16, 6.17 and 6.18).

Removed from the context of the movie, however, this image has become incorrectly iconic of the Washoe, as is seen in the *Pope Estate Historic Preservation Plan*, a Master’s thesis written in 2006. The section about the history of the estate mentions early Washoe habitation and uses the publicity photo from *Rose Marie* as an illustration with the caption: “Historic photograph of the Washoe Native American camp at Emerald Bay, no date” (Figure 6.15) (McCloskey 2006, 4).



Figure 6.14: "Indian Camp at Lake Tahoe." 1935. Black and white photographic print. Courtesy of the North Lake Tahoe Historical Society. This pastiche of at least three Native American cultures still impacts Washoe cultural identity and scholarship today.



Image 2.01 - Historic photograph of the Washoe Native American camp at Emerald Bay, no date

THE WASHOE

The first inhabitants of the Tahoe basin were the Washoe Native Americans. Every summer the Washoe returned to the lake to escape the heat of Carson Valley in Nevada. The name "Tahoe" is thought to be derived from the words "da-ow-a-ga", which in the Washoe language means "edge of the lake."¹

THE DISCOVERY OF LAKE TAHOE

The first sighting of Lake Tahoe, by non-native people, took place on February 14, 1844 by John Charles Fremont. It was the discovery of gold in 1848 that brought an increase in traffic through the basin, however Lake Tahoe was passed by in route to mines in California.² It wasn't until 1851 that permanent settlement first began in the area. Martin Smith became the first basin settler when he built a way station at the site of the modern town of Meyers. In 1859 the property was sold to Ephraim B. "Yank" Clement. When Yank Clement sold the property in 1873 to George H. D. Meyers he and his wife moved a few miles north to the south shore of Lake Tahoe.³

¹ Tallac Historic Site "USDA Forest Service Volunteer Handbook" (South Lake Tahoe, California: United States Forest Service, Tallac Historic Site, no date), 26

² U.S. Forest Service "South Lake Tahoe Estates: An Historical Study" (South Lake Tahoe, California: United States Forest Service, Tallac Historic Site, 1973, Photocopied), 3

³ USFS, 4

Figure 6.15: "Historic photograph of the Washoe Native American camp at Emerald Bay, no date." 2006. Digital scan of the original report. Source: McCloskey 2006, 4. Image shows lack of understanding of Washoe cultural heritage and the generic "Indian" identity in scholarship today.

ROSE MARIE

THE HIGH SIERRA WENT CANADIAN

Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer of Hollywood filmed the Rudolph Friml operated at Carnelian Bay, Emerald Bay, Cascade Lake, Five Lakes and Tahoe City in the fall of 1935 after Labor Day. The cast with two stars, Jeannette MacDonald and Nelson Eddy, were housed at Chambers Lodge, halfway point between the locations.

The total cast (including James Stewart) required many Indians and busses were sent into the Carson Valley for all the Washo and Paiute who were willing to be in the movie. There was said to be no decliners. The final count was two hundred. Camps were established at Camp Richardson beach and at Rubicon Point. Al Richardson and Carl Bechdolt, Sr. of the Tahoe Inn fed the two camps. Carl Bechdolt was the deputy constable so it was his duty to see that no trouble occurred between the Washo and Paiute tribes.

At Carnelian Bay sets were built to simulate Canadian wilds and a village on a river where Jeannette MacDonald and her guide, played by George Regas, arrived on a river boat. It was the steamer 'Nevada', renamed, coming along the shore. There was a simulated Canadian drug store, a Mounties headquarters and a Canadian village with many Indians, some in everyday dress and others in native costume.

Carnelian Bay was just a prelude to what was to come at Emerald Bay where the troupe moved after a week at Carnelian Bay. Dozens of totem poles of Canadian Indian design lined the west side of the entrance to the bay. More Indians in colorful dress were brought from Los Angeles. The Corn Dance was the featured filming as shown in pictures with both gaiety and reverence.

The picture ended in a sentimental mood. Jeannette pretending anger, went into the mountains. Mouny, Nelson Eddy went to find her singing the "Indian Love Call". His baritone voice echoed from the mountain side. Miss MacDonald heard and answered, "I hear you calling me", words of the song, and they sang in unison. The filming was not completed at Lake Tahoe. If you have seen the picture, it was completed in a hospital where Miss MacDonald was shown as ill.

Judge Vernon and his wife, Ethel, covered the filming as press agents.

Figure 6.16: "Press Release for Rose Marie." 1935. Color photograph of the document. Courtesy of the North Lake Tahoe Historical Society.



Figure 6.17: "Captain Pete in Rose Marie." 1935. Black and white photographic print. Courtesy of the North Lake Tahoe Historical Society.



Figure 6.18: "Some of the 225 Indians Employed by Metro Goldwin and Mayer Co." 1935. Black and white photographic print. Courtesy of the North Lake Tahoe Historical Society.

The Washoe are the original Native American inhabitants of Lake Tahoe with a language and cultural heritage unique to the region (d'Azevedo and Sturtevant 1986).

Their unique cultural identity was mostly subsumed by a generic “Indian” identity ascribed to them by the Euro-American settlers and subsequent tourists via the practice of tourism, from Euro-American contact to the first part of the twentieth-century. Vestiges of the generic “Indian” identity diminish through time, can have positive associations, yet remain. However, ascribed identities are hard to remove, and the media and popular culture perpetuated the multifaceted generic “Indian” stereotype through time.

Media depictions, especially images are powerful, and the written media of the era illustrate Euro-Americans’ attempts to justify their actions. By ascribing a generic “Indian” identity, along with a misunderstood Washoe identity, to the Washoe, it dehumanizes the Washoe and marginalizes their cultural heritage. In the written media and in the tourist landscapes, the generic “Indian” identity supplants the individual Washoe identity, as seen in the reciprocity of tourism model in Figure 6.19. The tourist images and tourist landscapes have a similar narrative, yet can tell a different story. Examined one way, they represent Euro-Americans’ domination of individual Native American tribes and cultural heritage. Examined another way, they represent Euro-Americans’ fascination with Native American cultures: multiple cultures they attempted to eradicate, subjugate, and exploit; taming the savage and wild(ernes) and representing them as safe for settlement and tourism. Examined in other ways (Figure 6.20), they represent Washoe agency, adjusting and adapting to new cultural systems, reworking Euro-American tools of dominance that the Washoe used to sustain their cultural heritage and presence at Lake Tahoe. All are found in the tourist landscapes and media of Lake Tahoe.

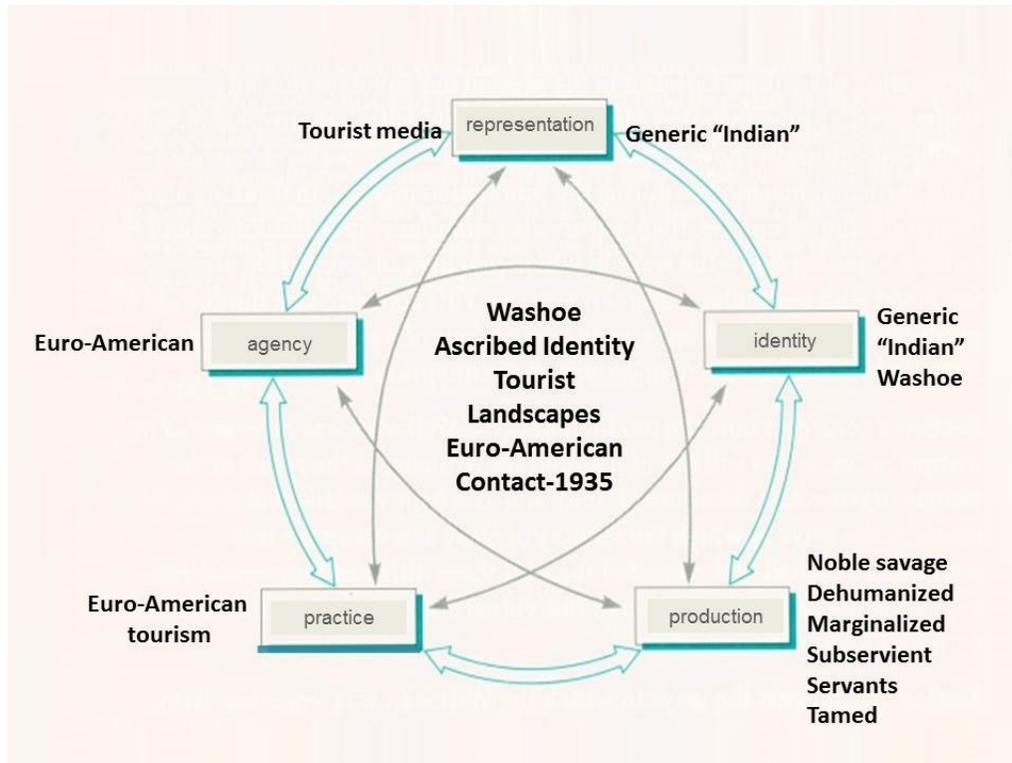


Figure 6.19: Washoe Ascribed Identity in Tourist Landscapes Euro-American Contact-1935 Model.

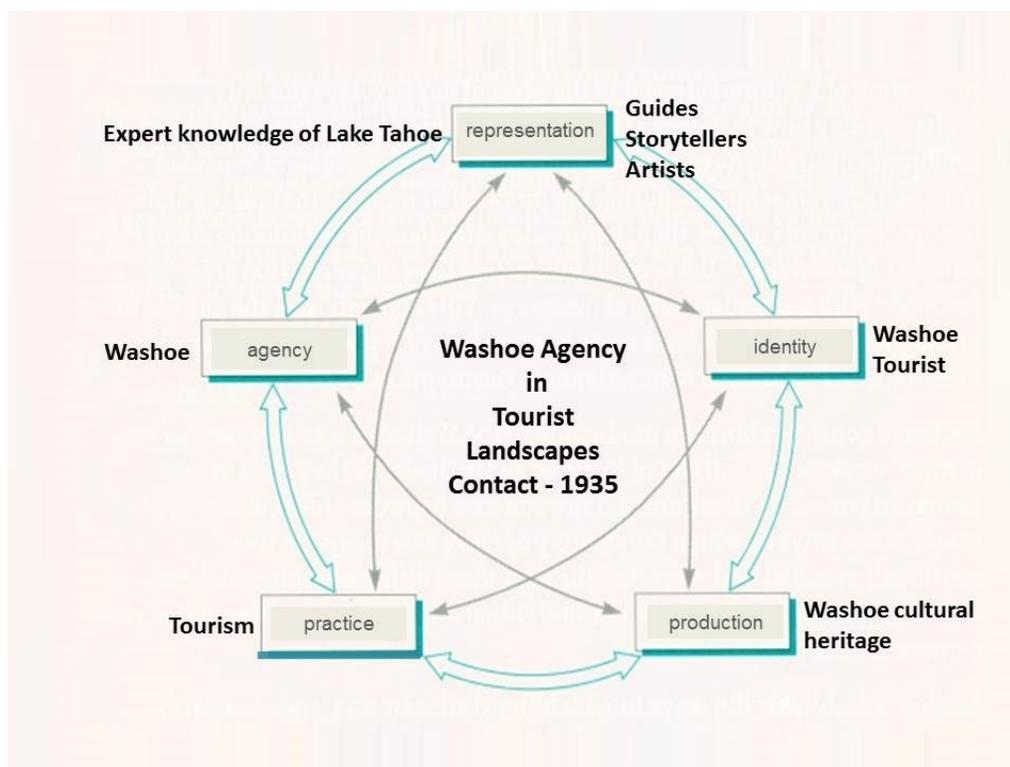


Figure 6.20: Washoe Agency in the Tourist Landscapes Euro-American contact-1935 Model.

Transitions in Tourist Literature

Nineteenth and twentieth-century scientific and popular media have helped forge a collective Euro-American consciousness of the time. The West was to become part of the United States; it was a frontier destined to be explored, conquered and exploited; and it was America's duty to do so. America and Euro-Americans would bring "civilization" to the "Indians." In the forward to the *Encyclopedia of Nevada Indians* (2000), the editors note that writing about the first Americans "collectively called Indians" had an "impersonal character of a naturalist's description of strange fauna," and that it "projected an image of rude people waiting to be led out of darkness into the light" (Somerset Publishers 2000, v). "Enlightened" Euro-Americans would encourage Native Americans to give up their cultural practices for those of the Euro-Americans; and learn how to exploit their resources and be productive members of an American society. This

concept of indoctrinating Native Americans into American culture seemed simple at first, yet attempts at subjugation proved otherwise—the “Indian Problem” was not so easily solved. A revised method to deal with “Indians” was found in the form of acculturation. Subjugation meant forcing Native Americans to accept Euro-Americans’ cultural practices; acculturation strongly encouraged Native Americans to adopt Euro-American cultural practices, while somewhat encouraging Native American cultural heritage (Thompson 2013).³²

The tourist literature represents changing attitudes towards Native Americans and also perpetuates old ones. The negative stereotypes applied to the Washoe linger even today (M. S. Makley 2007; Downs 1966; Cohodas 1979). As discussed previously, tourist publications, particularly those in print, marginalize the Washoe. In many cases, one would not know that there is a Native American culture group associated with Lake Tahoe.³³ Most early tourist publications, including Crofutt (1878) and Chittenden (1884), do not mention the Washoe at all, representing the attitudes of the era. Indeed one could read the absence of the Washoe and Native Americans in general from the literature as a desired outcome of colonization and subjugation (Chittenden 1884; Crofutt 1878; Durey 1913; Anonymous 1884). What the authors did highlight, including *Lake of the Sky* author George Wharton James (1915) and *Lake Tahoe California* author Claire MacDonald, were the transportation routes to and around Lake Tahoe, tourist amenities, the healthful benefits of Lake Tahoe and high-end resorts worthy of

³² Makley gives an excellent in-depth overview of the history of the American attitude toward Native Americans and it’s “pendulum swing” from subjugation to acculturation.

³³ I presented a paper in London, England in 2014 about my research, and several audience members related their ignorance of Washoe ties to Lake Tahoe. And surprisingly, one told me of his yearly family vacations to Lake Tahoe from the Bay Area of California- noting in all those years staying in the Tahoe City, CA area he had never heard about the Washoe.

Gilded Age travelers (G. W. James 1915; Durey 1913; Chittenden 1884; Crofutt 1870; MacDonald 1929). Though MacDonald criticizes James for being full of “dry statistics and it rambles over every near-by place”, she too deals with many places and transportation routes (MacDonald 1929, 5). She barely mentions the Washoe, referring to them as “Indians,” but like so many others has a full-page picture of Susie, a noted Washoe basket weaver. The Euro-American attitude toward “Indians” is obvious in MacDonald’s description of Susie:

Frequently Indians are stumbled over who weave baskets and refuse to be photographed without pay. Sometimes they have pine-nuts to sell. Susie let me have her picture, as she used to be our laundress at Tallac and remembers my antics. "Make heap good book," she advised me, anxious that her Washoe tribe be described. (MacDonald 1929, 26)

MacDonald honors this request by describing a dog, "Tahoe Tip," as being “smarter than the Indians” (MacDonald 1929, 30).

Edwards’ *Tourists’ Guide and Directory of Truckee Basin*, published in 1883, also mentions both generic “Indians” and the Washoe in stereotypically negative ways—concurrent with the prevailing attitudes of the era. His guide seems to have been the basis of Chittenden’s *Health seekers’, tourists’ and sportsmen’s guide to the sea-side, lake-side, foothill, mountain and mineral spring health and pleasure resorts of the Pacific coast guide*, as many of the illustrations are the same as well as the descriptions—minus discussions of “Indians” (Edwards 1883; Chittenden 1884).

Twentieth-century tourist literature is mixed in representing the Washoe. General guides to California or Nevada might be excused from more than a cursory mention of the Washoe, while one might expect Lake Tahoe-centered publications to represent the Washoe more fully. Yet this is not the case; discussions of Washoe links to Lake Tahoe

appear not to be tied to the breadth of the geography covered in the publications but to the interests of the authors and publishers (Bell 2000; Castleman 2001; Elving 1971; Evans 2001; Heald 1952; Hinkle and Hinkle 1987; H. C. Johnson 1945; Landauer 1996; Lankford 2010; Larson 2008; MacDonald 1929; Micoleau 1960; Obermayr 2005; P. Rucks and Johnson 2012; Seagraves and Seagraves 1987; Toll 1981; Troelsen, Farr, and Fordham 1964; Walpole and Carrigan 2002; Warriner and Warriner 1958; Zauner 1982; G. W. James 1915; Durey 1913). In cases of Lake Tahoe-based tourist magazines and local tour guides published from about 1950s to today, we can see the Washoe represented more positively and more fully associated with Lake Tahoe as *The Ponderosa Area* (1964) guidebook exemplifies. Although old stereotypical representations still exist as noted in the *Official Program from 1960 Squaw Valley Olympics* (Micoleau 1960; Troelsen, Farr, and Fordham 1964; Seagraves and Seagraves 1987). In *Sierra Nevada Lakes*, an often-cited reference about Lake Tahoe published in 1949 and reprinted in 1987, the Hinkles relate and thereby perpetuate stereotypical and negative folklore about the Washoe (Hinkle and Hinkle 1987). As time progressed, more specific guidebooks about Lake Tahoe's many cultural heritage traditions were created, and a standard format, even for regional guidebooks, now includes the Washoe in the history of Lake Tahoe as seen in *Foot Path to Four-Lane* (2005) and *Enduring Traditions, the Culture and Heritage of Lake Tahoe, Nevada* (2012) (P. Rucks and Johnson 2012; Obermayr 2005; Walpole and Carrigan 2002; Evans 2001; Castleman 2001).

Lake Tahoe became more accessible to tourists after World War II, with the completion of a spur of the transcontinental Lincoln highway encircling Lake Tahoe that

connected it to other local and national highways (Obermayr 2005; Goin, Raymond, and Blesse 1992; Franzwa 2004; Vestal 2013). In addition to this the roads were maintained and groomed year-round, enabling tourism and habitation (Vestal 2013). Therefore, tourism and Euro-American settlement became a permanent, year-round feature of the Lake Tahoe landscapes, setting up tensions between insiders and outsiders: the Washoe and Euro-American residents; the Washoe and the tourists; and the year-round Euro-American residents and the seasonal Euro-American residents (Zhihong 2007; Kyle and Chick 2007; Tuan 1991; Powell and Rishbeth 2012; Rogers 2002; Knudsen, Soper, and Metro-Roland 2007; Amsden, Stedman, and Kruger 2010; Glover 2008b; Martin 2014). The tension between the Washoe and the Euro-Americans was always present but came to the forefront as the Washoe forcefully and visually reasserted their claims to Lake Tahoe beginning in the 1980s.

The Washoe at Lake Tahoe: 1935-Today

Beyond the “Indian Problem”: Acculturation, Indian Schools, Pan-Indian and Washoe Identities

About the time the *Overland Monthly* ended its publication in 1935, there was a perceptible attitude change toward the Washoe and Native Americans as part of the “Indian New Deal” with Native Americans encouraged to organize their own legally-constituted tribes (Forbes 1967; Fixico 1986, 25–26; d’Azevedo and Sturtevant 1986, 497). The ideals of subjugation and assimilation lost their momentum and were replaced by the government-sanctioned concept of acculturation. Acculturation conditionally accepts Native American cultural practices as a way to more effectively integrate Native Americans into American society (Thompson 2013). This reworked Euro-American attitude coincided with the removal of forced attendance at the nearby

Stewart Indian School in Carson Valley. Acculturation helped lay the foundation for the reemergence of the Washoe Tribe from a negative generic “Indian” ascribed identity to an individual Washoe identity that was part of a larger pan-Nevada Indian and pan-Indian identity. The Washoe continued to retain their connections with Lake Tahoe and visibly reestablished their identity in the Lake Tahoe landscapes beginning in the 1990s.

Education and Acculturation

One model of acculturation used with different tribes and culture groups across the United States, the Indian boarding school, was seen as a method to “civilize” the “Indian”, in particular the children (Huntington 1893; Thompson 2013). Boarding schools followed the precedents of the time, initially dealing with the “Indian problem” by subjugating the Native Americans. This method forced Native Americans to become like the Euro-Americans, eradicating Native American cultural traditions and replacing them with Euro-American cultural traditions. In the *Overland Monthly*, Huntington examines the history of one attempt to assimilate the Yakima tribe as an example of why subjugation for the entire “Indian race” does not work:

The adult Indians do not desire citizenship. They know they are not qualified for it, and their well being [*sic*] does not in any sense depend upon it. Their children, properly educated, will grow to it. Their minds will reach the meaning of the constitution [*sic*], and the responsibilities that it imposes. But that result is the work of time and education, and is to be hoped for only as the children of the race mature in the schools of civilization. The adults do not desire it and will not aspire to it. (Huntington 1893, 520)

As early as 1893 we see the beginnings of understanding the concept of subjugation was flawed. By the 1930s the pendulum swing from subjugation to acculturation was occurring. This meant Native Americans retained some of their cultural identity and practices, in altered forms, within Euro-American society, becoming a part of it, if on the margins of it. Education, particularly the Indian Schools, played an

important role in acculturation. "... Nevada Indians have never possessed schools under their own supervision and control. Instead, the 'Indian Schools' have always been administered by white agencies or school boards which, by and large, have attempted to ignore the native language and heritage" (Forbes 1967, 13). This imperfect educational model is seen at the Stewart Indian School, where Washoe children along with other Native American children across the U. S. were first forced to attend for assimilation, then attendance became optional in 1930 (Thompson 2013).³⁴

Washoe families were tragically affected by the development of Indian Schools across the country. Many Washoe children were taken away and placed in the Stewart Indian School in Carson City, Nevada. Adverse effects still haunt present day Washoe grandparents, parents and children in ways that may never heal. The resulting loss of heritage, culture and language impairs self esteem [*sic*] to the result that Tribal members find it difficult to trust and partner with other people. The ability to trust and partner can be crucial to economic development. Great pains are being taken at this time to overcome this barrier. (Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California 2011, 27)

This history of Native American educational modes where individual tribal identities were suppressed underscores how and why Native Americans even today are treated as a single group. The generic "Indian" identity of tomahawks and tipis, headdresses and horses, with its negative connotations and incorrect cultural associations is easy to apply to all Native Americans, including the Washoe. It has proven to be a hard ascribed identity to remove, as illustrated in the Lake Tahoe-based tourist media and landscapes.

The Stewart Indian School, like other Indian schools across the nation, served as a regional school. It had a student body comprised of many different tribes, primarily from across the Great Basin and the Southwest, who were either boarders or day

³⁴ For an excellent history of the Stewart Indian School as well as a brief description of Indian Schools nationally, see Bonnie Thompson's 2013 PhD dissertation, *The History of the Stewart Indian School, 1890-1940*.

students. Like the United States, the Stewart Indian School was a “melting pot” where Native American cultures influenced each other and created something new in the process. One outcome of this cross-cultural reciprocity between individual Native American groups resulted in forging a pan-Indian identity. This pan-Indian identity had positive associations that Native Americans in Nevada, including the Washoe, helped create and came to embrace. As cultural practices were allowed, to some degree, in the schools, cross-tribal influences could and did occur, resulting in new traditions adopted and enacted by all Native American tribes represented at the school (Thompson 2013). This was one way the pan-Indian identity was produced and ascribed to multiple Native American groups. Performing altered and reimagined traditions for the Euro-American and Native American communities locally, as well as nationally, was a way to represent and perpetuate a reworked generic “Indian” identity into a pan-Indian identity. This was one of the mechanisms the Washoe Tribe used to reestablish their presence in the Lake Tahoe landscapes.

Native American cultural heritage was no longer suppressed as one outcome of the Indian New Deal and Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 (Forbes 1967; Fixico 1986; Thompson 2013). Nevada Indian Agency Superintendent, Alida Bowler, noted part of the Indian New Deal helped create a Nevada Indian-based pan-Indian identity in the 1930s and 1940s. Through public performances, including band, dance and sports, the students at Stewart Indian School helped generate new types of pan-Indian cultural traditions that in turn represented a positive pan-Indian identity locally as well as nationally. Forbes recounts a partial list of new activities Bowler encouraged to help revive and ultimately reinvent cultural traditions, including games, songs and dances.

...many kinds of new activities commenced for Nevada Indians: the “Student Co-operative Trading Post ‘Wa Pai Shone’” (later Wa Pai Shone, Inc.) was established to create and market arts and crafts; the Pyramid Lake Pageant Group planned a program; the Pyramid Lake Women’s Club was active at Nixon; the first annual Inter-Tribal Fair took place in 1939 at Walker River (the second at Fallon in 1940); Indians from all over the Great Basin gathered for a conference at Stewart (1940). (Forbes 1967, 14)

Thompson’s (2013) research on the Stewart Indian School also recounts Bowler’s work in helping forge a pan-Indian identity. She discusses how the Stewart Indian School students’ public performances were used as a public relation tool at World Fairs and Expositions, as well as locally, including in Carson City, Reno and Lake Tahoe (Thompson 2013). This can be seen as an exploitation of the students as an expression of colonization and subjugation. Yet, it can also be seen as promoting Native American agency with positive results.

Student bodies were put on display for white audiences to demonstrate the success of assimilation policies. At the same time those bodies also stood as symbols of pride and accomplishment to Nevada’s Indian communities. Prominent Indian athletes proved that Indian bodies were not undeveloped and physically inferior as many top scientists and policy makers contended. Indeed sporting events established the biological strength of Native peoples against white teams and reinforced Indians’ pride in their natural abilities and cultural heritage. Coupled with other public events such as concerts, parades, and traditional dancing, students from the Stewart Indian School stood on the front lines of an expanding frontier in the public sphere. (Thompson 2013, 195)

As the Stewart students increased their visibility in Euro-American communities, perceptual attitudes changes are noted—the Native American “other” was changing into something more familiar, with a more positive ascribed identity. “The white community in Carson City expressed their approval and even began to express pride in the accomplishments of the Stewart Indian School” (Thompson 2013, 199). As an outcome of their intra-school connections and community involvement, new pan-Indian cultural traditions were forged. Dancers performed in costumes not affiliated with the Great

Basin or nearby Californian Native American cultures nor did the dances solely reflect Great Basin Native American traditions, but also those of the Bannock, Tenino and Wasco cultures (Thompson 2013).

Pageantry and the Pan-Indian Identity

In 1938 Bowler helped promote a pageant at South Lake Tahoe. The Pyramid Lake Paiutes sponsored “A Desert Flower” which featured the Stewart Indian School band. Held in the Bijou community park, the traditional dance and songs recounted the history of the Chief Winnemucca, followed by a lecture on Great Basin Indian art and crafts. In tandem with this, “the Wa-Pai-Shone Craftsmen, Inc. an Indian craftsmen's cooperative recently established for the purposes of keeping alive the crafts of the Washoe, Paiute and Shoshone Indians” sold their art (Forbes 1967, 14). According to Bowler:

So far as is known this is the first time that the Indians native to this region have contributed to the recreational attractions at Lake Tahoe Miss Bowler said. Those interested in the authentic Indian music and rhythmic expression believe that the Indians have much of value to contribute to American culture and that such programs as this might well be the beginning of an annual event that would in effect be a native folk theater movement." (Anonymous 1938)

While ironic that the Native American event at Lake Tahoe highlighted Paiute instead of Washoe cultural heritage, this first Indian pageant at Lake Tahoe could be seen as opening doors for subsequent festivals, including the *Wa She Shu It Deh*. This present-day festival, held at Valhalla, part of the Tallac Historic Site, highlights Washoe cultural heritage, especially basket making, while also including crafts and cultural heritage from other Native American groups and is a featured tourist attraction. Berry recounts a discussion she had with a Navajo trader at the 2013 *Wa She Shu It Deh*, who talked about how this festival is an important part of the pageant circuit for Native Americans (Berry 2015). Native Americans perform and influence each other’s cultural traditions;

this then gets passed along at other pageants and pow-wows. Rucks also recounts the recently Washoe-adopted tradition of pine needle basketry due to Native American cross-cultural exchange taking place at festivals (M. P. Rucks 2014).



Figure 6.21: Production of Washoe Cultural Heritage: Was She Shu It Deh Model.

Not only are pan-Indian identities forged and reinforced at these festivals, the impact of tourism (the reciprocity of tourism) is at work. For example, the Was She Shu It Deh, sponsored by the Washoe Tribe, represents their agency in the Lake Tahoe tourist landscape of the Tallac Historic site. The practice of tourism at festivals enables cross-cultural exchanges between Native Americans and non-Native Americans as well. These exchanges produce new and altered forms of Washoe cultural heritage, and Washoe cultural heritage influences other Native Americans in attendance. The produced and reproduced cultural heritage is then identified with the Washoe. This

produced cultural heritage in turn represents the Washoe and is represented in the media as well as Lake Tahoe landscapes, as illustrated in Figure 6.21.

Today as in the past, Lake Tahoe and Washoe cultural heritage, particularly arts and crafts, are linked to the tourist landscapes. Washoe basketry is acclaimed world-wide; tourists to Lake Tahoe still seek Washoe basketry and promote their artistic beauty beyond Lake Tahoe. Tourist postcards of the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century both represent the Washoe and their baskets and still continue to produce a Washoe identity linked to basketry through the Lake Tahoe tourist landscapes. The tourist literature also takes note of the Washoe women's remarkable skills, particularly James (1915). Not only did he write one of the most famous travel guides and books about Lake Tahoe, *The Lake of the Sky*, he was an aficionado of Indian basketry and self-published a well-respected book on the subject (G. W. James 1915; G. W. James 1901).

Cultural historian du Gay; folklorist Kirshenblatt-Gimblett; geographer Lowenthal; heritage scholar Harrison; and sociologist Urry would all relate to the reciprocal relationships at work in forging pan-Indian identities as: "the Circuit of Culture", a mode of cultural production, imagining and recreating something new, candidly inventing heritage traditions, reworking the past in the present and an as outcome of the tourist gaze (du Gay et al. 1997; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1995; Lowenthal 1995; Urry and Larsen 2011). Native American students merged cultural traditions and their communities embraced the new and reimagined cultural heritage.

Because of colonization, subjugation and acculturation, the Washoe, along with other Native Americans, were forced to adapt to the new Euro-American society,

including attending Indian schools. Through the performance and practice of tourism, the Washoe and other Native Americans became exhibits themselves and part of tourist landscapes, producing new and altered cultural heritage. Because of this, the Washoe maintained their cultural associations with and a presence at Lake Tahoe. Indian schools were not the only place that fostered Native American cultural heritage cross-pollination, as part of the “Indian New Deal” newly established pan-Nevada Indian organizations and individual tribal councils helped forge a pan-Nevada Indian self-identity. “Rather than destroying Native culture, the Stewart Indian School had fostered individuals who helped their people retain their values and sense of identity in a changing world” (Thompson 2013, 192).

Self- governance, Self-identity and the Pan-Nevada Indian Identity

Governmental control was another aspect of the resurgence of the Washoe at Lake Tahoe, due to the Indian New Deal (Deloria and Lytle 1984; Fixico 1986; d’Azevedo and Sturtevant 1986). The Washoe reasserted their agency when they became a federally-recognized tribe with a tribal government and an established reservation finally in place by 1935.

Progress was extremely slow for Nevada Indians prior to the 1930s. Tribal affairs were not in their hands, but in those of a paternalistic bureaucracy until the period of the “Indian New Deal” beginning in 1935. In that year Indian groups were encouraged to organize their own legally-constituted tribes, and in December the Pyramid Lake Paiute Tribe, the Reno-Sparks Indian Colony, and the Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California were formed and their constitutions approved. (Forbes 1967, 13–14)

As a response to ongoing challenges facing Nevada Indians, several different individual and pan-Native American groups were formed, including the Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California, the Inter-Tribal Council and the Nevada State Commission on Indian

Affairs (Forbes 1967). Yet, “The Washoe were inexperienced in tribal organization, and tribal councils from the 1930s to the mid-1960s were ineffective in uniting the tribe around issues crucial to welfare and development” (d’Azevedo and Sturtevant 1986, 496).

A pan-Indian identity intertwined with individual tribal identity was being established in Nevada, as evidenced in the minutes from the meetings discussing the creation of the Inter-tribal Council in 1964. Representatives from seven groups out of 17 or 18 took part in the initial discussions, including Pyramid Lake, Dresslerville, Las Vegas, Moapa, Carson Colony, Reno-Sparks and Fallon. Most groups represent more than one tribe, creating discussions about the selected representative favoring their individual tribal affiliations over the represented group. According to John Frank (Carson Colony): “All tribes are mixed up together, just as white men are. We don’t say –“He’s a Washoe, or a Paiute, or a Shoshone.”[sic] If you live in a Colony, then you have to recognize the Chairman and the Tribal Council” (Forbes 1967, 232–233). Additionally the preamble of the constitution for the Inter-Tribal Council puts forward the concept of a unified Nevada Indian identity.

2. To preserve and protect the Indian cultural values and heritage and at the same time increase the understanding of our people and their fuller participation the institutions of free government in the State and communities in which they live. (Forbes 1967, 233)

Therefore, both individual and combined tribal organizations help to further efforts to reassert Nevada’s Native Americans agency. The switch from a dehumanizing association of the generic “Indian” to a representation based on agency with a pan-Indian identity in the landscape is noted by Melvin Thom in his address to the Nevada

Inter-Tribal Council on May 2, 1964. He first outlines the U.S. government/ Indian relations through time:

The decline in Indian political integrity began in the early 1800s when this country undertook to civilize the so-called savages. By that Act of 1871, Congressmen no longer dealt with Indian tribes as nations. The concept of equality then disappeared. ("Proceedings: The Nevada Inter-Tribal Indian Conference (University of Nevada, May 1-2, 1964)" 1965, 74)

Continuing he notes the change in attitude toward Native Americans at that time:

In political action, the Indian people could be one of the most effective minorities if they could ever get together. The image of the Indian is good. He is an image of nobility. Even in the city of Reno, you can't drive two miles without seeing a picture of an Indian (We should charge for that). ("Proceedings: The Nevada Inter-Tribal Indian Conference (University of Nevada, May 1-2, 1964)" 1965, 77)

In *Nevada Indians Speak* (1967), Forbes predicted the newly created tribal governments and inter-tribal councils "will probably play important roles in years to come" (Forbes 1967, 15). Indeed he was correct. Greater Native American agency, through self-governance along with changing educational models seen at the Steward Indian School, helped change the negative, generic "Indian" stereotype into positive pan-Indian, pan-Nevada Indian and Washoe identities.

Washoe Agency in the Lake Tahoe Landscapes

Due to Washoe self-governance, Washoe identity became increasingly visible in the Lake Tahoe landscapes. This is particularly noted in the 1990s under the Chairmanship of A. Brian Wallace. Instrumental in putting the Washoe Tribe in the forefront of discussions about Lake Tahoe, Wallace was a key participant in the 1997 Lake Tahoe Presidential Forum sponsored by Bill Clinton. Under Clinton's and Wallace's leadership, the Washoe obtained a 20-year special-use permit to co-manage hundreds of acres in the Lake Tahoe Basin with the U.S Forest Service. "It was a huge win for the Washoe tribe, as it acknowledged their presence as the original stewards of Lake

Tahoe, and established their rights to continue tribal practices and traditions in the Tahoe Basin” (Armitage 2012). Along with this, Washoe used Lake Tahoe landscapes to revive Washoe cultural heritage, which the Washoe continue to do today (Bouelle 1998; Washoe Cultural Office 2004; Adelzadeh 2006).

Along with self-governance came federal government policies and laws that encouraged dialogues between tribal governments and the federal government. The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) was enacted on November 16, 1990, to “...address the rights of lineal descendants, Indian tribes, and Native Hawaiian organizations to Native American cultural items, including human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony” (U.S. Department of the Interior 2015). NAGPRA has far reaching impacts on Native American groups to this day. One interesting aspect that is important for understanding the transition of the Lake Tahoe landscapes back into those associated with the Washoe was the provision regarding consultations. Most of the Lake Tahoe Basin is federal and state lands. The United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) U. S. Forest Service, Lake Tahoe Basin Management Unit (LTBMU) oversees much of these lands.

Meredith (Penny) Rucks was the U. S. Forest Service LTBMU Cultural Heritage Program Officer when NAGPRA was enacted. According to Rucks, NAGPRA along with President Clinton Executive orders required tribal consultations for federal projects.³⁵ This allowed and fostered communication between the Washoe Tribe and

³⁵ The two executive orders , EO 13084 and EO 13175, deal with Indian tribal governments, consultation and coordination (National Archives 2015). For a detailed list of all the executive actions, memorandums of agreement and memorandums of understanding between the Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California

the U. S. Forest Service and allowed Rucks to establish a forum for Washoe tribal consultations. In these she consulted Washoe elders and other tribal members regarding where and what type of traditional cultural practices and uses were at Lake Tahoe (M. P. Rucks 2014). Additionally, Rucks and Jane Oden of the U. S. Forest Service LTBMU assisted the Washoe Tribe in their application to take over the U. S. Forest Service concession to manage Meeks Bay Resort and in their initial attempts to protect Cave Rock (M. P. Rucks 2014).

Protecting Cave Rock was one of the most important government-to-government dialogues that occurred, as Cave Rock is arguably one of if not the most important and sacred sites in all the Washoe lands. Although initially resisted by one head of the U. S. Forest Service LTBMU, ultimately the Washoe convinced another forest supervisor of the cultural significance of Cave Rock and of the cultural insults of having it used and defaced by sport climbing (the Cave Rock controversy is further discussed in Chapter 7). By asserting their claims through government and legal channels, the Washoe visibly and contentiously have reestablished their cultural links to Cave Rock as equal if not primary over those of Euro-Americans and tourists.

Now managed by the Washoe Tribe, Meeks Bay Resort is one of the oldest tourist resorts still in operation at Lake Tahoe, now owned by the U. S. Forest Service. Ethnographic and archaeological evidence indicates Meeks Bay and the surrounding areas to have been used by the Washoe pre-and post-Euro-American contact (M. P. Rucks 1995; Freed 1960). Rucks notes the meadows around Meeks Bay were used for gathering medical plants as well as for harvesting basketry materials; in particular

and the U.S. Federal government, see Adelzadeh's 2006 Master Thesis, *Empowerment in an Era of Self-Determination: The Case of the Washoe Tribe and U.S. Forest Service Lake Tahoe Basin Management Unit (LTBMU) Co-Management Agreement*.

bracken fern. Washoe elders told Rucks of using fire to encourage plant growth for the best basketry materials and wanted the LTBMU to burn one of the meadows for this purpose. Although not in their original plans to do so, a “controlled burn” adjacent to the meadow was not so well controlled and did indeed burn the meadow (M. P. Rucks 2014). Along with repatriating traditional Washoe lands and environment restoration of the lands, one of the aims of taking over the management of Meeks Bay Resort was to have a place for Washoe tribal members to have access to Lake Tahoe itself (Cruz 2014; Armitage 2012; Bourelle 1998). Gaining access to the adjacent lands enabled Washoe tribal members to have unfettered access to traditional plant materials that they then used in teaching traditional practices to Washoe and non-Washoe along with environment stewardship of Lake Tahoe (M. P. Rucks 2014; Cruz 2014; Bucci 2014; Wallace 2001). Running Meeks Bay indeed helped realize one desire of the 1964 Inter-Tribal council’s education sub-committee. Besides self-governance, Alyce Williams discusses promoting the value of Washoe cultural heritage.

There was one other important thing brought up in our group discussions and this was, why are so many of our people ashamed of being Indian? They just don’t like the idea of being Indian. Why not teach our Indian people more about their heritage? Maybe some of our own Indian people would be interested in becoming anthropologists and finding out about our Indian heritage, and how good it was, and then give it back to our Indian people, because this is the only way we’re going to be strong as a people, by being proud of ourselves. (“Proceedings: The Nevada Inter-Tribal Indian Conference (University of Nevada, May 1-2, 1964)” 1965, 11)

In this statement, one can see the residues of the ascribed negative generic “Indian” identity hopefully countered by teaching Washoe cultural heritage practices. Penny Rucks was hired by the Washoe to start an interpretive program centered on Washoe cultural traditions at Meeks Bay. What Rucks, a non-Washoe member and Washoe

ethnographer, began in 1998, Washoe tribal members and others continue. Today, Washoe teach their cultural traditions, including beading and basketry, ecological practices, plant use and identification and harvesting to Washoe and other Native American youths (Figure 6.22) (Bucci 2014; Cruz 2014). The Washoe language is also promoted through signage, guest cabin names, in the restaurant menu and on the Meeks Bay Resort website. All of this visually signals Washoe agency within Lake Tahoe landscapes, as well as the transforming power of the practice of tourism as illustrated in Figure 6.23.

Lake Tahoe is as vital to the Washoe now as before, their presence at Lake Tahoe and their continued use of its landscapes, including Meeks Bay, Cave Rock and the Tallac area, teach and reinforce the importance of Lake Tahoe to Washoe cultural heritage (Cruz 2014; Washoe Cultural Office 2009b; "Washoe Tribe to Manage Meeks Bay Resort at Tahoe" 1998; Wallace 2001). Once considered as becoming extinct by Euro-Americans and themselves, the Washoe use tools of survivance, including tourism, as a way to overcome Euro-American colonization, subjugation and acculturation. Due to Euro-American agency before 1935, Washoe identity and representations of them were first produced through the practice of Euro-American tourism. This practice produced a negative generic "Indian" identity that was ascribed to the Washoe as illustrated in Figure 6.19. Today that has switched as illustrated in Figure 6.23. The Washoe have agency within the Lake Tahoe tourist landscapes. Their cultural heritage is identified with Lake Tahoe in the material culture represented in Washoe cultural festivals and exhibits. Also they have produced their traditional cultural identity as environmental stewards of Lake Tahoe. They represent this in the

Lake Tahoe landscapes through their efforts to preserve and protect Lake Tahoe and in doing so preserve and protect Washoe cultural heritage.



Figure 6.22: “Washoe Children Learn How to Make Gourd Rattles at Meeks Bay.” 2011. Digital image. Available from <http://washoegourdproject.com/washoe-weekend-0> with author9_2012/. (Accessed 02/10/2015).

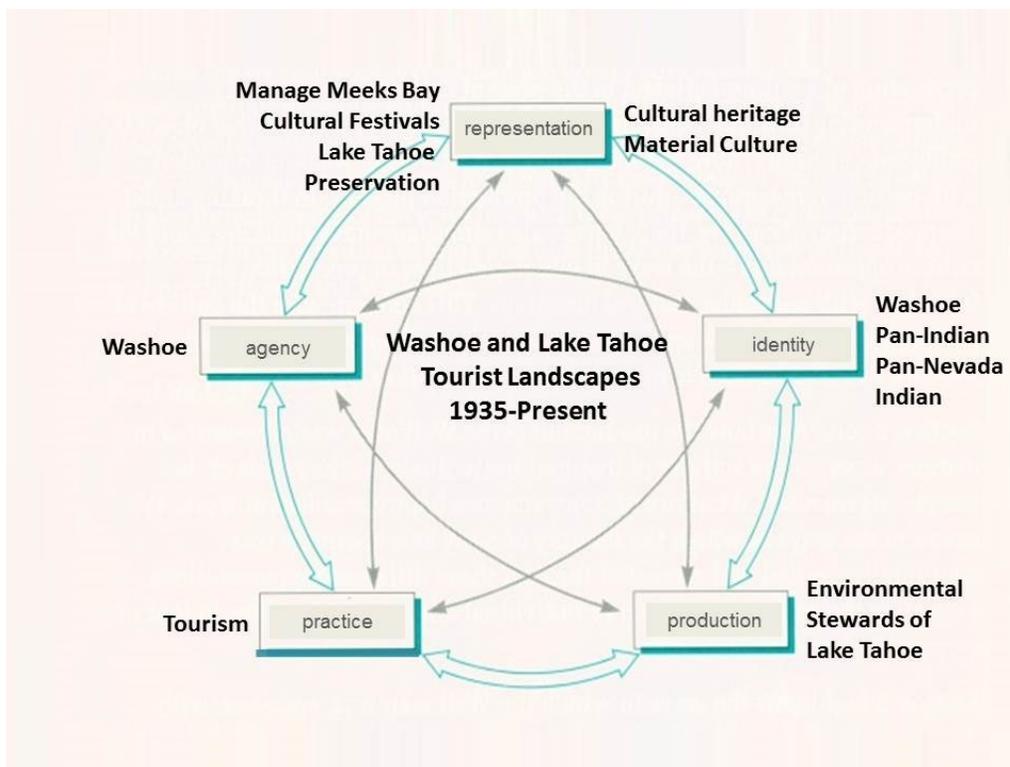


Figure 6.23: Washoe and Lake Tahoe Tourist Landscapes 1935-Present Model.

Chapter 7: Hybrid Tourist/Cultural Heritage Landscapes of Lake Tahoe: Exploring the Reciprocity of Tourism and the Role of Cultural Heritage Professionals

Thus far, this study has examined the Lake Tahoe landscape and smaller landscapes around it. Each landscape represents the reciprocity of tourism, linking the practice of tourism with Washoe cultural heritage through the medium of the cultural heritage landscape. Through time, Lake Tahoe landscapes were first shaped by the Washoe, then Euro-American settlement and tourism. The Washoe were represented as part of the tourism landscapes; this forced and enabled them to produce and rework traditional cultural heritage in new and altered forms. The reciprocal relationships between tourism, tourist, original culture group, and subsequent inhabitants create dynamic landscapes that meld cultural inputs that are expressed, represented, interacted with and interpreted differently by different people. This is the hybrid tourist/cultural heritage landscape formation processes.

Today, when cultural heritage professionals are brought in to examine and potentially preserve aspects of the cultural heritage landscape or the associated material culture, they rarely consider their work as being part of the cultural production of tourism. Yet, their work is part of the reciprocity of tourism that can impact the identity and representation of the associated culture group, highlight the agency of one culture over another and affect the practice and production of tourism by authorizing certain landscapes and material culture they preserve over those they do not.

The goal of this chapter is to explore the Washoe Tribe's agency in today's hybrid/tourist cultural heritage landscape formation and how heritage preservation professionals play a role by preserving, promoting and producing a culture's heritage,

be it Washoe, Euro-American or tourist. This study uses the reciprocity of tourism model to explore and explain those links that are connected through, enacted on and enabled by the cultural heritage landscape. This model is used to underscore the discussion, and as before, focuses on some parts of the model over others. In doing so, this illustrates the many ways a hybrid tourist/cultural heritage landscape can be formed, examined and explored. This chapter is divided by location: Tahoe City, Cave Rock, the Tallac area and Meeks Bay. Tahoe City is representative of Lake Tahoe itself, as a basketry landscape of the Washoe, Cave Rock, Tallac, and Meeks Bay are representative of smaller hybrid tourist/cultural heritage landscapes. This highlights Washoe agency in and over Euro-American tourist landscapes, while simultaneously representing the larger Lake Tahoe landscape. In different ways, each landscape highlights how tourism has come full circle and how the Washoe have reworked tourist landscapes into those reconnected, identified and representing the Washoe.

Lake Tahoe's Basketry Landscape: Dat So La Lee, Tourism and Tahoe City
Tourism not only impacted the socio-cultural and environmental aspects of the Washoe, tourism also impacted the Washoe economically and directly influenced their material culture traditions. Today, the Washoe are famed globally for their baskets, and the Washoe's identity, from outside and inside the tribe, is strongly linked to their basketry tradition (Myles 1930). Washoe basketry evolved from utilitarian objects to sculpture, and this has had a profound influence on basketry traditions. The evolution of the basketry traditions is tied to Lake Tahoe landscapes and the tourist industry by the Washoe artists' working from 1895-1935. These artists mutually influenced each other to create basketry traditions on which Washoe basketry is judged today (Cohodas 1979;

Cohodas 1983). The iconic importance of Washoe basketry is highlighted in tourist media, especially in photographs of Lake Tahoe. To highlight the reciprocal relationship between tourism and Washoe cultural heritage, an iconic type of Washoe material culture, the *degikup* basket, and its most famous creator, Dat So La Lee, will be discussed. This discussion illustrates one type of hybrid tourist/cultural heritage landscape—the basketry landscape that is representative of both the Washoe Tribe and of Lake Tahoe itself.

Dat So La Lee remains a world-renowned artist and is widely considered one of, if not the greatest American Indian basket maker (Kort and Sonneborn 2002; Cohodas 1979; Anonymous 1932; Anonymous 1925). Dat So La Lee's baskets are famed worldwide, bringing in nearly million dollar prices from collectors and museums. Her work is exhibited globally, and she, more than any other Washoe basket weaver, is tied to Lake Tahoe landscapes. Dat So La Lee is instrumental in promoting the artistry of Washoe basketry; her influence paved the way for contemporary and future acclaimed Washoe artists. Dat So La Lee is also a product of tourism; she is a tourist creation and a creator of tourism at Lake Tahoe. She represents the reciprocity of tourism, including the socioeconomic impacts tourism has on the sustainability of cultural heritage.

Multiple stories about how Dat So La Lee became a famous artist are often inaccurate, having conflicting details and impossible timelines (Anonymous 1925; Gigli, Jane 1974; "Karen Atkinson Studio" 2014; Cohodas 1982). Dat So La Lee was born Dabuda sometime in the early or mid-1800s in the southern Washoe lands. Her first husband, Assu, died and she eventually moved to Carson City, NV. There she married her third husband, a half Washoe man named Charlie Keyser, and took the name

Louisa Keyser (Cohodas 2005).³⁶ She became a domestic servant for the Cohn family, and this was where her tourist creation myth began. The Cohns owned and operated the Emporium Company store in Carson City, selling household items, clothing and Native American curios (Bibby, Givens, and Larson 2010). It was said Abe Cohn's wife, Amy, first noted Louisa Keyser's remarkable basket weaving skill and brought it to the attention of her husband. Another version noted that Louisa Keyser approached Abe Cohn to sell basket covered bottles. In either case, the Cohns recognized her remarkable talents and made a deal with Louisa Keyser that gave them exclusive rights to sell her baskets in return for free room and board for life for her and her family (Cohodas 1992). The Cohns built a house for her and her family, adjacent to theirs, in Carson City, NV. From then on, 1895-1925, Louisa Keyser's baskets were sold exclusively at the Cohns' Emporium in Carson City, NV and during the summer at the Cohns' tourist shop, the Biscose, on the shores of Lake Tahoe in Tahoe City, CA. For the remainder of her life, Louisa Keyser's work was solely focused on making baskets for the Cohns and their curio shops Figure 7.1) (Cohodas 1982; Nevada Women's History Project; Cohodas 1992).

³⁶ There were no references about Dat So La Lee's second husband.



Figure 7.1: “Dat So La Lee with two of her degikup.” c. 1917. Black and white photographic print. Courtesy of the North Lake Tahoe Historical Society.

The Cohns may have renamed Louisa Keyser “Dat So La Lee” sometime around 1899. Supposedly derived from the Washoe language, the name means “wide-hips,” and the Cohns used and promoted this name as part of their marketing strategy (Bibby, Givens, and Larson 2010; Reno 2014). Dat So La Lee became Louisa Keyser’s professional name, used by the Cohns in all their promotional material, yet Dat So La Lee’s baskets, so carefully catalogued by the Cohns, were each labeled with LK (Louisa Keyser) followed by the basket’s number in chronological order. Her professional name, whatever the origin, was used as a marketing tool to sell an image as well as distinguish her from her contemporaries. The other Washoe weavers, many of whom the Cohns represented, had Anglo sounding names. Using a name ostensibly derived

from the Washoe language gave Dat So La Lee more credibility as a Washoe weaver. This tied her identity to the Native Americans and particularly to the Washoe. The association with generic “Indians” had positive and negative aspects. On one hand it lent authenticity to her work as being made by a real Native American. On the other hand, the conflicting and contradictory attitudes the Euro-American had towards Native Americans also ascribed negative connotations to a Native American name. The art historian Marvin Cohodas points to this as Carson City Newspaper articles at that time only featured two Washoe tribal members with any regularity. One was a political leader and mostly favorably represented. The other was Dat So La Lee, who was represented as childish, churlish, dirty, fat, uneducated and naïve in some articles (Cohodas 1992). In others, Dat So La Lee was represented as an unsurpassed artist whose baskets were of such high quality as to be sold for exponentially more than her contemporaries (Cohodas 1992). This dichotomous ascribed representation was in keeping with the attitude Euro-Americans had about Native Americans at that time.

An additional layer of ascribed identity to Dat So La Lee is the Victorian aesthetic and ethos of the time. Amy Cohn was Dat So La Lee’s main image promoter and brought Dat So La Lee to lectures and meetings. Yet many newspaper articles about Dat So La Lee reference her in conjunction with Abe Cohn (Cohodas 1992). According to Cohodas (2005), these reports of a childish, argumentative Dat So La Lee placed her in the caricatured role of a Victorian wife (Cohodas 2005). This relationship is highlighted in a newspaper article from the *Carson City News* that describes a fight between Abe Cohn and Dat So La Lee; the fight was about a corset and how Dat So La

Lee was mad that it didn't make her look like more svelte Western women³⁷ (Anonymous 1911). However, beyond reinforcing her ascribed identity, the article shows a woman who clearly had a say in her life. She was not simply being exploited by the Cohns; she was an active if not equal participant in her image creation. In other words, Dat So La Lee had a measure of agency in the matter of her produced identity and representations.

Dat So La Lee's artistry was singularly responsible for the basketry type, the *degikup*, elevating it from a handicraft into a work of art. This basketry type remains iconic of Washoe basketry today and of Dat So La Lee. The *degikup* was also part of the Cohns produced mythology for Dat So La Lee (Figure 7.2). Though it may be based on a traditional Washoe basketry type, its altered shape and designs were inventions of Dat So La Lees (Cohodas 1982; Cohodas 2005). Additionally the fanciful names of her designs were co-produced by the Cohns and Dat So La Lee, as some of the stories of the designs claim she saw them in visions or dreams (Cohodas 1979; Myles 1930). Amy Cohn was noted for fabricating a traditional history, function and meaning for the *degikup* created by Dat So La Lee (Cohodas 1992). Through their marketing and promotion, the Cohns influenced scholarship about Washoe basketry at that time and continues to color scholarship today. Otis Mason's 1904 publication *American Indian Basketry*, based on a report he made to the Secretary of the Smithsonian in his capacity as the head of the Department of Anthropology, U.S. National Museum, referenced the help he received from Amy Cohn about the Washoe, their basketry technology and

³⁷ A close examination of Figure 7.1 shows Dat So La Lee is wearing a corset.

naming. His book featured baskets from Amy Cohn's collection as well as photographs of Dat So La Lee and her baskets provided by the Cohns (Mason 1988; Cohodas 1992).

The *degikup* potentially has early Washoe cultural heritage associations. It is described as a small, nearly spherical "traditional mortuary and ceremonial vessel", yet no known *degikup* predate those made by Dat So La Lee (Cohodas 1982). The traditional use of the *degikup* as a mortuary item customarily buried with its weavers could account for its lack of representation in the Washoe material culture. But scholars, led by Cohodas, surmise "...the *degikup* was the product not of a long indigenous development for ritual function, but instead of an aesthetic choice by an innovative artist at a specific point in time" (Cohodas, 1979, 6). The point in time when Dat So La Lee wove was when Washoe cultural traditions were under assault from Euro-American settlement of the Washoe homelands. The Washoe hunting and gathering way of life was impaired and in danger of becoming extinct along with the Washoe (d'Azevedo 1993a). Many Washoe adapted to Euro-American settlement as a means of survival (Downs 1966; Nevers 1976; Lowie 1939). Dat So La Lee, whose mastery, skill and innovation in weaving led her to re-create and continually evolve the *degikup* basketry form. In reality she created a new basketry form that was no longer associated with food collection or other cultural traditions, but with artistry. She transformed the *degikup* into sculpture (Cohodas 1979).



Figure 7.2: “Abe Cohn holding one of Dat So La Lee’s degikup.” c. 1910. Black and white photographic print. Courtesy of the North Lake Tahoe Historical Society.

Dat So La Lee’s reputation as the preeminent Washoe basketry artist eclipsed other contemporary Washoe weavers due to her skill and to her promotion by the Cohns. Not only were her baskets marketed, so was Dat So La Lee. Dat So La Lee was promoted in photographs, in tourist post cards, Emporium pamphlets, in guide books and as an actual tourist attraction (Bibby, Givens, and Larson 2010; G. W. James 1915; Castleman 2001). She traveled with the Cohns to arts and craft fairs nationally. During the summer she worked and lived in the Cohns’ Lake Tahoe tourist shop in Tahoe City, California (Cohodas 1979; Cohodas 1992; Anonymous 1920). She wove baskets in the front window and on the front steps of both Cohns’ shops as a display or enticement for people to enter. The Tahoe City Curio shop, the Biscose, was conveniently located adjacent to the luxurious Tahoe Tavern Hotel and the train depot that brought tourists from the transcontinental railroad to Lake Tahoe. Therefore, Dat So La Lee was a tourist feature within the Tahoe City landscape of tourism.

Dat So La Lee and her baskets remain iconic of Lake Tahoe and Tahoe City landscapes today as when she was alive. Dat So La Lee is still being produced, reproduced and represented as a Tahoe City tourist draw. A 2010 exhibit of her miniature baskets from the Amy Cohn collection drew thousands of visitors to the North Lake Tahoe Historical Society (Bibby, Givens, and Larson 2010). Her image continues to be used in tourist promotions, including placemats featuring historic women associated with Tahoe City juxtaposed with contemporary tourist images (Figure 7.3). Dat So La Lee is often described, and some sources inaccurately translate her name, as “Queen of Washoe Indian Basket Makers” (Gigli, Jane 1974; “Karen Atkinson Studio” 2014).



Figure 7.3: Dat So La Lee Placemat. No date. Karen Aitchison Studios. Available from <http://karenatkinsonstudio.org/exhibitions/women-in-tough-terrain>. (Accessed 3/17/2014).

The discussion highlights a Washoe woman who is both a product of the practice of tourism and is simultaneously producing tourism within Lake Tahoe landscapes. During her lifetime, Dat So La Lee produced an appreciation for Washoe cultural

heritage, and she produced a new type of Washoe material culture, the *degikup* and its associated designs. Today she remains an important part of the preservation of Washoe cultural heritage through her artistic acclaim, promotion of the Washoe basket-making tradition and transformation of it from a utilitarian craft into an artistic tradition iconic of the Washoe today. Because of Dat So La Lee and other Washoe women artists through time, the large Lake Tahoe landscape itself is inextricably linked to Washoe cultural heritage. Therefore, the cultural heritage of the Washoe is equated with the cultural heritage of Lake Tahoe by the practice of tourism—forming one type of cultural heritage landscape, the basketry landscape of Lake Tahoe as illustrated in Figure 7.4. This discussion exemplifies one of the many types of hybrid tourist/cultural heritage landscape and its formation process.



Figure 7.4: Lake Tahoe Basketry Landscape Model.

The role of cultural heritage professionals in the reciprocity of tourism is in the background of this landscape. Yet, because Dat So La Lee and other Washoe weavers' baskets are preserved and protected by cultural heritage professionals and institutions, they too play a role in the production of the basketry landscape of Lake Tahoe. This enables the practice of tourism by providing venues to view the baskets (exhibits). It authorized Washoe agency within the landscape by highlighting Washoe cultural heritage. Exhibits represent Washoe culture and thereby aid in the production of Washoe identity. A Washoe identity as understood by tourists viewing the baskets and connecting Washoe identity to place and landscapes.

Cave Rock, De'ek Wadapush

As iconic as basketry is of the Washoe themselves, Cave Rock, on the eastern shore of Lake Tahoe, is symbolic of Washoe spiritually and sustainability (Figure 7.5). The Washoe name, *De'ek Wadapush*, means rock standing gray, and this landmark can be seen from almost any point on the Lake Tahoe shoreline (Washoe Cultural Office 2009a; M. S. Makley and Makley 2010). It is *the* most sacred site in all the Washoe lands, and the Washoe still believe that the proper use of Cave Rock is necessary to maintain the health and welfare of Washoe and non-Washoe alike (M. S. Makley and Makley 2010). As discussed in Chapter 4, Cave Rock has been a site of spiritual and ritual pilgrimage for centuries for Washoe shaman (d'Azevedo 2008; Danburg 1968; Lake Tahoe Basin Management Unit 1999). This form of tourism, the sacred pilgrimage, is seen in multiple cultures and imbues a place with significance and has the potential to physically impact a site.



Figure 7.5: Cave Rock from the South Prior to Tunnels c. 1910. Black and white photographic print. Courtesy of the North Lake Tahoe Historical Society.

Cave Rock has seen damage that is associated with tourism and visitation beginning with Euro-American settlement of the Lake Tahoe Basin in the 1850s. This damage included blasting highway tunnels through the revered rock, mostly eradicating the sacred caves the Washoe Shaman used. Before becoming part of the historic Lincoln Highway (today US 50), the first “rock” transcontinental highway built in the United States, Cave Rock was part of the Bonanza Wagon Road, which enabled travelers to reach the Virginia City silver mines more easily from the California gold fields (Vestal 2013; Obermayr 2005). Originally the wagon road was a wooden trestle-supported bridge cantilevered over the lake side of Cave Rock. This structure was augmented with rock revetments to accommodate automobile traffic on the Pioneer Branch of the Lincoln Highway (Franzwa 2004). The first tunnel blasted through Cave

Rock occurred in 1931, with a second tunnel bored through the rock in 1957 to accommodate the increased traffic flow on a now four-lane Highway 50 (Makley and Makley 2010; Obermayr 2005). All construction was undertaken without consideration of the significance of Cave Rock to the Washoe people. Cave Rock is a touchstone for the Washoe, in a way representing their history with Euro-Americans, and was a catalyst for action.

Over the past 50 years, the insistent voice of the Washoe can be heard in rare press reports of their views, in the publications of their tribe, and in the writings of students of their culture. Throughout this relatively inconspicuous body of commentary the significance of Cave Rock to the Washoe people emerges as a prevailing theme. (d'Azevedo 2008, 8)

Cave Rock also became a world-wide mecca and a preeminent site for sport rock climbers beginning in 1980s (M. S. Makley and Makley 2010). Not only did the sport climbers physically defile the rock face with their anchors hammered into the rock, the names of many of the climbing routes are culturally offensive to most people outside the rock climbing culture. One route includes a profanity in the name, "Shut the ___ up and Climb" (M. S. Makley and Makley 2010, 5). Additional desecration came with tourists building fires, writing graffiti, littering and using the remaining cave as a toilet. The Washoe would not use their defiled sacred rock until fairly recently, when their successful 2003 litigation resulted in banning rock climbing, though strict enforcement did not come until 2008 (M. S. Makley and Makley 2010; Lake Tahoe Basin Management Unit 2008).

Additionally the Washoe were instrumental in having Cave Rock considered for designation as a Traditional Cultural Property (TCP) on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP). It was found eligible for inclusion in 1996 but has not yet been listed.

This partial victory is bittersweet. To accomplish even this, the Washoe needed a sympathetic head of the U.S. Forest Service, Lake Tahoe Basin Management Unit (LTBMU) and additional layers of significance beyond being a sacred and religious site for the Washoe (M. S. Makley and Makley 2010; Lake Tahoe Basin Management Unit 1999; Lake Tahoe Basin Management Unit 2003). The proposed NRHP designation for Cave Rock is based on its paleo-environmental and archeological resources, its role as a long-term historic transportation corridor and its importance for telling the story of the Washoe People at Lake Tahoe (“National Trust for Historic Preservation”; Lake Tahoe Basin Management Unit 2003).

Cave Rock has been altered and imbued through time with original cultural associations and use, as well as subsequent and continued use by tourists, exemplifying one type of hybrid tourist/cultural heritage landscape. It was the hybrid nature of Cave Rock that presented both problems and solutions to its preservation. Cultural heritage professionals, from the LTBMU, both impeded and aided the preservation process.³⁸ One forest manager determined the damaging use by the tourists and sport climbers to be acceptable, while his successor did not. She recognized Cave Rock’s broad historic and cultural significance within Lake Tahoe landscapes and understood this was integral to Cave Rock preservation and future management (M. S. Makley and Makley 2010). The sport climbing lobbyists delayed the preservation process by insisting that their claims to use Cave Rock were more

³⁸ For more discussion about Cave Rock eligibility criteria and discussions see Cave Rock DEIS 1999, The Draft and Final Cave Rock Environmental Impact Statements, *Cave Rock and the Two Worlds of Lake Tahoe: Report on Cave Rock*. For a history of Cave Rock itself, see d’Azevedo’s *Two Worlds of Lake Tahoe: Report on Cave Rock* that describes Euro-American transgressions including the tunnels, rock climbing and a proposal for becoming a Catholic Shrine (d’Azevedo 2008; Lake Tahoe Basin Management Unit 1999; Lake Tahoe Basin Management Unit 2003, M.S. Makley and Makley, 2010).

relevant than those of the Washoe Tribe. Ultimately rock climbing was banned on Cave Rock, aiding in the sustainability of the Washoe's cultural heritage. Non-Washoe and tourists still have access to the site for hiking on the rock as well as a day-use beach and boat launch at its base.

As noted above, the preservation of Cave Rock and its proposed NRHP destination could not be met solely because of the Washoe Tribe's cultural associations. The cultural heritage professionals involved recognized the need for multiple layers of association with Cave Rock that would ultimately give it one level of protection. The rock climbing anchors, trash, cement and other materials were removed by conservationist/ rock climbers under the auspices of the Washoe Tribe's Historic Preservation Officer and the U.S. Forest Service (M. S. Makley and Makley 2010). Through the combined work of heritage professionals outside and inside the Washoe Tribe, Cave Rock is protected and preserved, within limits, and benefits all who visit Lake Tahoe. Without Washoe Tribal agency and action, Cave Rock would have continued to be used and defiled by Euro-Americans sport climbers. Euro-American value Cave Rock because it is part of the Euro-American historic transportation corridor and is part of the tourism infrastructure today. Because of the multiple layers of cultural significance, Cave Rock is emblematic of a hybrid tourist/cultural heritage landscape, and has multiple meanings to those interacting with it. Through its proposed designation on the NRHP and use, Cave Rock represents multiple people including the Washoe Tribe, cultural heritage preservation professionals, Euro-Americans and tourists involved in its formation as a hybrid tourist/cultural heritage landscape Figure 7.6.

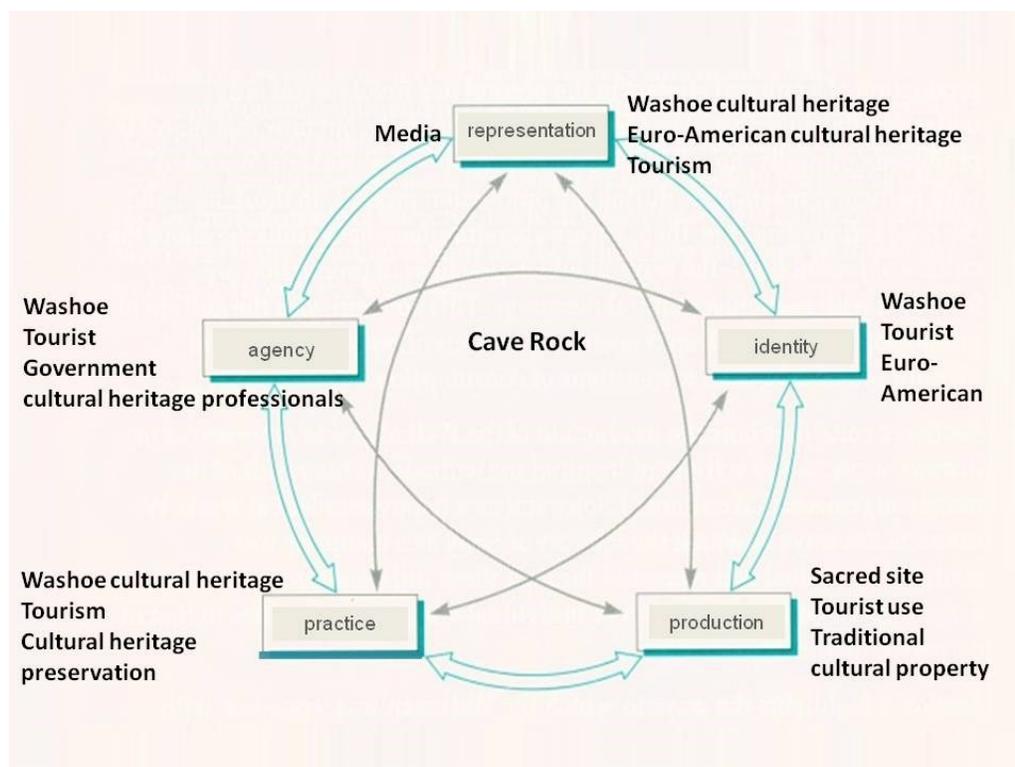


Figure 7.6: Cave Rock Model.

Tallac Area

The Tallac area, or as it is often called, Tallac, is on the south shore, between Pope Beach on the east and Baldwin Beach on the west and includes Camp Richardson, the Lake Tahoe Visitor Center at Taylor Creek, and the Tallac Historic Site. The Tallac Historic Site, run by the U. S. Forest Service LTBMU, includes the Baldwin and Tevis-Pope Estates and Valhalla (Figure 7.7). A brief history of the Euro-American settlement of this area was given in Chapter 4. The Tallac area is perhaps the most obvious hybrid tourist/cultural heritage landscape at Lake Tahoe. Tallac was first associated with the Washoe, then with tourism and now is re-associated with the Washoe within the Euro-American tourism landscape. Therefore, Tallac as hybrid tourist/cultural heritage landscape can be interpreted in any number of ways because this landscape has been intensely used through time by the Washoe and Euro-Americans.

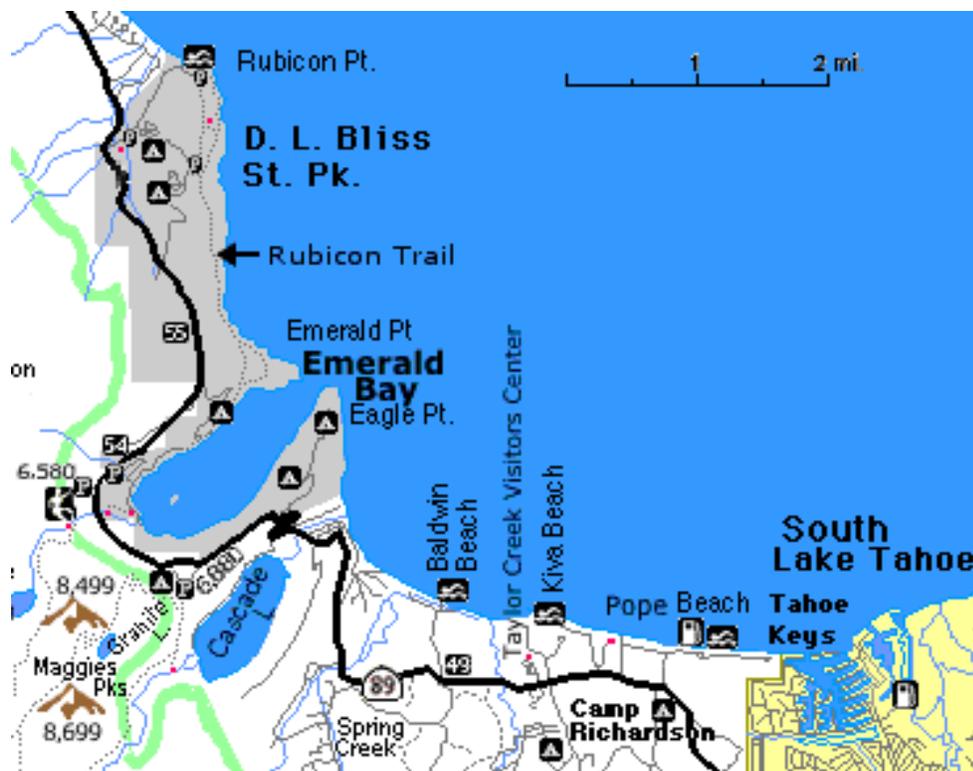


Figure 7.7: Southwest Lake Tahoe and the Tallac area. Adapted from <http://donsnotes.com/tahoetahoe-sw.html>. (Accessed 2/25/2015).

First the Tallac area was a Washoe cultural heritage landscape; archaeological and ethnographic research place the Washoe in the area for millennia (Lindström 1985; Peden 1993; M. George et al. 1983). This area was an important seasonal food gathering and processing area, especially for fisherman. Taylor Creek is an important spawning ground for Lake Tahoe fish (Juday 1907). Additionally this area has a Washoe burial ground (Lindström 1985). As is characteristic of Washoe land use practices, there is little obvious physical evidence of their use of this area.

Post Euro-American contact, many Washoe families, including the James, Merrills, Walkers, Snooks and Christiansons, continued their ancestral association with this area and walked or traveled to the Tallac area seasonally. Oral histories in the Tallac Historic Site archives in the Baldwin Museum note Washoe families' long

association with estate owners, camping in what were very likely their original camps while working seasonally as domestics (M. W. George and Peden 1992; M. James and Blue 1993; Dick and Peden 1993). Many of these Washoe families worked at the summer estates and hotels as hunting, fishing and pack guides and basket makers as well as domestic servants, laundresses and handymen (Lindström 1985, 20; M. George et al. 1983; Nevers 1976; d’Azevedo and Sturtevant 1986; Peden 1993). According to these oral histories, the James family overwintered in their position as caretakers of the Heller Estate (known today as Valhalla). Besides being a caretaker, Ben James also worked for the Baldwins at the Tallac Resort as a hunting and pack guide (Scott 1957). In a 1983 oral history, Margie George notes Anita Baldwin (daughter of “Lucky” Baldwin, owner of the Tallac Casino and Resort) gave her grandfather, Ben James, land that the family still owned at the time of the oral history (George et al. 1983). This is interesting because the Tallac area, including Camp Richardson, may be the only place at Lake Tahoe where the Washoe themselves were landowners, in the Euro-American sense of land ownership, dating to the early twentieth-century (W. James 1984; M. George et al. 1983).

Discussed in Chapter 4, the Tallac area was home to some of the earliest and most exclusive Euro-American hotels, resorts and summer homes. This is the tourist landscape that is primarily represented in the nineteenth and twentieth-century tourist media and popular histories of Lake Tahoe. As mentioned earlier, the Washoe are affiliated with the tourist resorts and summer homes of the wealthy. In the written media, the Washoe are noted as working in the tourist industry but are represented to a greater extent in the historic tourist photographs, particularly the basketry and their

makers (G. W. James 1915; Scott 1957; Brandeis 1918; MacDonald 1929; Larson 2008). Today the legacy of Washoe associations with this area is recognized by the Washoe-curated exhibit in the Baldwin Museum and the annual event, the Wa She Shu It Deh. Both reflect the impact of Euro-American settlement at Lake Tahoe on their cultural traditions in different ways.

Discussed in Chapter 6, the Wa She Shu It Deh may be argued to be an outcome of the first “Indian Pageant” held in nearby Bijou featuring Stewart Indian School Students (Anonymous 1938). This Washoe and pan-Indian arts festival represents the modern day self-representation of the Washoe. The Washoe also represent themselves and their history in the Washoe-curated exhibit in the Baldwin museum. It is less a celebration of Washoe history and cultural heritage than an invitation for non-Washoe to learn about the evolution of their history in relationship to Euro-American settlement. It importantly ties the Washoe to particular places around Lake Tahoe, using a map with Washoe place names. Additionally, a brief history of the Washoe is noted at selected locales. For example:

“B. Near *Dauga shashu* (Camp Richardson) we had a number of campsites. Many of the pounding rocks we used to prepare pine nuts, acorns and seeds remain in the area.”

C. Trout were also caught at *De gil le ek* (Taylor Creek). According to legend, the water there runs red all year long, because Damollale killed the water baby at *De gil le ek*.” (California 2014)

The importance of the Tallac area to the Washoe is further reinforced as it was the proposed site for the Washoe Cultural Center in the early 1980s (Seagraves and Seagraves 1987; Adelzadeh 2006). Today the Taylor Creek Visitor’s Center and the Stream Profile Chamber may be seen as a lackluster version of the proposed Washoe

Cultural Center. The reasons for the Washoe Cultural Center's demise are part speculation and part administrative, as one document outlines that it wasn't built due to environmental impacts to the site (U.S. Forest Service 1983; M. P. Rucks 2014). Today, there is a revitalized discussion about incorporating a Washoe Cultural Center as part of a redesign for the Taylor Creek complex (Bourelle 1998).

In the Tallac area, one can interpret the Washoe cultural heritage landscape differently through time. Before Euro-American contact, it was a natural landscape fashioned by human interaction, with the Washoe leaving little visible evidence of their use. Throughout Euro-American settlement and tourism the Washoe remained, owned property there and ran a tourist-related business themselves, the stables at Camp Richardson (W. James 1984). The Washoe had agency over their cultural heritage practices, if not their representation and identity due to the practice of tourism. During this time, the Washoe became part of the tourist landscape and were produced and represented for and by Euro-Americans. In the mid-to late twentieth-century, Washoe agency within the tourist landscape is represented by Washoe cultural festivals, interpretive programming and museum exhibits. Additionally the Washoe are working to restore stream and wetland areas, incorporating their traditional land use ethics and practices (Figure 7.8) (Bourelle 1998; "Cultural Resource Department" 2015; St. Michel 2009; Muskopf et al. 2009). Though the Washoe Tribes' restoration efforts may not be obvious in the landscape, these efforts impact the ecosystem of Lake Tahoe, particularly the water clarity, and therefore, the overall Lake Tahoe tourist landscape.

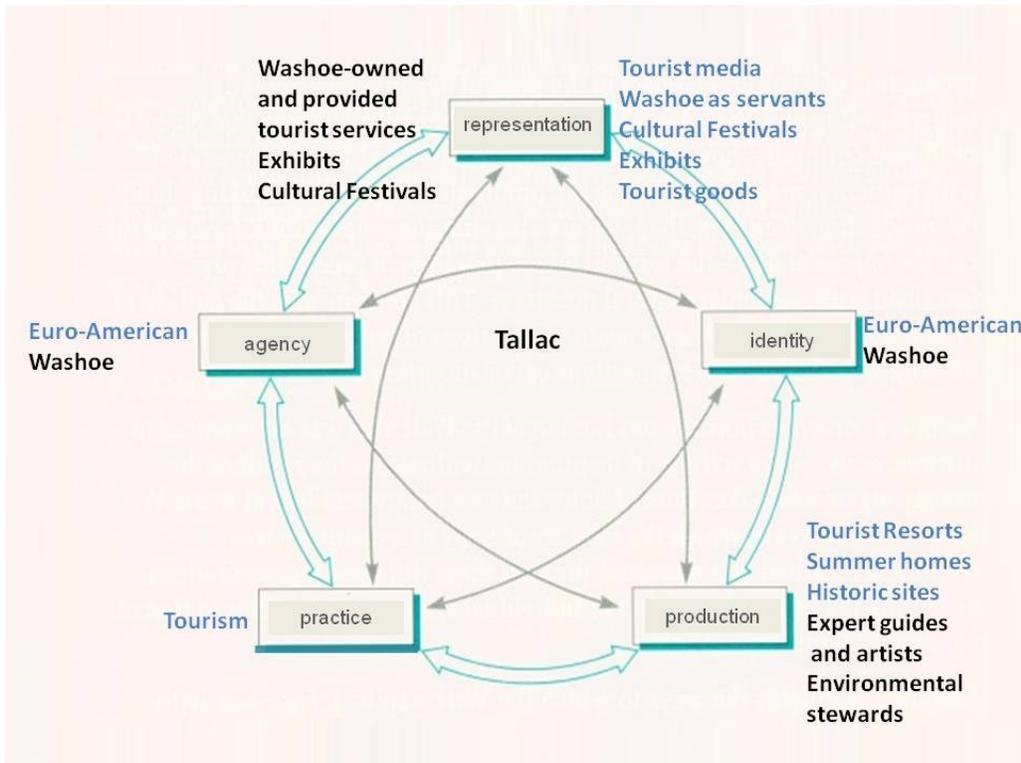


Figure 7.8: Tallac Model.

Meeks Bay

The last hybrid tourist/cultural heritage landscape examined is Meeks Bay. Like the other three landscapes, the Washoe have pre-Euro-American historic ties to it, and Euro-American settlement seriously disrupted their traditional cultural practices. Along with game and fish, Meeks Bay was one among many places where wild onions, berries and other food and medicine were gathered as well as bracken fern for basketry. Euro-American settlement of Meeks Bay discouraged Washoe encampments. Euro-Americans first harvested the meadows of native timothy hay, with ranching, dairy and lumber operation following (Scott 1957; Washoe Cultural Office 2009a; Van Etten 1994). Like other places, the shoreline at Meeks Bay was developed as a tourist campground beginning in 1921, later than most perhaps due to McKinney's being so

close (Scott 1957). By the end of the 1940s, Meeks Bay was both a thriving tourist resort and summer home enclave.

What makes Meeks Bay an interesting hybrid tourist/cultural landscape is that, unlike Cave Rock, where the Washoe Tribe worked to suppress tourism and touristic activities, at Meeks Bay the Washoe encourage tourism and are an active part in contemporary tourism at Lake Tahoe. They do not have agency over a part of the tourist landscape, as we have seen in the Tallac area. The Washoe are in charge of the tourist landscape of Meeks Bay because they manage the Meeks Bay Resort. Simply noting the Washoe Tribe runs Meeks Bay Resort would be enough to categorize it as a hybrid tourist/ cultural heritage landscape. Yet this section further explores this landscape and how Washoe representation, identity and agency at Meeks Bay represents a particular hybrid tourist/cultural heritage landscape and the cultural ethos that dominates Lake Tahoe today.

Washoe management began in 1998 and incorporates Washoe cultural heritage into Meeks Bay with signage in both English and Washoe, with exhibits about the Washoe Tribe in the resort lobby and by selling Washoe and other Native American arts and crafts in the gift shop. A comparison of the May- Ah- Mee Lodge tourist materials (illustrated in Chapter 5), representative of the generic “Indian,” to the Washoe-produced Meeks Bay tourist material reveals key differences. May-Ah-Mee Lodge uses some sort of made-up “Indian” language, while the Washoe highlight their language (Figure 7.9), unique to Great Basin Native Americans (d’Azevedo 1993b; d’Azevedo and Sturtevant 1986; Lowie 1939). The May-Ah-Mee Lodge represents the generic “Indian” identity and Meeks Bay represents the Washoe identity.

Most employees at Meeks Bay are Washoe and other Native Americans, as it lends authenticity to the resort, says Batchelor, and offers tribal members an opportunity to be trained and educated in the hospitality business. “We don’t discriminate,” she says. “But it’s nice when guests are greeted by someone who can say, ‘Welcome. I’m with the Washoe tribe.’” (Armitage 2012)

The Washoe highlight their ancestral claims and original use of the Meeks Bay area, including what types of materials were gathered and their purposes, underscoring Washoe cultural heritage. The Meeks Bay website clearly features the Washoe Tribe (Figure 7.10), and shows Washoe agency within this tourist landscape. Today Washoe agency directly impacts the practice of tourism, in part by representing Meeks Bay with both a tourist and Washoe-produced identity using their cultural heritage landscapes and the tourism landscape to rework the deep-rooted Euro-American narrative of colonization and subjugation.



Figure 7.9: Meeks Bay Resort Depicting Washoe Cultural Heritage. 2014. Digital image collage. Images taken by the author.



Figure 7.10: Meeks Bay Resort Website. 2014. Screen Shot. Meeks Bay Resort. Available from <http://www.meeksbayresort.com/#>. (Accessed 02/07/2014).

During both the tourist season and off-season the Washoe hold cultural heritage events such as classes in basket weaving and beading, plant identification and harvesting and ecological stewardship of Lake Tahoe, with Washoe and non-Washoe invited. Although the tourist season is an important part of Meeks Bay, it is the off-season use by the Washoe and other Native Americans that is perhaps the more important aspect of Meeks Bay. Along with repatriating traditional Washoe lands and environment restoration of the lands, one of the aims of taking over the management of Meeks Bay Resort was to have a place for Washoe tribal members to have access to Lake Tahoe itself (Cruz 2014; Armitage 2012; Bourelle 1998). In the off-season the Washoe have unfettered access to Lake Tahoe and the meadows and lands adjacent to it. This access to traditional plant materials enables the Washoe to reestablish and continue traditional practices, and in turn educate Washoe and non-Washoe about the tribe's cultural heritage (Figure 7.11) (M. P. Rucks 2014; Cruz 2014; Bucci 2014; Wallace 2001).

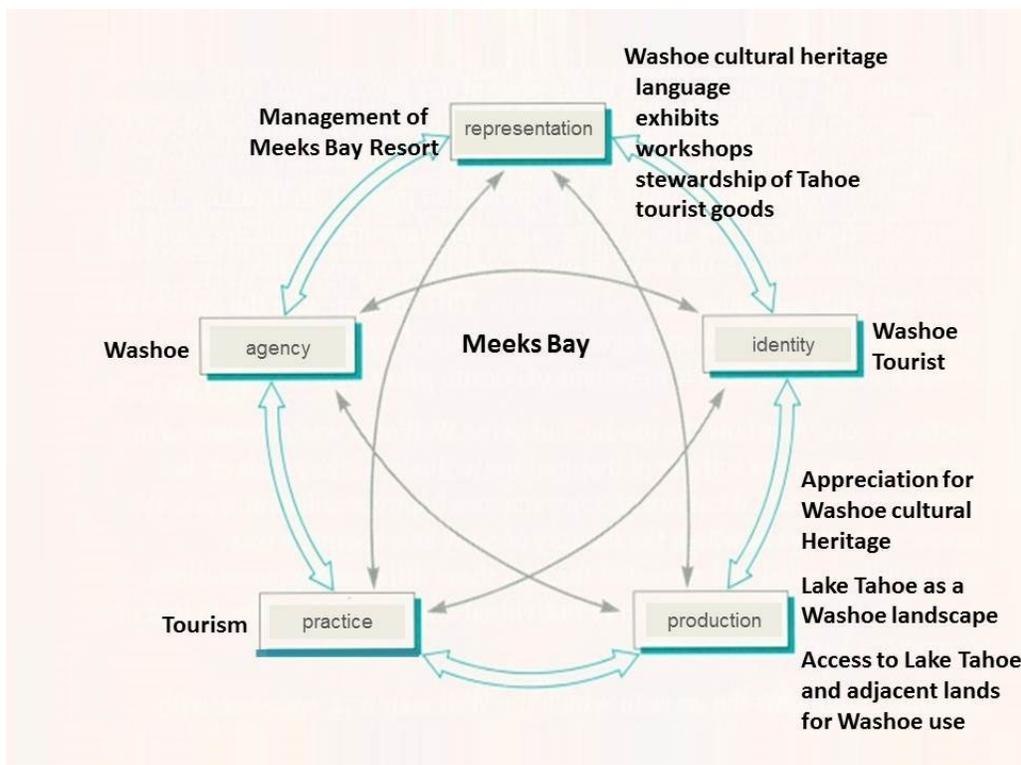


Figure 7.11: Meeks Bay Model.

Environmentalism Landscape

Embedded in Washoe cultural heritage is environmental stewardship of Lake Tahoe, and they conduct training in Washoe land ethics and lead environment restoration efforts both at Lake Tahoe and beyond (Washoe Cultural Office 2004). Although some think of cultural heritage as solely tangible heritage associated with the built environment, natural heritage and intangible cultural heritage are important for the Washoe. This is indicated by Chairman Wallace. "We value every opportunity we get to project our traditional values in any discussion related to the environment. We have the ability to bring a lot to the [Tahoe] basin. A more powerful part of it is the knowledge we can provide [,] ancestral knowledge we've had from the beginning of time, from our perspective. From our first day" (Bourelle 1998).

The environmental movements to “Keep Tahoe Blue” and “Save Lake Tahoe” are embedded in the Lake Tahoe landscape today (Figure 7.12). Euro-American concerns over environmental issues, especially the clarity of the water, date back to the late 1880s and LeConte’s study (LeConte 1883). Early on, people recognized the environmental impacts of logging. This spurred on “Lucky” Baldwin’s purchase of Tallac as it had one of the few lake-side stands of old growth trees remaining at that time (Goin, Raymond, and Blesse 1992). It also spurred John Muir and others into action, culminating in the first U.S. National Forest to be created after two failed attempts to protect Lake Tahoe via National Park designation (Strong 1999; Strong 1984; Bixler 1964; Knisely 1972). Through time, ecological concerns resulted in nationally-recognized environmental summits at Lake Tahoe; the 1997 Presidential Forum, attended by President Clinton and Vice President Gore, was the catalyst for the subsequent Tahoe Summits that focused on environmental protection and restoration of Lake Tahoe. It was at the 1997 meeting where then Washoe Tribal Chairman Wallace met with President Clinton, resulting in long-term agreements between the two governments for Washoe use of U.S. Forest Service lands. In addition to this the Washoe Tribe has partnered with local and state governments to aid in environmental restoration projects teaching Washoe stewardship and land ethics (Washoe Cultural Office 2009b; “Washoe Tribe to Manage Meeks Bay Resort at Tahoe” 1998; Wallace 2001; Bourelle 1998). Wallace stated, “We’re going to continue to fortify our resource management infrastructure, literally getting more people out on the land to do traditional stewardship and conservation, from cleaning up acid mine waste sites to protecting bracken fern populations in the Tahoe Basin”(Bourelle 1998).

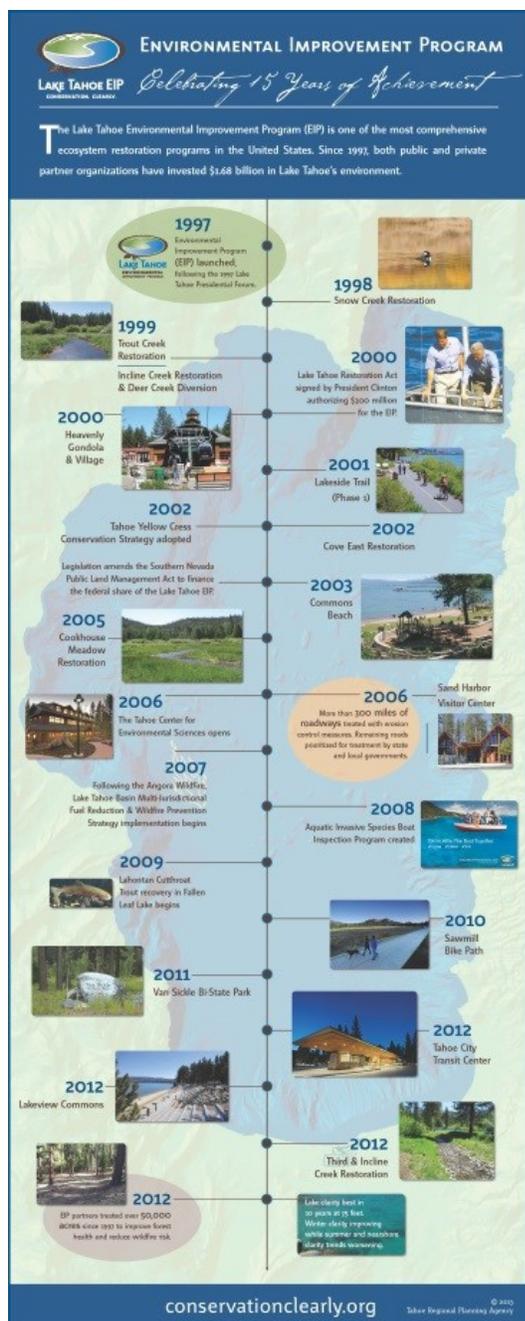


Figure 7.12: Environmental Improvement Program Banner. 2013. Tahoe Regional Planning Agency. Available from <http://www.trpa.org/about-trpa/how-we-operate/environmental-improvement-program/>. (Accessed 3/17/2014).

For many, Lake Tahoe is representative of an environmentalist landscape, with the preservation and restoration of Lake Tahoe at its core. But the evolution of the environmentalist landscape is a result of Euro-American settlement and tourism. Thus

the environmentalist landscape is a tourist landscape itself, it was produced by the practice of tourism. The environmentalist landscape and its representation in the “Keep Tahoe Blue” campaign have Euro-American antecedents, yet are also a Euro-American appropriation of Washoe land ethics and environmental stewardship (Figure 7.14).

Washoe land use practices and land ethics were reasons Euro-Americans used to subjugate the Washoe and colonize their lands. This has come full circle, representing the reciprocity of tourism. Instead of Washoe adapting Euro-American cultural heritage, Euro-Americans are adopting Washoe cultural heritage—land ethics, land use practices and environmental sustainability.

Taking a page from the Lake Tahoe environmental movement “Keep Tahoe Blue”, the Washoe have repurposed this campaign to “Keep Tahoe Washoe.” (Figure 7.13). This not only encapsulates former Chairman Brian Wallace’s response to President Clinton’s question, what does the Washoe Tribe want, “Lake Tahoe”, it envisions the reciprocity of tourism and the Washoe Tribe (Armitage 2012). The Washoe are the first environmental stewards of Lake Tahoe. Their land ethics and cultural practices are those of sustainability. Euro-Americans settled Lake Tahoe and, because of their land ethics, effectively created an environmental waste land. They almost denuded the Lake Tahoe Basin of its trees, causing the highly-valued clarity of Lake Tahoe to plummet; they overfished the lake (Juday 1907; LeConte 1883). Euro-Americans successfully imprinted their cultural values on the Lake Tahoe landscapes, nearly erasing and eradicating the Washoe and their cultural heritage in the process.

Yet via tourism, the Washoe remained at Lake Tahoe and adapted culturally through time. Through agency, self-governance, self-identity and representation, the

Washoe reasserted their cultural heritage and affiliation with Lake Tahoe. The first and subsequent Lake Tahoe Summits brought the Washoe to the forefront as the original and continued environmental stewards of Lake Tahoe. Their involvement with the environment along with their successful litigation to remove sport climbers at Cave Rock represents their agency at Lake Tahoe, including some of the tourist landscapes (Figure 7.14). The Washoe represent themselves and their culture to the tourists visiting Lake Tahoe, through museum exhibits, cultural festivals and preservation efforts. Using the practice of tourism, they promote Washoe agency within the tourist landscapes themselves and through tourist products that encourage Keeping Tahoe Washoe (Figure 7.13).

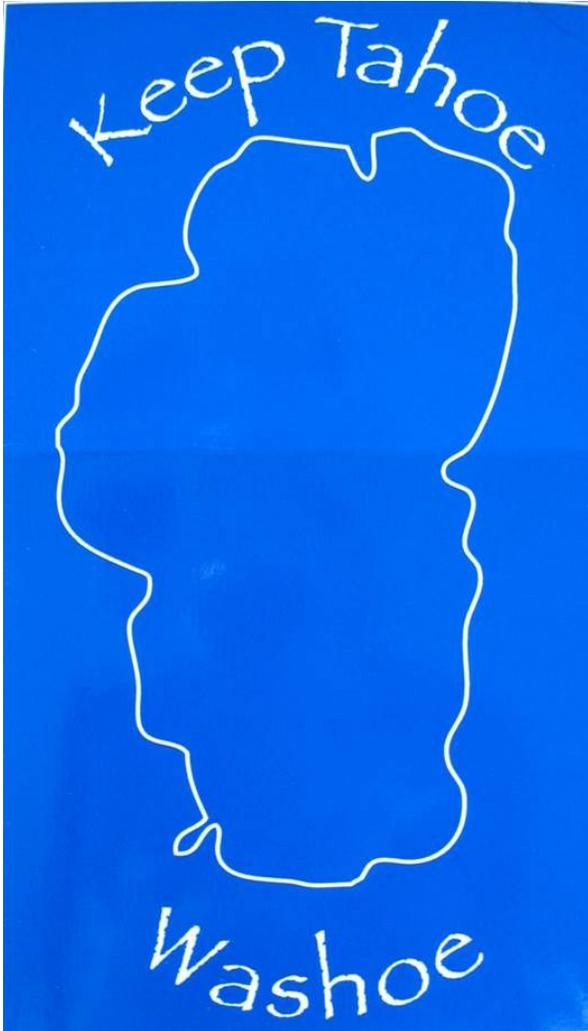


Figure 7.13: Keep Tahoe Washoe sticker. 2014. Digital image. Image taken by the author. Purchased from Meeks Bay Resort shop.

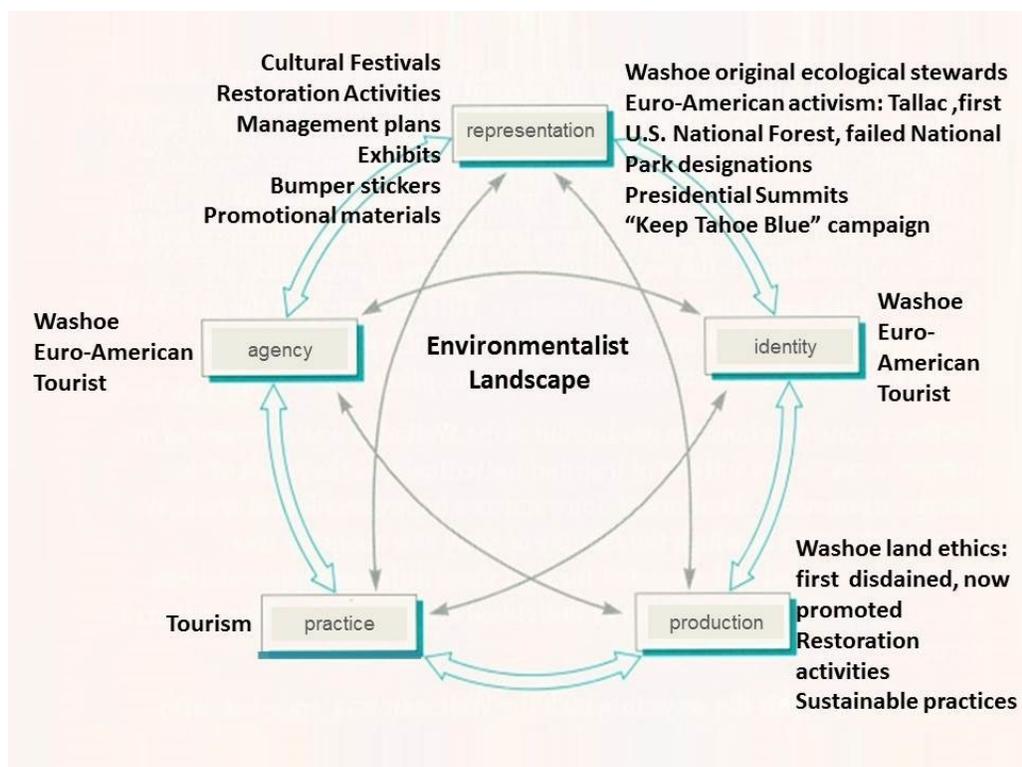


Figure 7.14: Environmental Landscapes Model.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

This dissertation addresses the marginalization of the Washoe within their traditional landscapes at Lake Tahoe, as well as in media representations. The study examines the impacts of Euro-American settlement and tourism on Washoe cultural heritage production and preservation. The Introduction asserts the Washoe people did not vanish from the Lake Tahoe landscape; they adapted and integrated their cultural practices into the new tourist landscapes at Lake Tahoe: past and present. Indeed the Washoe did much more than integrate their culture into tourism. The reciprocity of tourism model in conjunction with the hybrid tourist/cultural heritage landscape show Washoe agency altered Euro-American cultural practices and imbued them with meaning, just as Euro-American agency altered Washoe cultural heritage. This highlights the fact that tourism is not simply a fun and frivolous activity. Tourism is a culturally formative process and is explored in this study using the reciprocity of tourism model. The reciprocity of tourism model focuses on interconnections; a circuit where all parts mutually inform and link each other, as in its progenitor the circuit of culture. The reciprocity of tourism model can be used to explore and explain how tourism impacts *identity, representation, production, practice* and *agency* of the landscapes and people tourists visit.

Cultural heritage is dynamic and represents the processes of cultural production, reworking the past for present-day needs, and is expressed in cultural heritage landscapes. Cultural heritage incorporates both built and natural environments, exemplified by land use practices and land ethics. Euro-American settlement, restricted Washoe access to their traditional cultural heritage landscapes. Euro-Americans

ascribed a dehumanized generic “Indian” identity to the Washoe, in large part because of their traditional land use practices, reflecting the nineteenth-century Euro-American cultural ethos. Using tools of survivance, the Washoe worked within the confines of their ascribed identity, became part of the Euro-American produced landscapes and produced new and reworked Washoe cultural heritage.

The cultural heritage landscape enacts and enables tourism. Thus, the cultural heritage landscape is the nexus between tourism and cultural heritage. The cultural heritage landscape itself is influenced by and, in turn, produces cultural heritage—natural heritage and built heritage. Tangible and intangible heritage are products of and produced by peoples’ interaction with the cultural heritage landscape. In other words, the cultural heritage landscape is the medium where the processes of producing culture are enacted and becomes a place of interaction. Cultural heritage landscapes are dynamic and multifaceted, and people inscribe them with multiple meanings through time. This dissertation uses the hybrid tourist/cultural heritage landscape as means to understand the processes of landscape formation. Not only is it an analytical tool, it is also a cultural heritage landscape itself. The act of tourism, visiting the cultural heritage of a particular people, place or time, produces new landscapes.

Lake Tahoe has always been visited for its beauty. Lake Tahoe landscapes, large and small, primarily visually represent Euro-American land use practices and land ethics. These practices adversely impact the Washoe people and Lake Tahoe ecologically. The Washoe Tribe’s traditional land use practices and land ethics, promoting sustainability and environmental awareness, are now promoted by Euro-Americans as one of the primary cultural ethos represented, identified, produced and

practiced at Lake Tahoe and in Lake Tahoe cultural heritage landscapes. The intense scientific study of Lake Tahoe, environmental management plans, ecological restoration activities and tourist-oriented promotional materials represent the primacy of the Lake Tahoe environmentalist landscape. These multiple activities help construct and represent the Lake Tahoe environmentalist landscape concurrently as a tourist landscape.

Hybrid Tourist/Cultural Heritage Landscape Evaluation

The hybrid tourist/cultural heritage landscape and the reciprocity of tourism model are used as ways to understand the impacts of tourism and landscape formation processes at Lake Tahoe. The hybrid tourist/cultural heritage landscape, as the name implies, uses two different factors: tourists and the cultural heritage the tourist visit, to explore how one type of cultural heritage landscape (a hybrid tourist/cultural heritage landscape) can be formed. As previously discussed, the act of tourism and the use of cultural heritage are both culturally formative processes, meaning they are both reciprocal processes. Therefore, is the hybrid tourist/cultural heritage landscape method of analysis alone sufficient to understand the complexities of the reciprocity of tourism, or is the reciprocity of tourism needed?

The hybrid tourist/cultural heritage landscape is most effective when used separately to augment or highlight aspects of the reciprocity of tourism model, in particular when considering the broad themes of time, people, place and scale. For example, using time as the base of the examination, different hybrid tourist/cultural heritage landscapes can be analyzed in the same or different locations. This has the potential to expose multiple types of cultural heritage tourists engage in simultaneously,

and this also has the potential to highlight the emphasis of certain cultural heritage over others. This method is best used to examine landscape formation through time. The landscape can be excavated like an archaeological site, thereby allowing each layer to be understood as a representation of the people and place in a particular time, while it also shows the evolution of that landscape through time.

The reciprocity of tourism model, discussed below, engages the complexity and reciprocity of tourism more thoroughly, because it has more factors allowing for the interconnected, multi-dimensionality of tourism to be more fully represented. The hybrid tourist/cultural heritage landscape method of analysis, therefore, can be either a component of the reciprocity of tourism model or used alone.

The Reciprocity of Tourism Model versus the Reciprocity Between Two Components

Reciprocal relationships are most often considered between two components. At the heart of my examination is the reciprocal relationship between Washoe cultural heritage and tourism. Yet, my study looks beyond these two factors and examines a number of factors that are interrelated and significant. Would my study have been as effective had I used the reciprocity between two components rather than the two components examined within a circuit with five factors?

My study could have been explored solely using reciprocal relationships between tourism and Washoe cultural heritage. However, more discussion would have been needed to explore the intricacies and the multiple dimensions of the reciprocal relationships between tourism and cultural heritage.

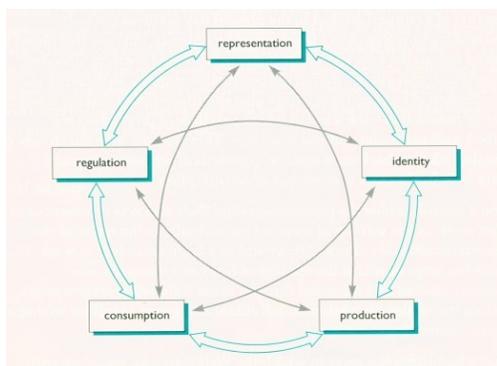


Figure 8.1: Circuit of Culture.



Figure 8.2: Reciprocity of Tourism Model.

As a result, I based my reciprocity of tourism model on du Gay's circuit of culture, making changes to two of the factors in the model for my research, as seen in Figures 8.1 and 8.2. Beyond the five factors of *representation*, *identity*, *production*, *practice* and *agency*, I also add qualifiers in one or all of the five major factors to represent more complex discussions.

Multiple qualifiers are useful for some factors more than others. It is difficult to diagram multiple *agencies* through time within one landscape diagram, as the different qualifiers for *agency* are then reflected throughout the model. However, this this was done in the Tallac reciprocity of tourism model in Chapter 7. Multiple agencies are also depicted in the Environmentalist Landscape model, but the model depicts the landscape today rather than through time. Therefore, the reciprocity of tourism is best at representing fixed time, rather than across a time continuum, and a single agency within a period of time. This is where the hybrid tourist/cultural heritage landscape method can be employed to augment the analysis.

While I do expand du Gay's original model with qualifiers, there is a danger in over-qualifying the major factors that can result in unclear and overly complex diagrams,

as exemplified in one of my rejected model diagrams. The *Lake Tahoe Landscapes Euro-American Contact to 1935* (Figure 8.3) is my attempt to illustrate both Washoe and Euro-American agency through time. In such cases, I pare down the diagram as is the case with *Lake Tahoe Landscapes Euro-American Contact to 1935* or create new diagrams to underpin particular discussions, such as the practice of cultural heritage preservation professionals discussed in Chapter 7 and illustrated in Figure 8.4.

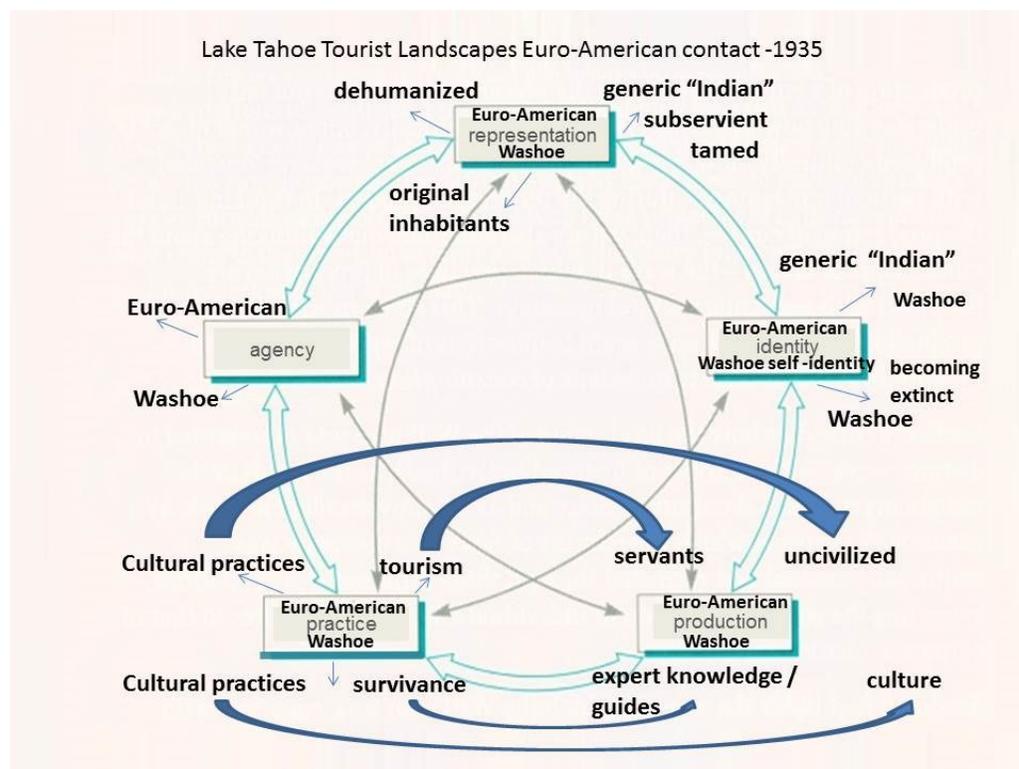


Figure 8.3: Rejected Complex Model of Lake Tahoe Tourist Landscapes Euro-American Contact -1935.

Although every place and landscape at Lake Tahoe was important to the Washoe and tourism, only those places that have active and accessible tourist amenities for both Euro-Americans and the Washoe worked for this analysis. Tourist/summer home enclaves are not suitable, even though they are tourist landscapes themselves. For example, Glenbrook, NV has no current Washoe presence in the landscape; therefore, the analysis would be limited to their original use of the

landscape, ending with Euro-American settlement. However, if Washoe ties to the built landscape, summer home construction, could be established, this would lead to further and expanded analyses.

The Flexibility of the Reciprocity of Tourism

In Chapter 7, I use the reciprocity of tourism model with the same factors but with a different qualifier for *practice*—not tourism, but heritage preservation—to examine the production of a tourist landscape. In discussing the Basketry Landscape of Lake Tahoe, I note heritage preservation professionals play a role in the production of tourism; therefore, the *practice* of heritage preservation *produces* tourism. Therefore, I have created a second model to reflect a different aspect the reciprocity of tourism for the same landscape (Figure 8.4). The *practice* of cultural heritage preservation has *agency* with cultural heritage, as it *represents* what type of cultural heritage is worthy of preservation. The cultural heritage that is preserved by the *practice* of cultural heritage preservation is *produced* for the public (tourists) through exhibits and thereby aids in the *production* of the *identity* of a culture by *representation* of their cultural heritage. This use of the model is an affirmation of its flexibility.

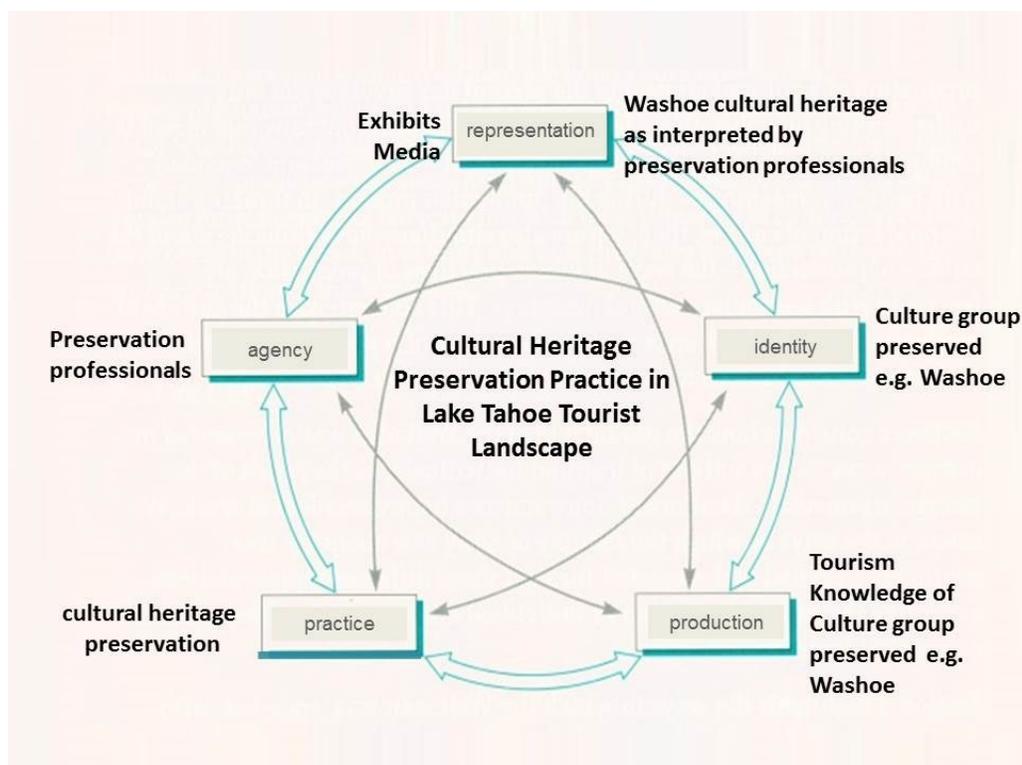


Figure 8.4: Cultural Heritage Preservation Model.

Cultural heritage professionals' efforts to preserve or not to preserve a culture's heritage have ramifications and implications beyond the physical preservation of an object, building or landscape. The cultural heritage preserved and represented to the public authorizes its importance and expands scientific, academic and cultural understanding. As tourists are arguably the largest consumers of preserved and presented cultural heritage, it is important to note cultural heritage preservation professionals play a role in tourism, its production and its impacts. Just as tourism can influence cultural heritage preservation decisions, cultural heritage professionals influence tourists. One way is through the active preservation of tourist-influenced material culture—such as in the preservation of Dat So La Lee's baskets. Cave Rock exemplifies another aspect of the reciprocal influence of tourism on heritage preservation decisions. The decision to take action at all authorizes the importance of

the site—for the Washoe people and the tourists alike. By banning one type of tourism, sport climbing, and mitigating its damage, heritage professionals use their agency to support some practices of tourism over others.

In the reciprocity of tourism model, cultural heritage professionals' role is one component of many that can be further explored using the expanded web of interconnected nodes of the reciprocity of tourism. Indeed, what was explored in this study can be seen as one node in the interconnected web of the reciprocity of tourism. du Gay's circuit of culture did not deal with tourism, but the cultural production of an everyday item. Tourism is a part of cultural production, and it was the focus in this study, pertaining to cultural heritage and landscapes. Yet tourism is only one of many processes of cultural production; therefore, this model is useful to conceptualize connections between different modes of cultural production, simply altering the qualifiers of the factors as well as what is being examined.

Using the Reciprocity of Tourism Model for other Cultural Heritage Landscapes Besides the Washoe

As is suggested at the beginning of this section as well as by the reciprocity of tourism model itself, a reverse analysis of the Washoe's impact on Euro-American cultural heritage would be an interesting counterpoint worthy of study. I explore this concept in Chapter 7 by looking at the Lake Tahoe Environmentalist Landscape as a tourist landscape, noting the Washoe cultural heritage practices of sustainability and stewardship of Lake Tahoe are now also the dominate Euro-American narrative associated with Lake Tahoe as diagramed in Figure 7.14.

Today at Lake Tahoe, a visitor can experience Washoe cultural heritage at the U.S. Forest Service-operated Tallac Historic site by attending the Wa She Shu It Deh at Vallhalla, walk next door to the Baldwin estate and view the Washoe Garden, including a *galais dungal*, and the Washoe-curated exhibit, recounting their history at Lake Tahoe and the impact of Euro-American settlement. At the Taylor Creek Visitor Center complex, one can learn about and see spawning fish that are tied to Washoe cultural heritage and subsistence practices. Nearby, a visitor can see pre-contact Washoe cultural heritage on display at the Lam Watah site, where large bedrock mortars remain. Moving north along the west shore, one can stay at Meeks Bay Resort operated by the Washoe Tribe and learn about and experience Washoe cultural heritage, including their language and basket weaving. In Tahoe City, one can visit the Gatekeeper's Museum to view Washoe basketry, including those Dat So La Lee made. On the east shore, one can drive through Cave Rock, a now protected Washoe sacred site.

Earlier discussions work to dispel the commonly held belief that the Washoe were marginalized from Lake Tahoe landscapes. Indeed, far from being marginalized from Lake Tahoe landscapes, the Washoe imbue them with meaning. Using the medium of hybrid tourist/cultural heritage landscapes, Washoe teach Euro-Americans about Washoe cultural heritage, including traditional land use practices. The Washoe use and promote their land ethics to preserve and protect Lake Tahoe, to "Keep Tahoe Washoe." As discussed in Chapter 4, the Washoe consider the wellbeing of Cave Rock to be emblematic of the wellbeing of Washoe and non-Washoe alike. This sentiment can be applied to Lake Tahoe itself, as it is the physical and spiritual center of the

Washoe. Keeping Lake Tahoe Washoe preserves and protects this cultural heritage landscape for everyone, Washoe and non-Washoe alike.

References

- Adelzadeh, Mary. 2006. "Empowerment in an Era of Self-Determination: The Case Of the Washoe Tribe and US Forest Service Co-Management Agreement." Master's thesis, University of Michigan.
<http://deepblue.lib.umich.edu/bitstream/handle/2027.42/40240/Adelzadeh?sequence=1>.
- Adey, Peter, and David Bissell. 2010. "Mobilities, Meetings, and Futures: An Interview with John Urry." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 28 (1): 1–16. doi:10.1068/d3709.
<http://www.envplan.com/abstract.cgi?id=d3709>.
- Amsden, Benoni L., Richard C. Stedman, and Linda E. Kruger. 2010. "The Creation and Maintenance of Sense of Place in a Tourism-Dependent Community." *Leisure Sciences* 33 (1) (December 30): 32–51. doi:10.1080/01490400.2011.533105.
<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01490400.2011.533105>.
- Anderson, Moji. 2004. "Arguing Over the 'Caribbean': Tourism on Costa Rica's Caribbean Coast." *Caribbean Quarterly* 50 (3): 25–46.
- Angel, Myron. 1958. *Reproduction of Thompson and West's History of Nevada, 1881*. Berkeley: Howell-North.
- Anonymous. 2014a. "Explore Capitol Hill: Art: Westward the Course of Empire Takes Its Way." *Architect of the Capitol*. Accessed January 1. <http://www.aoc.gov/capitol-hill/other-paintings-and-murals/westward-course-empire-takes-its-way>.
- . "May-Ah-Mee Lodge Pamphlet." Chambers.
- . 1884. *The Tourist's Guide-Book to the United States and Canada*. 1884th ed. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/njp.32101067878684>.
- . 1900. "Etc." *Overland Monthly and Out West Magazine* XXXVI (211): 85–88. <http://0-search.proquest.com.innopac.library.unr.edu/docview/137581979/fulltextPDF/E6BFA1DBB40D4C3DPQ/165?accountid=452>.
- . 1911. "Abe Cohn Is in Serious Trouble Once Again." *Carson City News*, October 7.
- . 1920. "Carson City Items." *Reno Evening Gazette*, June 11.
- . 1923. "George Wharton James : Poet, Scientist, Philosopher." *Overland Monthly and Out West Magazine* LXXXI (8): 39. <http://0-search.proquest.com.innopac.library.unr.edu/docview/137420266/fulltextPDF/E6BFA1DBB40D4C3DPQ/138?accountid=452>.
- . 1925. "Famous Weaver of Baskets Dies After Long Illness." *Reno Evening Gazette*, December 7.

———. 1932. "Indian Basket Study Made for U.S. Bureau." *Reno Evening Gazette*, May 16.

———. 1938. "Indians to Give Pagaent at Tahoe." *Reno Evening Gazette*, July 21.

Antonucci, David C. 2009. *Snowball's Chance: The Story of the 1960 Olmypic Winter Games, Squaw Valley & Lake Tahoe*. 1st ed. United States: David Antonucci.

Armitage, Lynn. 2012. "The Washoe: The First People at Lake Tahoe."

Indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com.

<http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/2012/08/05/washoe-first-people-lake-tahoe-125703>.

Auchoberry, Bernice, and R.T. King. 1984. "An Interview with Bernice Auchoberry: A Contribution to a Survey of Life in Carson Valley, From First Settlement Through the 1950s." Reno: University of Nevada, Reno. Oral History Program.

Bahouth, Brian. 2006. "Lake Tahoe Voices: Writing about Lake Tahoe on Audio." Reno: Faultline Audio Press, Inc.

Ballengue-Morris, Christine. 2002. "Cultures for Sale: Perspectives on Colonialism and Self-Determination and the Relationship to Authenticity and Tourism." *Studies in Art Education* 43 (3): 232–245.

Beekhuis, Jeanne. 1981. "Tourism in the Caribbean: Impacts on the Economic, Social and Natural Environments." *Ambio* 10 (6): 325–331.

Bell, Jim. 2000. *Tahoe's Gilded Age: A Photographic Portfolia from 1880 to 1919*. Tahoe City: Jim Bell,.

Bennett, David, and Sophie Gebhardt. 2005. "Global Tourism and Caribbean Culture." *Caribbean Quarterly* 51 (1): 15–24.

Berry, Kate A. 1998. "Race for Water? Native Americans, Eurocentrism, and Western Water Policy." In *Envrionmental Injustices, Political Struggles: Race, Class, and the Envrionment*, edited by David E. Camacho, 101–124. Durham: Duke University Press.

———. 2015. "Personal Communication with Author." Reno.

Berry, Kate A., and Martha L. Henderson, ed. 2002. *Geographical Identities of Ethnic America: Race, Space, and Place*. Reno: University of Nevada Press.

Bibby, Brian, Stephanie A. Givens, and Sara Larson. 2010. "The Datsolalee Minatures: An Extraordinary Collection from the Emporium Company, 1900-1921." Edited by Brian Bibby. Sacramento: Fong & Fong Printers and Lithographers.

- Biltz, Norman. 1969. *Memoirs of "The Duke of Nevada": Developments of Lake Tahoe, California, and Nevada: Reminiscences of Nevada Political and Financial Life*. Reno: Oral History Project, Center for Western North American Studies, University of Nevada System.
- Binns, Tony, and Etienne Nel. 2002. "Tourism as a Local Development Strategy in South Africa." *The Geographical Journal* 168 (3) (September): 235–247.
- Bixler, W. K. 1964. *A Dozen Sierra Success Stories: Twelve Individuals of Our Time: Eva Adams, Norman Blitz, Paul Claiborne, Clel Georgetta, Harvey Gross, Raymond Knisley, Wayne Poulsen, George Probasco, Archie D. Stevenot, Lester D. Summerfield, Harvey West, Jim A.E. Wilson*. Tahoe Valley, California: Sierra Publication.
- Blake, Janet. 2000. "On Defining the Cultural Heritage." *International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 49 (1): 61– 85.
- Blanchard, Charles, and Susan Lindström. 2003. "Flowing Away Over the Edge" (daubayOdu'E), Lake Tahoe Outlet." Tahoe City.
- Blok, Anders. 2005. "Tourism & Cosmopolitanism: Towards a Mobile Sociology. Interview with John Urry." *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism* 5 (1) (May): 76–81. doi:10.1080/15022250510014264. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/15022250510014264>.
- Bourelle, Andy. 1998. "Washoe Finally Make Progress." <http://www.tahoedailytribune.com/article/19981009/NEWS/110092606>.
- Brandeis, Erich. 1918. "Indian Legends for Profit." *Overland Monthly and Out West Magazine* LXXI (2): 0–20. <http://0-search.proquest.com.innopac.library.unr.edu/docview/137426732/fulltextPDF/55EEEEBA82A44A64PQ/41?accountid=452>.
- Brechin, Gray. 1999. *Imperial San Francisco*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Breidenbach, Joana, and Pal Nyiri. 2007. "'Our Common Heritage' New Tourist Nations, Post-'Socialist' Pedagogy, and the Globalization of Nature." *Current Anthropology* 48 (2) (April): 322–330.
- Brink, Peter H. 1998. "Heritage Tourism in the U.S.A.: Grassroots Efforts to Combine Preservation and Tourism." *APT Bulletin* 29 (3): 59–63.
- Browne, J Ross. 1864. *Crusoe's Island: A Ramble in the Footsteps of Alexander Selkir. With Sketches of Adventure in California and Washoe*. New York: Harper and brothers. <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc2.ark:/13960/t7mp5439f>.
- Bruner, Edward M. 2001. "The Maasai and the Lion King: Authenticity, Nationalism, and Globalization in African Tourism." *American Ethnologist* 28 (4) (November): 881–908. doi:10.1525/ae.2001.28.4.881. <http://doi.wiley.com/10.1525/ae.2001.28.4.881>.

- Bucci, Mark. 2014. "Personal Communication with Author." Meeks Bay.
- California, Washoe Tribe of Nevada and. 2014. "Exhibit Labels from the Washoe Exhibit at the Baldwin Museum, South Lake Tahoe, CA." South Lake Tahoe.
- . 2015. "Washoe Tribe Newsletter." *Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California*.
<https://www.washoetribe.us/contents/index.php/news/washoe-tribe-newsletter>.
- Cassar, May. 2009. "Sustainable Heritage: Challenges and Strategies for the Twenty-First Century." *APT Bulletin* 40 (1): 3–11.
- Castleman, Deke. 2001. *Moon Handbooks: Nevada*. Edited by Erin Van Rheenen. 6th ed. Emeryville: Avalon Travel Publishing.
- Chittenden, N. H. 1884. *Health Seekers', Tourists' and Sportsmen's Guide to the Sea-Side, Lake-Side, Foothill, Mountain and Mineral Spring Health and Pleasure Resorts of the Pacific Coast*. Second ed. San Francisco: C. A. Murdock and Company.
<http://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.31822038208187>.
- Clayton, Anthony. 2011. "Strategies for Sustainable Tourism Development: The Role of the Concept of Carrying Capacity." *Social and Economic Studies* 51 (1): 61–98.
- Clifford, James. 2004. "Looking Several Ways: Anthropology and Native Heritage in Alaska." *Current Anthropology* 45 (1): 5–30.
- Cohodas, Marvin. 1979. "Degikup Washoe Fancy Basketry 1895-1935." Vancouver, B.C.: University of British Columbia.
- . 1982. "Dat so La Lee and the Degikup." *Halcyon* (4): 119–140.
- . 1983. "Washoe Basketry." *American Indian Basketry and Other Native Arts* 3 (12): 4–29.
- . 1992. "Louisa Keyser and the Cohns: Mythmaking and Basket Making in the American West." In *The Early Years of Native American Art History: The Politics of Scholarship and Collecting*, edited by Janet Catherine Berlo, 88–133. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- . 2005. "Keyser, Louisa." *American National Biography*. Oxford University Press. I.
- Cornelissen, Scarlett. 2005. "Producing and Imaging 'place' and 'people': The Political Economy of South African International Tourist Representation." *Review of International Political Economy* 12 (4) (October): 674–699. doi:10.1080/09692290500240404.
<http://www.informaworld.com/openurl?genre=article&doi=10.1080/09692290500240404&magic=crossref||D404A21C5BB053405B1A640AFFD44AE3>.

Croft, George A. 1870. *Great Trans-Continental Tourist's Guide ...: From the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean ...* New York: G.A. Croft & Co.
<http://hdl.handle.net/2027/njp.32101074862838>.

———. 1878. *Croft's New Overland Tourist and Pacific Coast Guide ...* Chicago: The Overland Publishing Company. <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/loc.ark:/13960/t1hh6t726>.

Cronon, William. 1983. *Changes in the Land: Indian, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England*. New York: Hill and Wang.

Cronon, William, George Miles, and Jay Gitlin, ed. 1992. "Becoming West: Toward a New Meaning for Western History." In *Under an Open Sky: Rethinking America's Western Past*, First, 3–27. London: W. W. Norton and Company.

Cruz, Darrell. 2014. "Personal Communication with Author." Minden.

"Cultural Resource Department." 2015. *The Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California*. Accessed February 2. <https://www.washoetribe.us/contents/index.php/culture>.

d'Azevedo, Warren L. 1993a. "The Washoe People in the Twentieth Century." South Lake Tahoe.

———. 1993b. "Washoe." Edited by David Levinson and Timothy O'Leary. *Encyclopedia of World Cultures*. New York: G. K. Hall & Co.

———. 2008. "The Two Worlds of Lake Tahoe: A Report On Cave Rock." *Nevada State Museum Anthropological Papers* 26: xi, 59.
<http://kaga.wsulibs.wsu.edu/ebooks/TwoWorldsLakeTahoe.pdf>.

d'Azevedo, Warren L., and William C. Sturtevant, ed. 1986. *Handbook of North American Indians*. Great Basi. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

Dangberg, Grace. 1927. "Washo Texts." *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 22 (3): 393–443.
<http://dpg.lib.berkeley.edu/webdb/anthpubs/search?all=washo&item=11>.

———. 1968. "Washo Tales: Three Original Washo Indian Legends." *Nevada State Museum Occasional Papers* 1: 103.

Davis, Mary B., ed. 1994. *Native America in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Garland Publishing Co.

Day, Sherman. 1883. "Civilizing the Indians of California." *Overland Monthly and Out West Magazine* 12 (2): 575–581. <http://0-quod.lib.umich.edu/innopac.library.unr.edu/m/moajrnl/ahj1472.2-02.012/657:3?rgn=full+text;view=image>.

- Deloria, Vine Jr., and Clifford M. Lytle. 1984. *The Nations Within: The Past and Future of American Indian Sovereignty*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Dick, Ramona George, and Joanne Peden. 1993. "Valhalla Boathouse Interview: Ramona George Dick." South Lake Tahoe: Tallac Association.
- Downs, James F. 1961. "Washo Religion." *University of California Anthropological Records* University: 365–385.
<http://dpg.lib.berkeley.edu/webdb/anthpubs/search?all=washo&item=10>.
- . 1966. *The Two Worlds of the Washo : An Indian Tribe of California and Nevada*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- du Gay, Paul, Stuart Hall, Linda Janes, Hugh Mackay, and Keith Negus. 1997. *Doing Cultural Studies: The Story of the Sony Walkman*. London: SAGE Publications, Ltd.
- Durey, Wells. 1913. *California Tourist Guide and Handbooks*. Berkeley: Western Guidebook Company. <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=loc.ark:/13960/t6vx0nf7k;view=1up;seq=7>.
- Edwards, W. F. 1883. *W.F. Edwards' Tourists' Guide and Directory of the Truckee Basin*. Edited by W. F. Edwards and Charles D. Irons. Truckee: "Republican" Job Print.
<http://hdl.handle.net/2027/njp.32101079825137>.
- Eley, Geoffrey. 1995. "What Is Cultural History?" *New German Critique* 65 (Spring-Summer): 19–36.
http://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=Dxe9g_OdLV8C&oi=fnd&pg=PR5&dq=What+is+Cultural+History?&ots=K7pR63qAPB&sig=yRZXsUszfXZmHFdi3bou-pVjuLo.
- Elving, Phyllis, ed. 1971. *Sunset Travel Guide to Nevada*. Menlo Park: Lane Magazine & Book Company.
- Erikson, P. P. 2003. "Welcome to This House: A Century of Makah People Honoring Identity and Negotiating Cultural Tourism." *Ethnohistory* 50 (3) (July): 523–547.
- Evans, Lisa Gollin. 2001. *An Outdoor Family Guide to Lake Tahoe*. 2nd ed. Seattle: The Mountaineer Books.
- Fixico, Donald. 1986. *Termination and Relocation: Federal Indian Policy, 1945-1960*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Forbes, Jack D., ed. 1967. *Nevada Indians Speak*. Reno: University of Nevada Press.
- Forsyth, Timothy. 1997. "Environmental Responsibility and Business Regulation: The Case of Sustainable Tourism." *The Geographical Journal* 163 (3) (November): 270–280.
- Foucault, Michell. 1973. *The Birth of the Clinic; an Archaeology of Medical Perception*. First Amer. New York: Pantheon Books.

- Fowler, Don D. 1969. "Book Review of Nevada Indians Speak by Jack D. Forbes." *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 60 (1): 36–37.
- Francaviglia, Richard V. 2005. *Mapping and the Imagination in the Great Basin*. Reno: University of Nevada Press.
- Franzwa, Gregory M. 2004. *The Lincoln Highway: Volume 5 Nevada*. Tucson: The Patrice Press.
- Freed, Stanley A. 1960. "Changing Washo Kinship." *University of California Anthropological Records* University: 349–418.
<http://dpg.lib.berkeley.edu/webdb/anthpubs/search?all=washo&item=1>.
- . 1966. "Washo Habitation Sites in the Lake Tahoe Area." *University of California Archaeological Survey Notes on W*: 73–88.
<http://digitalassets.lib.berkeley.edu/anthpubs/ucb/text/ucas066-004.pdf>.
- Frémont, John Charles, and Samuel M. Smucker. 1856. *The Life of Col. John Charles Fremont, and His Narrative of Explorations and Adventures, in Kansas, Nebraska, Oregon and California*. New York: Auburn, Miller, Orton & Mulligan.
<https://archive.org/details/lifeofcoljohncha01fr>.
- Garey-Sage, Darla. 2003. "Washoe Women's Wisdom: Ethnobotany and Its Role in Contemporary Cultural Identity." PhD dissertation, University of Nevada, Reno.
- Garrod, Brian, and Alan Fyall. 2001. "Heritage Tourism: A Question of Definition." *Annals of Tourism Research* 28 (4) (January): 1049–1052.
- George, Margie, Elaine Christianson, Ramsey Walker, Avril Wood, Rolland Christianson, Florence Mulkey, Tina Wyatt, et al. 1983. "Washo Elders at Valhalla #30." South Lake Tahoe.
- George, Margie Washoe, and JoAnne Peden. 1992. "Valhalla Boathouse Interview: Margie Washoe George." South Lake Tahoe: Tallac Association.
- Gigli, Jane, Green. 1974. "Dat so La Lee Queen of the Washoe Basket Makers." *Anthropological Papers* (16): 1–27.
- Glover, Nikolas. 2008a. "Co-Produced Histories: Mapping the Uses and Narratives of History in the Tourist Age." *The Public Historian* 30 (1) (February): 105–124.
- . 2008b. "Co-Produced Histories: Mapping the Uses and Narratives of History in the Tourist Age." *The Public Historian* 30 (1) (February): 105–124.
doi:10.1525/tp.h.2008.30.1.105. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20185174>.
- Gmelch, Sharon Bohn. 2004a. *Why Tourism Matters*. Edited by Sharon Bohn Gmelch. *Tourist and Tourism*. Long Grove: Waveland Press.

- . 2004b. *Tourist and Tourism*. Long Grove: Waveland Press.
- Goin, Peter, C. Elizabeth Raymond, and Robert E. Blesse. 1992. *Stopping Time: A Rephotographic Survey of Lake Tahoe*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Graburn, Nelson. 2001. "Secular Ritual: A General Theory of Tourism." In *Hosts and Guests Revisited: Tourism Issues of the 21st Century*, edited by Valene L. Smith and Maryann Brent, 42–52. New York: Cognizant Communications Corporation.
- Guralnik, David B., ed. 1985. *Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language*. New York: Warner Books.
- Hall, C. M., and S. J. Page. 1999. *The Geography of Tourism and Recreation: Environment, Place and Space*. London; New York: Routledge.
- . 2009. "Progress in Tourism Management: From the Geography of Tourism to Geographies of Tourism – A Review." *Tourism Management* 30 (1) (February): 3–16.
- Hall, Stuart. 1996. "On Postmodernism and Articulation." In *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*, edited by D. Morely and K.-H. Chen. London: Routledge.
- Hardesty, Donald L. 2000. "Ethnographic Landscapes: Transforming Nature into Culture." In *Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America*, edited by A. Alanen and R. Melnick, 169–185. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Hardesty, Donald L., and Robert Elston. 1979. "A Cultural Resources Reconnaissance of the Marlette Lake - Hobart Watershed." Reno.
- Hardy, Dennis. 1988. "Historical Geography and Heritage Studies." *Area* 20 (4): 333–338.
- Harrison, Rodney. 2013. *Heritage*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Heald, Weldon F. 1952. *Scenic Guide to Nevada*. 2nd ed. Susanville: H. C. Johnson.
- Heslop, Katherine, and Paul F. Starrs. 2012. "The Gaming Zone: A One-Mile Limit at Stateline." *Yearbook of the Association of Pacific Coast Geographers* 74 (1): 28–52.
- Hewison, M. 2010. "Agency." In *Encyclopedia of Case Study Research*, edited by G. Durepos Mills and E. Wiebe, 12–16. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Ltd.
- Hill, Rick. 1996. "High Speed Film Captures Vanishing Americans, in Living Color." *American Indian Culture Research Journal* 20 (3): 111–128.
- Hinkle, George Henry, and Bliss Hinkle. 1987. *Sierra Nevada Lakes*. Reprint. Reno: University of Nevada Press.

- Hoelscher, Steven. 2008. *Picturing Indians: Photographic Encounters and Tourist Fantasies in H. H. Bennett's Wisconsin Dells*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Hughes, J. 1994. "Antarctic Historic Sites The Tourism Implications." *Annals of Tourism Research* 21 (2): 281–294.
- Huntington, C. A. 1893. "The Indian Question." *Overland Monthly and Out West Magazine* XXII (131): 516–520. <http://0-search.proquest.com.innopac.library.unr.edu/docview/137573870/E721A3984342410EPQ/11?accountid=452>.
- Hyde, Anne Farrar. 1990. *An American Vision: Far Western Landscapes and National Culuture 1820-1920*. New York: New York University Press.
- James, George Wharton. 1901. *Indian Basketry*. Pasadena: printed privately for the author.
- . 1915. *The Lake of the Sky: Lake Tahoe in the High Sierras of California and Nevada*. New York: Baker & Taylor.
- James, Mabel, and Helen Blue. 1993. "Valhalla Boathouse Interview: Mabel James." South Lake Tahoe: Tallac Association.
- James, Ronald M., and Susan A. James. 2005. *Castle in the Sky: George Whittell Jr. and the Thunderbird Lodge*. Edited by Rose Marie Cleese. Second. Lake Tahoe: The Thunderbird Lodge Press.
- James, Winona. 1984. *An Interview with Winona James*. Reno: Oral History Program, University of Nevada Reno Library.
- Jamieson, Walter. 1998. "Cultural Heritage Tourism Planning and Development: Defining the Field and Its Challenges." *APT Bulletin* 29 (3): 65–67.
- Johnson, H. Cyril. 1945. *Scenic Guide to Nevada*. Westwood: Sugar Pine Press.
- Johnson, Nuala C. 1996. "Where Geography and History Meet: Heritage Tourism and the Big House in Ireland." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 86 (3) (September): 551–566.
- Jolliffe, Lee, and Ronnie Smith. 2001. "Heritage, Tourism and Museums: The Case of the North Atlantic Islands of Skye, Scotland and Prince Edward Island, Canada." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 7 (2) (June 1): 149–172. doi:10.1080/13527250120060187. <http://www.catchword.com/cgi-bin/cgi?body=linker&ini=xref&reqdoi=10.1080/13527250120060187>.
- Juday, Chancey. 1907. *Notes on Lake Tahoe, Its Trout and Trout-Fishing. Bulletin of the Bureau of Fisheries*. Vol. XXVI. Washington: Washington Government Printing Office. Notes on Lake Tahoe, its trout and trout-fishing.

- "Karen Atkinson Studio." 2014. *Women in Tough Terrain (Detours: Tahoe City Exhibition)*. http://karenatkinsonstudio.org/?page_id=120.
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. 1995. "Theorizing Heritage." *Ethnomusicology* 39 (3): 367. doi:10.2307/924627. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/924627?origin=crossref>.
- Knisely, Ray. 1972. "Knisely Archive." Reno: Special Collections, University of Nevada Reno Libraries.
- Knudsen, Daniel C., Anne K. Soper, and Michelle Metro-Roland. 2007. "Commentary: Gazing, Performing and Reading: A Landscape Approach to Understanding Meaning in Tourism Theory." *Tourism Geographies* 9 (3) (July 24): 227–233. doi:10.1080/14616680701422681. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14616680701422681>.
- Kort, Carol, and Liz Sonneborn. 2002. *A to Z of American Women in the Visual Arts*. New York: Facts on File, Inc.
- Kyle, Gerard, and Garry Chick. 2007. "The Social Construction of a Sense of Place." *Leisure Sciences* 29 (3) (April 10): 209–225. doi:10.1080/01490400701257922. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01490400701257922>.
- Lake Tahoe Basin Management Unit, USDA Forest Service. 1999. "Cave Rock Management Direction: Draft Environmental Impact Statement." South Lake Tahoe.
- . 2003. "Record of Decision for Cave Rock Management Direction, Final Environmental Impact Statement." Douglas County, Nevada.
- . 2008. "Order No. 19-08-01 USDA Forest Service, Lake Tahoe Basin Management Unit, Cave Rock Closure." Douglas.
- Landauer, Lyndall Baker. 1996. *The Mountain Sea: A History of Lake Tahoe*. Honolulu, Hawaii: Flying Cloud Press.
- Lankford, Scott. 2010. *Tahoe beneath the Surface: The Hidden Stories of America's Largest Mountain Lake*. Berkeley: Sierra College Press.
- Larson, Sara. 2008. *Lake Tahoe: Postcard History Series*. Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing.
- LeConte, John. 1883. "Physical Studies of Lake Tahoe. I." *Overland Monthly and Out West Magazine* II (11) (November): 506–517. <http://0-search.proquest.com.innopac.library.unr.edu/docview/137556858?accountid=452>.
- Leigh, Rufus Wood. 1964. *Nevada Place Names: Their Origin and Significance*. Las Vegas: Southern Nevada Historical Society.
- Leiper, Nell. 1979. "The Framework of Tourism." *Annals of Tourism Research* 6 (4) (October): 390–407.

- Lekisch, Barbara. 1996. *Tahoe Place Names*. 1996th ed. Lafayette: Great West Books.
- Lew, Alan. 2001. "Literature Review: Defining a Geography of Tourism." *Tourism Geographies* 3 (1): 105–114.
- Library of Congress. 2015. "Native American- Destroying Cultures- Immigration." *Teachers, Classroom Materials, Presentations and Activities, Immigration*. Accessed June 1. http://www.loc.gov/teachers/classroommaterials/presentationsandactivities/presentations/immigration/native_american.html.
- Lindström, Susan G. 1985. "Archaeological Investigations at Tallac Point." South Lake Tahoe.
- Lonnberg, Allan. 1981. "The Digger Indian Stereotype in California." *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 3 (2): 215–223. doi:0874801508.
- Lowenthal, David. 1985. *The Past Is a Foreign Country*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1995. "Fabricating Heritage." *History and Memory* 7 (1): 5–24.
- . 2003. "Postscript." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 93 (4): 885.
- Lowie, Robert H. 1939. "Ethnographic Notes on the Washo." *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* Ethnograph: 301–352. <http://dpg.lib.berkeley.edu/webdb/anthpubs/search?all=&volume=36&journal=1&item=6>.
- MacCannell, Dean. 1976. *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. New York: Schocken Books Inc.
- . 2002. "The Ego Factor in Tourism." *The Journal Of Consumer Research* 29 (1): 146–151.
- . 2012. "On the Ethical Stake in Tourism." *Tourism Geographies : An International Journal of Tourism Space , Place and Environment* 14 (1): 183–194.
- MacDonald, Claire. 1929. *Lake Tahoe California*. Lake Tahoe: Claire MacDonald, printed by William Edwin Rudge, Mount Vernon, New York.
- Makley, Matthew S. 2007. "'These Will Be Strong': A History of the Washoe People." PhD dissertation, Arizona State University.
- Makley, Matthew S., and Michael J. Makley. 2010. *Cave Rock: Climbers, Courts, and a Washoe Indian Sacred Place*. Reno: University of Nevada Press.
- Makley, Michael J. 2011. *A Short History of Lake Tahoe*. Reno: University of Nevada Press.

- Martin, Jack. 2014. "Tahoe Remembered: Old Timers Talk About Lake Tahoe." South Lake Tahoe: Lake Tahoe Historical Society.
- Mason, Otis Tufton. 1988. *American Indian Basketry*. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications.
- McCloskey, Erin Jean. 2006. "Pope Estate Historic Preservation Plan." Master's thesis, Ball State University.
- McKinney, John. 1864. *Ledger 0934*. Tahoe City.
- . 1889a. *Ledger 0935*. Tahoe City.
- . 1889b. *Day Book 4, 16*. Tahoe City.
- . 1890. *Day Book 8*. Tahoe City.
- McLaughlin, Mark. 2010. *Longboards to Olympics: A Century of Tahoe Winter Sports*. Carnelian Bay, California: Mic Mac Publications.
- McMurtrie, Douglas. 1935. *A Bibliography of Nevada Newspapers 1858 to 1875 Inclusive*. Mainz: Gutenberg-jahrbuch.
- Merrifield, Robert B. 1957. "Nevada 1859-1881: The Impact of an Advance Technological Society upon a Frontier Area." University of Chicago.
- Mexal, Stephen J. 2007. "The Bear and the Rail: 'The Overland Monthly' and the Invention of Western Public Culture, 1868--1935." University of Colorado. <http://0-search.proquest.com.innopac.library.unr.edu/docview/304886616?pq-origsite=summon>.
- . 2013. *Reading for Liberalism: The Overland Monthly and the Writing of the Modern American West*. PhD dissertation, University of Nebraska Press. [http://reader.ebilib.com/\(S\(xy5vvczxwv2ox4v24hi5blqq\)\)/Reader.aspx?p=1161006&o=1136&u=/K5hr6nAYYbgkyRLZxuhKAED6ls=&t=1415309872&h=D02346EE9A1A839EDBE6DB0EA3E8D210E7BDC56A&s=30068139&ut=3742&pg=1&r=img&c=-1&pat=n&cms=-1&sd=2#](http://reader.ebilib.com/(S(xy5vvczxwv2ox4v24hi5blqq))/Reader.aspx?p=1161006&o=1136&u=/K5hr6nAYYbgkyRLZxuhKAED6ls=&t=1415309872&h=D02346EE9A1A839EDBE6DB0EA3E8D210E7BDC56A&s=30068139&ut=3742&pg=1&r=img&c=-1&pat=n&cms=-1&sd=2#).
- Micoleau, Tyler. 1960. "Squaw Valley a History." *Official Program, VIII Olympic Winter Games California 1960*.
- Miller, James S. 2006. "Mapping the Boosterist Imaginary: Colonial Williamsburg, Historical Tourism, and the Construction of Managerial Memory." *The Public Historian* 28 (4) (November): 51–74. doi:10.1525/tp.2006.28.4.51. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4491515>.
- Moore, William D. 2008. "'United We Commemorate': The Kentucky Pioneer Memorial Association, James Isenberg, and Early Twentieth-Century Heritage Tourism." *The Public Historian* 30 (3) (August): 51–81.

- Muskopf, Sarah, Richard Vacirca, Shana Gross, Craig Oehrli, and Daniel Cressy. 2009. "Taylor-Tallac Ecosystem Restoration Plan." South Lake Tahoe.
http://www.fs.usda.gov/Internet/FSE_DOCUMENTS/stelprdb5160954.pdf.
- Myles, Tate Myrtle. 1930. "Washoe Baskets." *Overland Monthly and Out West Magazine*.
- Nash, Dennison. 1996. *Anthropology of Tourism*. 1st ed. Tarrytown: Pergamon.
- Nasser, Noha. 2003. "Planning for Urban Heritage Places : Reconciling Conservation , Tourism , and." *Journal of Planning Literature* 17 (4): 467–479. doi:10.1177/0885412203251149.
- National Archives, Federal Register. 2015. "Executive Orders: Subject Index for William J. Clinton, 1993-2001." *National Archives Federal Register*. <http://www.archives.gov/federal-register/executive-orders/clinton-subjects.html>.
- "National Trust for Historic Preservation." *Cave Rock*.
<http://www.preservationnation.org/issues/diversity/native-american-heritage-in-preservation/saved-places/cave-rock.html>.
- Neel, Susan Rhoades. 1996. "Tourism and the American West: New Departures." *Pacific Historical Review* 65 (4): 517–523.
- Nevada Women's History Project, UNR. "Dat-So-La-Lee." *Women's Biography's*.
<http://www.unr.edu/nwhp/bios/women/datsola.htm>.
- Nevers, Jo Ann. 1976. *Wa She She: A Washo Tribal History*. Reno: University of Nevada Press.
- Obermayr, Erich. 2005. *Foot Path to Four-Lane : A Historical Guidebook to Transportation on Lake Tahoe's Southeast Shore*. Carson City: Nevada Department of Transportation.
- Olwig, Kenneth. 2003. "Introduction: The Lowenthal Papers." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 93 (4): 4–5.
- "Overland Monthly." 2014. *Wikipedia*. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Overland_Monthly.
- Owens, Bruce Mccoy. 2002. "Monumentality, Identity, and the State: Local Practice, World Heritage, and Heterotopia at Swayambhu, Nepal." *Anthropological Quarterly* 75 (2): 269–316.
- Park, Hyung Yu. 2010. "Heritage Tourism." *Annals of Tourism Research* 37 (1) (January): 116–135. doi:10.1016/j.annals.2009.08.001.
<http://linkinghub.elsevier.com/retrieve/pii/S016073830900098X>.
- Pearce, Douglas. 1979. "Towards a Geography of Tourism." *Annals of Tourism Research* 6 (3): 245–272.
- Peden, Joanne. 1993. "Valhalla Boathouse Interviews." South Lake Tahoe: Tallac Association.

- Perkins, H. C., and D. C. Thorns. 2001. "Gazing or Performing?: Reflections on Urry's Tourist Gaze in the Context of Contemporary Experience in the Antipodes." *International Sociology* 16 (2) (June 1): 185–204. doi:10.1177/0268580901016002004. <http://iss.sagepub.com/cgi/doi/10.1177/0268580901016002004>.
- Pisani, Donald J. 1977. "Lost Parkland: Lumbering and Park Proposals in the Tahoe-Truckee Basin." *Journal of Forest History* 21 (1): 4–17.
- Poria, Yaniv, Richard Butler, and David Airey. 2003. "The Core of Heritage Tourism." *Annals of Tourism Research* 30 (1) (January): 238–254.
- Porter, Benjamin W., and Noel B. Salazar. 2005. "Heritage Tourism, Conflict, and the Public Interest: An Introduction." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 11 (5) (January): 361–370. doi:10.1080/13527250500337397. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13527250500337397>.
- Powell, Mark, and Clare Rishbeth. 2012. "Flexibility in Place and Meanings of Place By First Generation Migrants." *Tijdschrift Voor Economische En Sociale Geografie* 103 (1) (February 5): 69–84. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9663.2011.00675.x. <http://doi.wiley.com/10.1111/j.1467-9663.2011.00675.x>.
- Powers, Stephen. 1975. "Life and Culture of the Washo and Paiutes." *Contributions of the University of California Archaeological Research Facility* (3): 203–209. <http://dpg.lib.berkeley.edu/webdb/anthpubs/search?all=washo&item=3>.
- Pratt, Mary Louise. 2007. *Imperial Eyes : Travel Writing and Transculturation*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge. <http://www.ebib.com>.
- Price, John A. 1980. "The Washo Indians: History, Life Cycle, Religion, Technology, Economy, and Modern Life." *Nevada State Museum Occasional Papers* 4: vi, 82 pages.
- "Proceedings: The Nevada Inter-Tribal Indian Conference (University of Nevada, May 1-2, 1964)." 1965. In *Proceedings : The Nevada Inter-Tribal Indian Conference (University of Nevada, May 1-2, 1964)*, 100. Reno: Center for Western North American Studies, Desert Research Institute. <http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED050872.pdf>.
- Reno, University of Nevada. 2014. "Dat So La Lee." *Nevada Women's History Project*. <http://www.unr.edu/nwhp/bios/women/datsola.htm>.
- Rogers, S. C. 2002. "Which Heritage? Nature, Culture, and Identity in French Rural Tourism." *French Historical Studies* 25 (3) (July): 475–503. doi:10.1215/00161071-25-3-475. <http://fhs.dukejournals.org/cgi/doi/10.1215/00161071-25-3-475>.
- Rothman, Hal K. 1998a. *Devil's Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth-Century American West*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

- . 1998b. "Stumbling Toward the Millennium: Tourism, the Postindustrial World, and the Transformation of the American West." *California History* 77 (3): 140–155.
- Rubenstein, James M. 2011. *The Cultural Landscape: An Introduction to Human Geography*. Tenth. Upper Saddle River: Pearson Education Limited.
- Rucks, Meredith Penny. 1995. "The Social Context and Cultural Meaning of Ground Stone Milling Among Washoe Women." Master's thesis, University of Nevada, Reno.
- . 2013. "Washoe Perspectives on Ground Stone Milling: An Emic Analysis of Tools, Features, and Ancestral Sites." In *No Stone Unturned: Recent Trends in Ground Stone Studies in the Great Basin and Beyond*, edited by Renée Corona Kolvet and Meredith M (Penny) Rucks, 1–20. Carson City: NEVADA STATE MUSEUM ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS NUMBER 27.
- . 2014. "Personal Communication with Author." Reno.
- Rucks, Penny, and Jeanne Johnson. 2012. "Enduring Traditions: Driving and Walking Tour, the Cultural and Heritage of Lake Tahoe, Nevada."
- Rucks, Penny, and Susan Lindström. 2007. "Homewood Expansion Cultural Resource Study Washoe Indian History: An Initial Assessment."
- Sandweiss, Martha A. 2015. "John Gast, American Progress, 1872." *Picturing U.S. History*. Accessed May 2. http://picturinghistory.gc.cuny.edu/item.php?item_id=180.
- Scott, Edward B. 1957. *The Saga of Lake Tahoe*. Volume 1. Crystal Bay, Nevada: Sierra-Tahoe Publishing Company.
- . 1973. *The Saga of Lake Tahoe*. Volume 2. Crystal Bay, Nevada: Sierra-Tahoe Publishing Company.
- Seagraves, Wes, and Ann Seagraves. 1987. *Tahoe: Lake in the Sky*. Lakeport, CA: WESANNE Enterprises.
- Sears, John F. 1989. *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Smith, Valene L., and Maryann Brent, ed. 2001. *Hosts and Guests Revisited: Tourism Issues of the 21st Century*. New York: Cognizant Communications Corporation.
- Somerset Publishers, Inc. 2000. *Encyclopedia of Nevada Indians: Tribes, Nations, Treaties of the West*. St. Clair Shores: Somerset Publishers, Inc.
- St. Michel, Sommer. 2009. "The Blending of Taylor Creek Visitor Center with Nature." Master's thesis, University of California, Davis.

- Strong, Douglas H. 1984. *Tahoe: An Environmental History*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- . 1999. *Tahoe: From Timber Barons to Ecologists*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Taliman, Valerie. 2002. "Washoe Chairman Brian Wallace." *Indian Country Today*, November 13. <http://0-search.proquest.com.innopac.library.unr.edu/docview/362609336>.
- Taylor, A. H., and R. M. Beaty. 2005. "Climatic Influences on Fire Regimes in the Northern Sierra Nevada Mountains, Lake Tahoe Basin, Nevada, USA." *Journal of Biogeography* 32 (3) (March): 425–438. doi:10.1111/j.1365-2699.2004.01208.x. <http://doi.wiley.com/10.1111/j.1365-2699.2004.01208.x>.
- Thompson, Bonnie. 2013. "The History of the Stewart Indian School, 1890-1940." PhD dissertation, Arizona State University.
- Timothy, Dallen, and Stephen Boyd. 2003. *Heritage Tourism*. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited.
- . 2006. "Heritage Tourism in the 21st Century: Valued Traditions and New Perspectives." *Journal of Heritage Tourism* 1 (1) (July): 1–16.
- Toll, David. 1981. *The Complete Nevada Traveler: A Guide to the State*. Gold Hill: Gold Hill Publishing Co., Inc.
- Towner, John. 1996. *An Historical Geography of Recreation and Tourism in the Western World, 1540-1940*. Chichester: John Wiley.
- Troelsen, Bert, Lillian Farr, and Dorothy Fordham. 1964. "Ponderosa Area: A Guidebook to the History, Legends and Points of Interest of Truckee, Donner Lake and North Lake Tahoe." Lake Tahoe: The Ponderosa Art League.
- Tuan, Yi-Fu. 1991. "Language and the Making of Place: A Narrative-Descriptive Approach." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 81 (4) (December): 684–696. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8306.1991.tb01715.x. <http://www.informaworld.com/openurl?genre=article&doi=10.1111/j.1467-8306.1991.tb01715.x&magic=crossref||D404A21C5BB053405B1A640AFFD44AE3>.
- U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service. 2015. "National NAGPRA." *National NAGPRA*. <http://www.nps.gov/nagpra/>.
- U.S. Forest Service, Lake Tahoe Basin Management Unit. 1983. "Washoe Cultural Center." South Lake Tahoe.
- . 2015. "Tallac Historic Site." <http://www.fs.usda.gov/recarea/lbtmu/recarea/?recid=11784>.

- United States Forest Service, Department of Agriculture. 2013. "The Washoe- First People of the Lake." *Lake Tahoe Basin Management Unit*.
http://www.fs.usda.gov/detail/lbmu/learning/history-culture/?cid=fsm9_046620.
- Urry, John. 1990. *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*. London: SAGE Publications, Ltd.
- . 2001. "Globalising the Tourist Gaze." Lancaster.
www.comp.lancs.ac.uk/sociology/papers/Urry-Globalizing-the-Tourist-Gaze.pdf.
- Urry, John, and Jonas Larsen. 2011. *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*. London: SAGE Publications, Ltd.
- Van Etten, Carol. 1994. *Meeks Bay Memories*. Reno: Silver Syndicate Press.
- Veijola, S., and E. Jokinen. 1994. "The Body in Tourism." *Theory, Culture & Society* 11 (3): 125–151. doi:10.1177/026327694011003006.
<http://tcs.sagepub.com/cgi/doi/10.1177/026327694011003006>.
- Vernon, Bill. 1980. *Early Life in Tahoe City, California, 1906-1980*. Reno: Oral History Project, University of Nevada, Reno, Library.
- Vernon, Bill, and Ethel Vernon. 1935. "Rose Marie: The High Sierra Went Canadian." Tahoe City.
- Vestal, Lee. 2013. *The Celio Family in Lake Valley*. South Lake Tahoe: Lake Tahoe Historical Society.
- Vidal González, Miguel. 2008. "Intangible Heritage Tourism and Identity." *Tourism Management* 29 (4) (August): 807–810. doi:10.1016/j.tourman.2007.07.003.
<http://linkinghub.elsevier.com/retrieve/pii/S0261517707001513>.
- Wallace, A. Brian. 2001. "Testimony of the Honorable A. Brian Wallace, Chairman." Washington. http://www.epw.senate.gov/107th/wal_0410.htm.
- Walpole, Jeanne Lauf, and Mike Carrigan. 2002. *Insider's Guide to Reno and Lake Tahoe*. second. Guilford: The Globe Pequot Press.
- Walton, John K. 1997. "Taking the History of Tourism Seriously." *European History Quarterly* 27 (4): 563–571.
- Warriner, John, and Ricky Warriner. 1958. *Lake Tahoe: An Illustrated Guide and History*. San Francisco: Fearon Publishers.
- Washoe Cultural Office. 2004. "Lake of the Sky: Washoe Stewardship of Lake Tahoe." *Washoe "The Lake of the Sky."* Gardnerville, NV..
http://www.fs.usda.gov/Internet/FSE_DOCUMENTS/stelprdb5354995.pdf.

———. 2009a. "Wa She Shu 'the Washoe People' Past and Present." Gardnerville, NV.. http://www.fs.usda.gov/detail/ltbmu/learning/history-culture/?cid=fsm9_046620.

———. 2009b. "'Wa-De-T-I-Me- It Grows Here': Native Plants of the Tahoe Basin." Gard.

Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California. 2011. "Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California Comprehensive Economic Development Strategy Narrative/Profile 2011." [http://grant.nv.gov/uploadedFiles/grantnvgov/Content/Grants/Comprehensive_Economic_Development_Strategies_\(CEDs\)/Washoe Tribe of Nevada 2011\(1\).pdf](http://grant.nv.gov/uploadedFiles/grantnvgov/Content/Grants/Comprehensive_Economic_Development_Strategies_(CEDs)/Washoe%20Tribe%20of%20Nevada%202011(1).pdf).

"Washoe Tribe to Manage Meeks Bay Resort at Tahoe." 1998. *Las Vegas Sun*. <http://www.lasvegassun.com/news/1998/apr/29/washoe-tribe-to-manage-meeks-bay-resort-at-tahoe/>.

Weaver, David B. 2011. "Contemporary Tourism Heritage as Heritage Tourism." *Annals of Tourism Research* 38 (1) (January): 249–267.

Wheeler, Sessions S. 1992. *Tahoe Heritage: The Bliss Family of Glenbrook, Nevada*. Reno: University of Nevada Press.

Williams, Raymond. 1961a. "The Analysis of Culture." In *The Long Revolution*, 41–71. New: Columbia University Press.

———. 1961b. *The Long Revolution*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Wood, Stanley. 1908. *Over the Range to the Golden Gate, a Complete Tourist's Guide to Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, Nevada, California, Oregon, Puget Sound, and the Great Northwest*. Revised Th. Chicago: R. R. Donnelley & Sons. <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/loc.ark:/13960/t9m333w79>.

Zauner, Phyllis. 1982. *Lake Tahoe*. Tahoe Paradise, CA: Publisher Tahoe Paradise, CA : Zanel Publications.

Zhihong, Bai. 2007. "Ethnic Identities under the Tourist Gaze." *Asian Ethnicity* 8 (3) (October): 245–259. doi:10.1080/14631360701595007. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14631360701595007>.