# INVISIBLE INDIGENEITY: EXAMINING THE INDIGENOUS HISTORICAL LANDSCAPE IN OREGON

by

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THESIS ABSTRACT

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Specifically focusing on the Museum at Warm Springs, the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs, and the High Desert Museum this thesis explores how Native and non-Native museums exist at the intersection of historical narrative production and memory studies. By examining how these institutions illuminate the Indigenous Historical Landscape it is easier to see how museums engage with Native histories and voices. Historians tend to favor historical monographs, not museums, as the cornerstone for historical narrative dissemination which leaves museums struggling to display complex Native histories. By arguing for museums as sites of active engagement with memory and as authors of historical narratives, museums will be able to participate in better decolonizing practices in order to combat settler colonial narrative erasure.

Museums are unique educational institutions that create space for critical interactions that change how history is produced, consumed, and circulated.

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# I. INTRODUCTION

Growing up my Grandma, Mom as I call her, always made sure I knew that she was Indian and by default so was I. She would make jokes about how none of the women in my family will ever have wrinkles because we are Indians. She would always tell me about how her grandpa "sat with Sitting Bull." Something about that anecdote always stuck with me and in the back of my mind I was always proud of being Native American because of that fact, even though at the time I barely knew who Sitting Bull was. It wasn't until I was applying to college did I see how complicated it was to actually be Native in this country. Mom had been trying for years to get my mother and me registered as members of our Tribe. The Turtle Mountain Creek Band of Chippewa Indians does not accept tribal members who are below one-fourth blood quantum. I then received a letter that told me that I would not be granted Tribal membership but that I was a direct descendent of a card carrying Tribal member. After that I could never figure out why Mom wanted us to be members. There was no monetary gain from it, we wouldn't receive any sort of benefits, and I couldn't figure out why it was so important that I could put 'Native American' under ethnicity on a college application.

It wasn't until after I started taking classes in Native American History that I realized why the Sitting Bull anecdote was so important. It was about having a place in history and a way to connect with memory in a very real and personal way. I learned how my ancestors had their land stolen and culture stifled. I saw how Native people across the country were treated as lesser human beings because they were a threat to the modernity of the United States and white history. More importantly I learned how Native people survived and adapted to make sure that people like me were standing tall, proud, and

Native despite not being tribally enrolled. The complexities of the Native historical past are not in the past because of stories like my Grandma's. Although I did not grow up on a reservation or steeped in the culture of my Tribe I still feel a sense of belonging and duty to Native people to make sure that our history is told and correctly portrayed. Focusing this project around memory is important to Native culture because it keeps stories like my Grandma's alive and accurate.

The main issue with the Sitting Bull story was that, as I came to realize recently, there was nothing specific about the story. I tried asking my Grandma more about her grandpa and the history behind the story but she kept saying she couldn't remember because she was never that interested in family history because of some complicated family dynamics that haven't been revealed to me yet. Memory is entangled with family politics, Tribal historical narratives, and pervasive prejudice because of United States history. These complications create gaps in memory that influence how the historical record is sustained and narratives are created for consumption. Historians have the ability to spend years of their lives filling gaps in the historical record and to publish fantastic works of history that other academics can consume. But the second part of the problem is that when these gaps are filled the general public usually doesn't have access to them or they just don't care to pick up an academic monograph. The strategy for memory engagement and historical narrative production is generally inaccessible to the majority of the world's population. Memory engagement needs to go beyond words on a page to interactions in the physical world that can actually make a difference in the way that Native history is consumed. By turning towards museums as an essential transmitters of

historical narratives we are better able to understand how memory interacts visitors and how those visitors take their experiences from the museum to their every day lives.

The focus of this thesis is The Museum at Warm Springs and more generally the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs. The Museum at Warm Springs is a space that counters settler colonial memory in contrast to other mainstream museums that have historically reproduced settler memory and settler historical narratives. There are complex histories communicated within the exhibits of the museum and these histories create unique interactions with visitors that influence how the Indigenous Historical Landscape is seen. By the Indigenous Historical Landscape, a central concept to this thesis, I mean Native history from time immemorial through the present. This history involves Indigenous land and can be seen as the cultural and physical landscape of an Indigenous world that because of settler colonialism becomes invisible. The Indigenous Historical Landscape of the past and present has persisted and through museums we must work to illuminate the Indigenous Historical Landscape and make it visible in order to understand the complexities of Indigenous history in the United States. By analyzing the Indigenous Historical Landscape through museum work we can combat settler colonial erasure of the Indigenous past, present, and future. The Indigenous Historical Landscape is vital to understanding how museums emerge as critical sites of memory for Tribal nations. Museums also sustain narratives that allow the Indigenous Historical Landscape to persist into a settler colonial world of narrative erasure.

Museums, like the Historical Court, create a space that "allows aggrieved people to be heard, educate the public about events in the shared past, and appealed to a moral

definition of justice."[1] The Historical Court was a convened body of academic, Native, and legal professionals who held a retrial of the infamous case of Chief Leschi. The court agreed to the exoneration of Chief Leschi which helped to ease decades of intergenerational trauma. The Historical Court and museums represent how settler colonial memory as a process and a structure effects intergenerational historical trauma and the way that historical narratives explain it. The entire institution of the museum operates on Western ideas and settler colonial tendencies, making them immensely painful sites for Native people. Historically, museums are places where settler histories and culture are privileged over the voices of minorities, especially within the United States. The intense nationalism of the United States' history allows museums to take even the most minute details of history and turn them into cornerstones of importance within the historical record. There is also a culture of glorification within these museums as it is a point of pride to be able to view the places where history was created. These narratives of modernity and exclusivity leave out Native voices within the vast American chronicle. The process of erasure that settler memory encourages mainstream museums to act upon creates tensions between Native spaces that work to combat settler colonial erasure. This process of memory engagement in the United States makes it difficult for Native museums to be seen as important narrators of the historical record.

Although in the past 40 years there has been a conscious effort towards decolonization of memory within museums, the process is very much hit or miss. Tribal, National, and non-Native museums must use their powerful voices to address "the legacies of historical unresolved grief by speaking the hard truths of colonialism and

[1] Lisa Blee, *Framing Chief Leschi: Narratives and the Politics of Historical Justice* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 15.

thereby creating spaces for healing and understanding."[2] Without directly confronting the legacies of colonization, such as those perpetuated by museums, Native history falls prey to whitewashed histories and inaccurate accounts of historical events. Unfortunately this is how settler memory works within mainstream museums; the goal is to have history be as non-offensive and Eurocentric as possible. This perpetuation of settler memory in museums, the public education system, monuments, memorials, and other sites of memory engagement need to acknowledge the hard histories alongside the good because the general public will turn to these sites for information over an academic monograph. As such, museums are the first line of defense that academics have in teaching the general public unbiased histories. Museum exhibits are safe, palatable ways to engage with Native history as long as they are addressing the "hard truths" of history. Many will argue for the absence of those hard truths in order to not offend viewers or cast a pitiful light upon Native communities, but without the context for Native *survivance* we would be telling biased historical accounts. Survivance provides a counternarrative to the ideas immortalized by Euro-centric narratives as a product of colonialism. Gerald Vizenor's idea of survivance has become a critical ideological component of exhibits within Native American museums. Survivance is an "active sense of presence, the continuance of native stories, not a mere reaction or survivable name. Native survivance stories are renunciations of dominance, tragedy, and victimry."[3] Native American museums represent the specific way in which museums have struggled to display complicated

[2] Amy Lonetree, *Decolonizing Museums: Representing Native America in National and Tribal Museums.* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 5.

[3] Gerald R. Vizenor, *Survivance: Narratives of Native Presence* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008).

histories. This struggle encapsulates the way such museums are tasked with challenging the very heart of preconceived notions by providing counternarratives to whitewashed histories, and in so doing educating visitors about the Native historical past and present without Eurocentric bias. Traditionally, mainstream museums utilize settler memory to retell Native histories thus erasing important moments of Indigeneity from the historical record. Museums are unique educational institutions that make history accessible to the general public, lovers of history, and scholars alike. With this great responsibility to educate people from all walks of life, museums wield a great intellectual power over those who consume the material inside. The displays have the ability to bring both popular and unknown histories to life in a way that is palatable to the general public. Scholarly monographs and academic research are not always consumable to those outside of academia because they lack the level of multisensory engagement that museums employ. It is specifically because of this memory engagement that makes a museum one of the most powerful places in the popular world.

Drawing from Jean O'Brien in *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians Out of Existence in New England* I utilize several concepts that inform how museums operate as sites of memory and why they should be seen as a place of active memory engagement. I use O'Brien's concept of "firsting" and "lasting" to position museums within the settler colonial landscape and show how they sustain the Indigenous Historical Landscape. Firsting "in essence asserts that non-Indians were the first people to erect the proper institutions of a social order worthy of notice."[4] This concept perfectly describes the entrenched historical opposition that the Indigenous Historical Landscape fights against

[4] Jean O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians Out of Existence in New England*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 1.

to remain seen. Following firsting, lasting represents the exact opposite concept: how Indians were written out of existence by being referred to as "the last Indian." By constantly referring to Indians as disappearing or extinct, O'Brien proves how white settlers were able to assert their own modernity and create a distinct pattern of narrative erasure. This pattern of erasure can be applied to and seen within historical memory sites across the country and often these incorrect narratives can be found in museums. O'Brien's concepts create a vital foundation for why this thesis is being written: to show the survivance of Indigenous people and to create space for those complete narratives to be told.

From O'Brien's next work *Monumental Mobility: The Memory Work of Massasoit* I draw upon the mobility of settler memory and the importance of monuments as sites of memory to argue that museums are active sites of memory. *Monumental Mobility* employs a definition of memory work which is particularly useful to this thesis: "memory work is the myriad of ways in which monuments imbedded in a social fabric play a role in how individuals and collectivities make meaning of the past as distinct from the concrete matter of what actually happened."[5] This definition can be applied to museum work to prove how active museums are within the production of historical narrative and engagement of the public. O'Brien also defines the engagement I seek to highlight within the museum, "this engagement with monuments—from the emergence of the urge to commemorate, through the process of designing and installing them, the personal experience of encountering and thinking about what they are meant to

[5] Lisa Blee and Jean M. O'Brien, *Monumental Mobility: The Memory Work of Massasoit* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019), 7.

convey…--that interests us in thinking about the memory work of monuments."[6] The total engagement with museums, specifically the Tribal museum, creates an important site for interaction with historical narratives. Although engagement with monuments can be arguably different from engagement within museums, they both represent how the non-academic public engages with history. I use O'Brien to highlight how mainstream museums operate within settler colonial structures as well as how Native museums employ decolonizing methodologies to act outside of the settler colonial narrative.

Museums cannot be forgotten as authors of history within the Indigenous Historical Landscape. They are active sites of remembrance and engagement that create and sustain narratives for historical consumption. Also considering that museums are "material ambassadors" of culture, the important tangible and intangible consequences of displaying complicated histories cannot be forgotten as a method of education.[7] The way in which tribal museums illuminate the Indigenous Historical Landscape is an invaluable tool of education for both Native and non-Native people. Each museum highlights this regional and national landscape in different ways because each tribal nation has a unique history. The Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs uses their tribal museum, The Museum at Warm Springs to illuminate and decolonize the Indigenous historical landscape within Oregon.

The Museum at Warm Springs highlights the Indigenous Historical Landscape in the same way that Grey Whaley does in *Oregon and the Collapse of Illahee: U.S. Empire and the Transformation of an Indigenous World.* Whaley encompasses Native response to

[6] Ibid.

[7] Mary Lawlor, *Public Native America: Tribal Self-Representations in Casinos, Museums, and Powwows*. (Piscataway: Rutgers University Press, 2006).

the pressures of colonialism in one word: *Illahee. Illahee* "encompasses the numerous, often contradictory ways in which Native peoples changed in relation to colonialism."[8] *Illahee* is Chinook jargon or wawa for land or country. We understand the dynamism of *Illahee* before the arrival of settlers, but Whaley's theory relies heavily on how *Illahee* is both a tangible and intangible landscape that spans Oregon. Encompassing the diverse Native groups within Oregon, *Illahee* represents the place where permeable territory meets memory. While *Illahee* encompasses unseen and unspoken connections with spiritual identity tied to the land, Oregon is the physical and cultural construction of space, a true product of colonization. Oregon was created from *Illahee* as the colonial world negotiated itself into the existing Indigenous Historical Landscape.[9] Oregon emerged as highly contested imperial space before the 1846 Oregon Treaty which in turn created a violent raiding way of life for Native nations from the 1820s through the 1850's. The trading forts in the region then developed a homicidal precedent of retribution against Native nations. This ethos boiled over into the opinion and vision of the general public and allowed for persecution at all levels. This specific history influences how Native narratives are portrayed within Oregon. From the way Native history is taught in the public education system to how pioneer narratives are used as tourist entities, Native history is constantly being skewed. Gray Whaley's conception of *Illahee,* has contributed to my creation of the Indigenous Historical Landscape.

The unique perspective of The Museum at Warm Springs comes from the three tribes that make up the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs: The Wascoes, Warm

[8] Gray H. Whaley, *Oregon and the Collapse of Illahee: U.S. Empire and the Transformation of an Indigenous World, 1792-1859* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), x.

[9] Ibid., 14.

Springs, and Paiutes. Regionally the Wascoes and Warm Springs were situated along the Columbia River and its tributaries relying heavily on salmon as a main dietary staple. Speaking Chinook and Sahaptin dialects respectively, the Wasco and Warm Springs nations relied on frequent trade with each other in order to sustain similar lifestyles. The Paiutes lived in southeastern Oregon and exhibited a different lifestyle than that of the Wascoes and Warm Springs. Speaking a Shoshonean dialect, the Paiutes relied on a high-plains existence devoid of fish. Historically, interactions between the three bands resulted in skirmishes until the Paiutes moved to the Warm Springs reservation. The 1840's saw a huge influx of settlers through Wasco and Warm Springs territory until in 1855, Superintendent of the Oregon Territory started signing treaties confining Indians onto reservations. Not without issues, the Treaty of 1855 signed between the Wasco and Warm Springs bands with the state of Oregon, created the Warm Springs reservation and affirmed the Tribes' rights to harvest fish, game, and other foods on usual and accustomed areas. After ceding ten million acres to the United States, Wasco and Warm Springs people had to adjust to the lack of salmon, harsher climate, poor soil conditions, and the forced assimilation of federal policies. In 1859 Oregon became a state founded upon principles of discrimination against Native peoples. Meanwhile the Paiutes had been confined to the Yakama Reservation after joining the Bannocks in a war against the U.S. Army. In 1879, thirty-eight Paiutes moved from the Yakama reservation to the Warm Springs reservation, sparking a slow emigration for Paiutes to move to the Warm Springs Reservation and eventually becoming a permanent part of the Confederated Tribes.

The entire purpose of the Museum at Warm Springs is to educate the general public as well as the youth of the Tribes. As a singular entity, The Museum at Warm Springs serves as a living historical record for the tribe as there is not a complete history of the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs in existence. Each exhibit creates a contact zone where historical inquiry and engagement can take place with Native perspective and voice driving the interaction. The very fact that the Tribes funded, built, and led repatriation efforts all on their own creates a unique layer to the Indigenous Historical Landscape. This collection did not come from a non-Native collector who subscribed to Boasian anthropology, this collection came from the very tribes that the museum is exhibiting. From its very foundation, the museum was designed to sustain the existing Indigenous Historical Landscape as well as create and rewrite narratives to support it. This museum was created with an intention towards preservation of culture that was disappearing with each passing of an elder. In mainstream museums white processes of historical and cultural preservation highlight the use of imperialist nostalgia and sense of burden to preserve. Renato Rosaldo defines imperialist nostalgia as the feeling when "someone deliberately alters a form of life and then regrets that things have not remained as they were prior to his or her intervention."[10] Imperialist nostalgia perpetuates an innocence amongst agents of colonization that attempt to cover up just how devastating the process of empire making truly was. Imperialist nostalgia shares a feeling of inevitability: that Native people will eventually disappear because of the forces of colonization. Imperialist nostalgia is at the intersection of frontier mythology and Native

[10] Renato Rosaldo. "Imperialist Nostalgia", *Representations* No. 26 Special Issue: Memory and Counter Memory (1989): 107-122.

history as it is told in memory sites across the state of Oregon. The ideas of progress, civilization, and modernity have been traditionally used to place Native people and cultures in a stagnant space of time. By placing Native nations in an ancient context, there is an implied lack of growth amongst Native Americans. Imperialist nostalgia directly correlates to the idea of the "white man's burden" where civilized nations feel a sense of duty to bring savage nations out of ancient times and into the modern era. It is precisely these "agents of change" who "experience transformations of other cultures as if they were personal losses."[11] In contrast, the Museum at Warm Springs does not subscribe to the same sense of nostalgia and burden. Instead the Museum employs tales of survivance and multisensory exhibits to give the visitor a chance to engage with the past, present, and future of the Confederated Tribes. The Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs did not create this museum to prove the existence of their cultures and bands. They created this museum with the intention of creating more tangible lasting legacies that can be easily engaged with.

This thesis has several goals and as such is important to the erasure of gaps within the historical record for Native nations. By eliminating the historical gaps Native people are able to have a more prominent voice in the American chronical and popular historical narratives. It is important to acknowledge that museums have a place within the academic historical field, not just as a public history entity. First, I want to show that this study is important to including museums within the academic field and should not be dismissed as educational entertainment or as a less important part of historical narrative production. Second, I am arguing for the fact that museums can be a space where historical narratives

[11] Ibid.

are produced and sustained for Tribal nations. Third, I am arguing that the Museum at Warm Springs is an active site of memory engagement for both Native and non-Native visitors to the museum. Fourth, I am arguing that the Museum at Warm Springs illuminates the Indigenous Historical Landscape in a way that allows for Native history to exist alongside United States history, not separately. My arguments will be an important contribution to the interrogation of the space between history, public history, and Native American history. I'm hoping that my contribution will inspire others to look deeper into this space to see how we can be better at looking at public history sites to aid historical interrogation.

To highlight exactly how The Museum at Warm Springs is continually layering and illuminating the Indigenous historical landscape within Oregon, I will be analyzing various parts of the exhibits within the museum. Words, pictures, and interactive points of engagement are important factors within the museum that prove to the larger academic community that museums are not stagnant sites of engagement. Both physically and mentally interactive, the museum serves as an important crossroads between the way the historic academic community tells history as well as overlaps with the general public's view of history. It serves to show how we as academics can better engage with the non-academic public through museums. A precedent of historical entertainment that serves settler colonial narratives exists to this day in this country. It is up to museums like The Museum at Warm Springs to counter those prevalent narratives.

The first chapter of this thesis will include a brief history of the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs. It is important to look at the history of the Confederated Tribes for a few reasons. The first is that the Tribe is a Confederated nation made up of multiple

tribes. There are tensions between the three tribes that manifest within the exhibits of the museum and make an interesting study of how settler colonial processes force the Confederated Tribes into being an agent of colonialism. Second, the Confederated Tribes have shown an immense interest in culture preservation since their corporate charter was accepted. They have employed various methods to achieve their goals of having a museum that functions as a living memory and educational site for Tribal members and non-Native visitors alike. By studying the history of all three tribes from time immemorial I am able to show the progression of interest in cultural preservation and memory interaction. The third and final reason for outlining the history of the Confederated Tribes is because, to my knowledge, there is not a complete written work of the history of the Tribes. There are a few works concerning the Confederated Tribes that highlight important moments or give an outline of the history of the Tribe but nothing that looks at the entire history. The only entity that provides that history is the Museum at Warm Springs and it is important to show how the exhibited history interacts with the actual historical timeline of the Confederated Tribes. This chapter will provide the foundation for further analysis into the importance of the Museum.

The second chapter of this thesis will be a history of Oregon that situates the Confederated Tribes as a main character instead of a supporting character in a pioneer history. It is in the best interest of this thesis to first highlight the history of the Confederated Tribes followed by the history of the state of Oregon itself in order to prove how Oregon privileges certain narratives over Native voices and interactions. I am going to briefly analyze my experience at the High Desert Museum in Bend, Oregon as evidence that pioneer narratives are still heralded as the one true origin story for

Oregonians. The time I spent as a visitor to the museum and the encounters I witnessed between other visitors and the exhibits say a lot about how the museum influences visitors with particular historical narratives. It is important to look at this in historical narrative in contrast to the narratives displayed in the Museum at Warm Springs in order to show how the Museum at Warm Springs is unique within the state as well as the West more generally. Oregon history is particularly violent and its founding mythology is quite obviously horridly racist and that history creates tensions in the historical narrative that leaves gaps. These gaps leave out Native voices and perspectives and the Museum at Warm Springs actively pushes against historical stereotypes to preserve and continue the history of the Confederated Tribes.

The third chapter of this thesis will focus on how the Museum at Warm Springs interacts with and within settler colonial processes. Settler colonial structures influence how the Museum is able to tell the intertwined history of the three tribes and there are some obvious tensions between them. This chapter will introduce a few examples of these tensions as well as analyzing how the Museum at Warm Springs ties to various settler colonial works. By highlighting the ties between the Museum and multiple settler colonial works of literature, this thesis will prove how the Museum at Warm Springs is at once an agent of settler colonialism as well as a decolonizing space for Native history. The duality of the Museum at Warm Springs is what makes the museum unique within the Indigenous Historical Landscape and why it has more of an ability to illuminate the Indigenous Historical Landscape than classic historical narratives do. I will end this thesis by providing a conclusion of my analysis that will prove how important the

Indigenous Historical Landscape, museums, and Tribal histories are to historical narratives.

## II. CHAPTER 1

The story of the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs begins thousands of years ago, from time immemorial. Although the intertwined history of Wasco, Warm Springs, and Paiute people did not really begin until the late 1870s it is noteworthy to examine the history of all three nations from roughly the same point in time because the combined histories created the Confederated Tribes as we know it today. This chapter will start with early Paiute history and will continue until the Paiutes joined the Wasco and Warm Springs nations on the Warm Springs Reservation. Then I will detail Wasco and Warm Springs history until the creation of the Confederated Tribes. After outlining how the three tribes came to be on one reservation, I will give an account of recent tribal history through the present. These detailed histories will serve one of three goals in this chapter: to provide a brief history of the Confederated Tribes. It will encompass examples from the Museum at Warm Springs, tribal newsletters, and several annual reports published by the Confederated Tribes. There is not a complete history of the Confederated Tribes and this thesis will hopefully serve as a comprehensive addition to the materials that already exist. The second goal of this chapter is to prove how the Confederated Tribes have, since their inception, been geared towards culture preservation, tribal historical continuity, and the creation of the Museum to serve these ends. The Museum at Warm Springs is a living space of memory for the Confederated Tribes, a space that has always been in mind for the Confederated Tribes. The third goal of this chapter is to use the histories provided to prove how the Museum at Warm Springs illuminates the Indigenous Historical Landscape and is a unique space within settler colonial historical structures. The Museum

at Warm Springs is an important space for decolonizing history and keeping interactions with memory and narrative alive.

Northern Paiute bands, or Numu as they call themselves, have historically occupied about 600 miles of territory between Northern California and Southern Oregon. It is important to note that there are several bands that comprise the term Northern Paiute but for the purposes of this thesis I will only be talking about the groups that would eventually come to be on the Warm Springs Reservation. Paiute territories included southeastern Oregon into Nevada, Idaho, and Utah, but the groups that removed to the Warm Springs reservation lived in the general area of Lake, Harney, and Malheur counties in Oregon.[12] Paiute people in this area spoke a Shoshonean dialect that was a mix of Northern Paiute and Shoshone language groups. Typically Paiute people spoke a vast variety of dialects that are a result of overlapping borders of different Native nations from the Pacific Northwest coast through the Great Basin. The Northern Paiute groups that would join the Confederated Tribes were traditionally semi-nomadic high plains people that relied heavily on a hunting and gathering existence that was typically devoid of fish. Precontact communities in most of these areas "consisted of semi-annually united clusters of individual families…who seasonally occupied a home tract or district."[13] When these home districts were not together, the smaller individual family units would form small camp clusters that varied seasonally. The size of these clusters or districts was usually determined by the relative foraging range of certain groups from a specific point

[12] Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs, "History," https://warmsprings-nsn.gov/history/

[13] Catherine S. Fowler and Sven Liljeblad, "Northern Paiute" in *Handbook of North American Indians: Great Basin* vol. 11, ed. Warren L. D'Azevedo (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press, 1986), 436.

of reference that was defined topographically. This precontact lifestyle was heavily influenced by the environment and sustenance practices.

The area occupied by Northern Paiute home districts was very diverse that allowed for hunting, gathering, and fishing in certain cases. Some Northern Paiute groups had no access to bodies of water that would provide subsistence fishing because of where these groups called home. Other groups of Northern Paiutes, like those who would come to be on the Warm Springs Reservation had access to fishing and incorporated fish into their diet or were able to trade with groups who had access to fish. Some groups were categorized by their nearness to rivers or drainage areas while others were defined by cold deserts and high plains environments. In addition to hunting and gathering in the Oregon district root collecting was an incredibly important way of life for Northern Paiutes and represented not only sustenance but also ceremonial importance for these groups. When horses were introduced into the region in the mid to late 1700s Northern Paiutes joined their Northern Shoshone neighbors travelling widely across their territory and beyond. After becoming involved in horse possession, Northern Paiutes joined a raiding complex that included horses and other material goods. This raiding way of life would eventually lead the Northern Paiutes to come in contact with Wasco and Warm Springs people who would become their neighbors on the Warm Springs reservation. This raiding complex would last through the opening of the West to settlers in the early 1840s. Mass migration to settlement in Oregon in the 1840s and 1850s had a large impact on the hunting and gathering done by Northern Paiutes. Significantly, seed plants and large game were being destroyed by wagons and settlers seeking a new life and led to an

increase in raiding in parts of Nevada and Oregon.[14] Although these specific Northern Paiute groups were not directly involved in the Oregon Trail migration like the Wascoes and the Warm Springs, they were heavily affected by the California Gold Rush and subsequent gold rushes in Oregon. During this time of transition, many Nevada and Oregon Northern Paiutes acquired so many horses that by the end of the 1850s a large number of mounted groups were operating in the region.[15] Not all of these groups were involved in the raiding complex but still participated in a horse way of life. In 1859, gold and silver were discovered in Northern Paiute territory in western Nevada and the Owyhee basin in Oregon and Idaho which led to the founding of large settlements on Northern Paiute land.[16] This usurpation of land led to a prolonged era of conflict between Northern Paiutes and settlers.

After gold and silver were discovered, mining towns with large populations cropped up in the Malheur county area; it is estimated that by 1863 10,000 settlers were in the Malheur mining district.[17] This meant that settlers were taking up all of the usable forage lands for ranches to support the mining area and continually displacing Northern Paiute groups and pushing them into becoming predatory, horse mounted bands that took action against other Indians like Shoshones, Wascoes, Warm Springs, and settlers alike. Raiding areas encompassed massive swaths of territory that were controlled by specific Paiute band leaders and often these territories overlapped as band leaders led raids

[14] Ibid., 456.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid., 457.

against different non-Paiute groups. Northern Paiute band leaders Paulina, Wewawewa, Oitsi, Egan, Winnemucca, and Ocheo operated at different times of the year in their specific raiding region as well as crossing over into different regions.[18] These Northern Paiute bands also had conflicts with Plateau peoples, like Wascoes and Warm Springs, until the region was mostly pacified by military campaigns in 1868. The Shoshone or Snake Wars led to two major treaties, Klamath Lake which was ratified in 1864 and J.W.P. Huntington's in 1868 which was never ratified, set up the region for life on the reservation. J.W.P. Huntington was the superintendent of Oregon in the decade after the 1855 Treaty was signed, from 1863-1869. Huntington wanted to eliminate the off-reservation rights guaranteed in the treaty because it went against the assimilationist goals of the U.S. government.[19] The illegal Huntington treaty purchased off-reservation rights from Warm Springs enrollees and was thankfully determined to be wrongfully negotiated. People who were enrolled on the Warm Springs Reservation frequently left the reservation to hunt, fish, and gather traditional foods which was an active protest against federal reservation policy.

The first three reservations proposed in Oregon for Paiutes beginning in 1859 were Pyramid Lake, Walker River, and Malheur. These reservations were proposed because of the prolonged conflict and agitation in the region and were designed to be enough to encompass all of the Paiute bands in the region. Northern Paiute bands refused to remove to these three reservations and eventually smaller reservations were formed in the areas that Northern Paiute home districts existed. Other smaller reservations were

[18] Ibid.

[19] Katrine Barber, *In Defense of Wyam: Native-White Alliances and the Struggle for Celilo* Village (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2018), 39.

formed as a way to punish those who participated in war conflicts, by removing Northern Paiutes from their ancestral homelands they would supposedly be taught a lesson in going against the United States government. The Malheur Reservation was a space created for the Northern Paiutes who would join the Warm Springs Reservation. These groups were seen, by white settlers, as stragglers without direction and those who could not settle down. The Malheur Reservation was occupied between 1871 and 1878 until groups on the reservation joined their other Bannock Paiute neighbors in the Bannock War of 1878. Northern Paiutes in Oregon who participated in the Bannock War of 1878 were split up and sent to Fort Klamath, the Warm Springs Reservation, to the Umatilla Reservation, or remained in the Malheur district. In 1879, 38 Paiutes moved to the Warm Springs Reservation after being forced to the Yakima Reservation and Fort Vancouver for joining the Bannocks in a war against the U.S. Army. This initial migration of Northern Paiutes led to more people moving to the Warm Springs Reservation and eventually joined the Confederated Tribes. The lands of the Malheur district were eventually purchased and turned into the Burns Paiute colony.

The intention behind moving the Paiute groups to different settler spaces and reservations was to turn Native people away from their current ways of life and towards settler ways of life such as farming, settling in one area, and conforming to Christianity. At this point Northern Paiute groups who were sent to the Warm Springs Reservation were seen as allies to the enemy Native groups who participated in conflicts against the United States. The Museum at Warm Springs displays the Paiutes as a people who were "allowed" to return to their hunting grounds on the Warm Springs Reservation because the reservation had already been created by a treaty in 1855. I use quotations around

"allowed' because the museum uses that word to try and show that the Paiutes had no power in their choice to move or not. Historically this is not true, Paiutes had a choice and fought to remain on their ancestral homelands which included the land that would become the Warm Springs Reservation as it was a former hunting ground for them. Paiute people chose to remove there because it was familiar territory, unlike the suggested reservation created by the United States government to lump all Paiute bands onto only a few reservations. It is clear that there are tensions between these two histories and later in this chapter we will see how these histories interact with visitors to the Museum.

The Warm Springs people comprise Sahaptin speaking people also known as Tenino. The Warm Springs bands refer to themselves as Wana-thlama, the river people.[20] Distinctly, "Tenino people refers properly to the westernmost Sahaptin speaking village of the Columbia River Sahaptin dialect" while the "term Warm Springs Indians suggests a focus on the Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation of Oregon."[21] When referring to Tenino, it is important to note that the term encompasses multiple bands such as John Day, Wyam, and Tygh to name a few. The Warm Springs people were separated from their kin along the Columbia River by being arbitrarily separated to the Umatilla and Yakima Reservations. The Sahaptin villages along the Columbia River were politically autonomous units that had extensive associated hinterlands that were used for harvest purposes. The groups along the river would gather at specific sites that would

[20] Elizabeth Woody, "The Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation of Oregon: The Relationship between Peoples, Good Government, and Sovereignty," *The First Oregonians*, ed. Laura Berg, (Portland, Oregon Council for the Humanities, 2007), 198.

[21] Eugene S. Hunn and David H. French, "Western Columbia River Sahaptins" in *Handbook of North American Indians: Plateau* vol. 12, ed. Deward E. Walker, Jr. (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press, 1998), 378.

mingle many groups and language dialects for trade and interaction. This created a distinct Columbia River Indian identity that was important to how Warm Springs people would contribute to the Museum. Western Columbia River Sahaptins participated in a peaceful and extensive trade network with speakers of Sahaptin, Nez Perce, Cayuse, and Upper Chinookan that was supported by continued intermarriage between local groups. We can see that "the cultural groups of the Columbia River Plateau, the Great Basin, the Sierra Nevada, and the Northwest Coast have historical, cultural, familial, and sometimes linguistic connections because of the interface of trading caravans that frequented our region's commercial hubs."[22] Groups in southeastern Oregon like the Paiutes were grouped in as part of the raiding complex that attacked Columbia River Indians for sustenance and were seen as a threat and to be avoided unless for purposes of trade. This is why Warm Springs and Wasco people have been considered friendly and cooperative neighbors while the Paiutes were seen as vicious raiding threats to Warm Springs and Wasco ways of life. Wasco and Warm Springs people are among a group referred to as "River People" by many enrolled in the tribes.[23] The proximity to the Columbia River as well as similar customs and social structures forged ties between Wasco and Warm Springs people.

Warm Springs people relied heavily on a fishing diet of salmon, root digging, and harvesting on the seasonal round. In turn, families would travel according to the season to specific sites where they could gather sustenance dependent upon the weather and time of

[22] Elizabeth Woody, "The Tribe Next Door: Tradition, Innovation, and Multiculturalism," *The First Oregonians* ed. Laura Berg, (Portland: Oregon Council for the Humanities, 2007), 12.

[23] George Aguilar, *When the River Ran Wild! Indian Traditions on the Mid-Columbia and the Warm Springs Reservation* (Seattle: Oregon Historical Society Press, 2005), 3.

year. Moving between summer and winter villages, Warm Springs people depended heavily on roots, berries, game, and salmon. Warm Springs Indians were part of several Columbia River Indian groups that traveled great distances inland to collect a diverse variety of plant foods. The practice of fishing for, drying, and consuming salmon is a very important ceremonial and spiritual rite for Warm Springs people. Hunting was also used for sustenance and material products but was not as heavily relied upon for survival as was fishing. The extensive kinship network that Warm Springs people were part of is important to Warm Springs ways of life before life on the reservation.

Wasco Indians spoke Upper Chinook dialects and lived mostly between the Columbia River and eastern Cascades. Wascoes "received their name from the village of Wasq'u, their principal village."[24] In the winter, Wascoes interacted heavily with Warm Springs Indians and other Columbia River Sahaptins. According to David H. French and Kathrine S. French, Wascoes, unlike other Upper Chinookan speakers, "tended to stay much closer to the Columbia River than did most of their Sahaptin neighbors."[25] Villages functioned as the primary unit of organization for the Wascoes along the Columbia River. Chinookan and Sahaptin speakers demarcated the southern shore of the Columbia River into the two respective territories "near the head of Fivemile Rapids." [26] Wascoes participated in the extensive trade networks along the Columbia River and frequently interacted with Klamaths, Walla Wallas, Middle Columbia River Salishans, Molalas, and

[24] Ibid., 2.

[25] David H. French and Kathrine S. French, "Wasco, Wishram, and Cascades" in *Handbook of North American Indians: Plateau* vol. 12, ed. Deward E. Walker, Jr. (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press, 1998), 361.

[26] Ibid.

Kalapuyans. Again, Northern Paiutes were feared by the Wascoes because of the raids against Columbia River Indians and later the early Warm Springs Reservation. It is also important to note that Northern Paiutes were specifically targeting both Wascoes and Warm Springs because of their participation in the slave trade of Northern Paiute women and children.[27] Wascoes subsisted on many types of salmon, the gathering of roots and tubers via root digging, and some hunting. It is important to note that both the Warm Springs and Wascoes participated in slave raiding against other Native nations but did not rely as heavily on it for wealth accumulation. During conflicts between the Wascoes and Northern Paiutes, "the Wascoes made slave raiding campaigns against the Northern Paiutes and other groups…" Wascoes participated in the trade of slaves but relied on horse and salmon trading as their main commodities for trade. [28]

Like the Paiutes, Warm Springs were introduced to horses around the mid 1700s which had an effect on the gathering economy of the Columbia River Indians. Around 1780 a smallpox pandemic swept through the region, while a second epidemic occurred around 1801 which had a cumulative mortality rate of forty-five percent.[29] 1805-1806 saw the arrival of the Lewis and Clark expedition and an opening of the region to other companies that sought trade and commerce. Acknowledging that "much of the initial trade was forced, and Europeans did not understand the elaborate protocols of the trading system kept along the rivers" it is easy to see why and how conflicts emerged around trade and natural resources.[30] Around 1811, a brief but intense period of time occurred

[27] Aguilar, *When the River Ran Wild!,* 8.

[28] Ibid., 13.

[29] Hunn and French, "Western Columbia River Sahaptins," 389.

[30] Woody, "Tribe Next Door," 21.

where fur traders and trappers trapped all of the beaver in the drainages of the Columbia Plateau. The creation of the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) in 1670 facilitated a fur trapping industry that would forever change the Pacific Northwest. The HBC would move farther and farther into the continent creating industries dependent on fur trapping as well as trading. In 1821, the Hudson's Bay Company merged with its rival, the North West Company, and firmly established the HBC along the Columbia River and within the rest of the region. Fort Vancouver became the HBC's most important fort after its creation in 1824 and from there the HBC would move on to connect a number of strategically placed bases such as Fort Nez Perces which was built in 1821. Fort Nez Perces established itself at the mouth of the Walla Walla River which created a key fur trading contact through the mid 1850s.[31]

Methodist missionaries occupied a mission at The Dalles from 1838-1847, a mission that represents a number of other mission enterprises in the region that would attempt to settle and "civilize" the area to make it more appealing to settlers as they started traversing the migratory highway that would be known as the Oregon Trail. The 1830s through 1840s also saw epidemics of malaria, smallpox, and measles ripping through the Columbia River region which "claimed almost 90% of the people on the Columbia River." [32] The Oregon Trail had a significant effect on the Warm Springs and the rest of the Columbia River Indians as Native people were driven from their land and had their sustenance encroached on. U.S. Army Captain John C. Frémont led an expedition in 1843 that followed the Oregon Trail. That expedition is one of many that

[31] Stephen Dow Beckham, "Oregon History," https://sos.oregon.gov/blue-book/Pages/facts/history/pre-land.aspx

[32] Aguilar, *When the River Ran Wild!,* 12.

would move through what would become the Warm Springs Reservation. Later in 1843, one thousand settlers passed through The Dalles, by 1847 there were four thousand, and in 1852 up to twelve thousand settlers were crossing through Warm Springs and Wasco territories each year.[33]

Both the Wascoes and Warm Springs were affected by the 1855 Treaty negotiated by Oregon Superintendent Joel Palmer with what the U.S. government referred to as "tribes of middle Oregon." It is important to note that most accounts of the history of the Confederated Tribes begin with the Treaty of 1855 and history prior to that is referred to in terms of culture and lifeways. The 1855 Treaty created the Warm Springs Reservation. The Wasco and Warm Springs were forced to cede ten million acres of land, but kept their right to harvest fish, game, and other foods in their usual and accustomed places off the reservation:

> Provided, also, That the exclusive right of taking fish in the streams running through and bordering said reservation is hereby secured to said Indians; and at all other usual and accustomed stations, in common with citizens of the United States, and of erecting suitable houses for curing the same; also the privilege of hunting, gathering roots and berries, and pasturing their stock on unclaimed lands, in common with citizens, is secured to them.[34]

This provision in the Treaty of 1855 makes the Warm Springs Reservation and its inhabitants unique within the Indigenous Historical Landscape because they retained their right to return to their ceded territory. Most other nations who signed treaties with the United States government across the country and even in the region were not as lucky to

[33] Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs, "History," https://warmsprings-nsn.gov/history/

[34] "Treaty of Wasco Columbia River, Oregon Territory with the Taih, Wyam, Tenino, &Dock-Spus bands of the Walla-Walla, and the Dalles, Ki-Gal-Twal-La, and the Dog River Bands of the Wasco," https://warmsprings-nsn.gov/treaty-documents/treaty-of-1855/

retain that right. The Treaty of 1855 that created the Warm Springs Reservation was ratified by the Senate signing it as a law on April 18, 1859. In 1865 another treaty restricted off reservation travel and subsistence rights but was ruled invalid in 1969. After ceding ten million acres to the United States, Wasco and Warm Springs people had to adjust to the lack of salmon, harsher climate, poor soil conditions, and the forced assimilation of federal policies. When negotiating the treaty, negotiators had "very little specific knowledge of the land on which it would be placed." Particularly problematic for what would be the Confederated Tribes, surveys of the land relied on Indigenous and white place names to demarcate the boundaries of the reservation. [35] This would lead to a decades long battle over a contested boundary and land that provided food substances and spiritual value. After removing to the reservation conditions only became worse as people were stealing supplies off the reservation and blaming the newly incorporated Paiutes for the lack of food, clothing, and other supplies.[36] Signing the treaty and ceding ten million acres was a devastating blow to many Wasco and Warm Springs people as it disconnected them from the majority of their traditional lands. The Treaty of 1855 also generalized both nations in an effort to make recognition and organization easier for the U.S. government.[37]

In 1859 Oregon became a state founded upon principles of discrimination against Native peoples. For example, the Donation Land Act or the Donation Land Claim Act of 1850 was passed by Congress in order to stimulate settlement in the Oregon territory. In

[35] Barber, *In Defense of Wyam,* 36-39.

[36] Aguilar, *When the River Ran Wild!,* 19.

[37] Ibid., 4. The author notes that Eastern Chinookan speakers lost their ethnic identity when they removed to Warm Springs and all of those people are now referred to as Wascoes.

essence, the Donation Land Act stipulated that any white male eighteen years or older would be granted three hundred and twenty acres of land, plus an additional three hundred and twenty acres to their wife if they were married, in the Oregon territory provided that the land be occupied on or before December 1, 1850. The passage of this act essentially legalized a way for the U.S. government to promote a giant grab for Native land as settlers would move onto any Indian territory and stake their claim. This meant, to the United States, that land would be out of the hands of Native people and into the hands of the federal government in an attempt to take away the sovereignty of Native nations in the region. This act "originated with the settlers of Oregon, justifying plots that they had claimed before the United States had undisputed jurisdiction of the territory, and reverberated with the values of yeoman democracy."[38] It is incredibly important to note that Congress passed this act to take the land before they received permission and title from the Native owners of the land. This action by the Oregon Donation Land Act "symbolically and literally erased Native landownership and tenure in legislation that reimagined the region as one of pastoral, American-owned family farms."[39]

During large scale conflicts between the United States and Indian nations, we see the inhabitants of the Warm Springs Reservation coming to the aid of the United States. For instance, during the Bannock War of 1878 which gripped southeastern Oregon, an Act of Congress authorized the recruitment of two companies of Warm Springs Reservation Indians to serve as scouts and soldiers against the Shoshone Indians. The first on reservation boarding school was built in 1869 and served an essential part of

[38] Barber, *In Defense of Wyam,* 43.

[39] Ibid., 33.

reservation policy and life for Warm Springs Reservation Indians. Attendance in school was affected by the seasonal round and from there life in boarding schools only became stricter. Early life on the reservation was inadequate as government funding was minimal and supplies were scarce for people. Missionaries were active on the Warm Springs Reservation and The Presbyterian Church established a mission in 1874 as more and more traditional practices were outlawed on the reservation.

In 1887, Congress passed The Dawes Act which allowed Indian reservations to be divided into 160 acre allotments for assignment to tribal members. The intention behind the Dawes Act was to turn Indians into farmers and is an integral reservation policy that was designed to smother Native culture and erase people. Allotment policy was not instituted on the Warm Springs Reservation until the 1890s and tribal members were able to stave off non-tribal member land ownership on the reservation. In 1941 four percent of the land on the Warm Springs Reservation was owned by non-Indians and as of 1989 only one percent of land was owned by non-Indians.[40]

In an attempt to rectify past treatment of Native nations, the U.S. government passed the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act (Wheeler-Howard Act). The IRA, frequently referred to as the "Indian New Deal" was a response to harsh criticism of Indian policy from the past fifty years. Most importantly, the IRA authorized tribal organization and incorporation while also terminating allotment, which theoretically supported tribal sovereignty and self-determination. Three years later in 1937 the Wascoes, Warm Springs, and Paiutes organized into the Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation of Oregon. In 1938 the adopted constitution created the by-laws and tribal

[40] The Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs, *Annual Report 1978* (Confederated Tribes, 1978).

government of the Confederated Tribes. In the same year, the corporate charter was accepted, affirming the existence of the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs. The mission of the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs highlights their commitment to the survivance of the Indigenous historical landscape:

> The Government of the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs is charged with securing and protecting the perpetual health and prosperity of the Confederated Tribes. The government fulfills its mission by preserving and strengthening the sovereign status of the Confederated Tribes, protecting the treat and legal rights and interests of the Confederated Tribes, and creating a community and economic environment which affords every member of the Confederated Tribes the opportunity to attain good health, self-sufficiency, pride, and self-esteem.[41]

By straightforwardly addressing the Confederated Tribes' right to strengthening their sovereign status in order to disseminated pride and self-esteem among the different bands, the path to the creation of The Museum at Warm Springs follows along these tenets. By establishing a corporation, each enrolled member of the Warm Springs tribe becomes a shareholder.[42] Each tribal nation within the Confederated Tribes is represented on the tribal council by a chief who serves a life term while the eight other council members are elected by district and serve three-year terms. Later in 1938, a fire sparked by lightning strikes consumed approximately one hundred thousand acres on the Warm Springs Reservation.[43] This fire had a twofold effect upon the Confederated Tribes. First, it forced many people to move out of rural areas of the reservation and closer to "the Agency area" which populated that region in favor of others. Second, the destruction of

[41] Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs, "Mission," https://warmsprings-nsn.gov/mission/ (August 30,2019).

[42] Woody, "The Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs," 195.

[43] Aguilar, *When the River Ran Wild!,* 42.

land halted seasonal berry and root gathering trips and also forced many people to travel on foot as their horses were lost to the fire.[44]

After The Dalles Dam was constructed and flooded Celilo Falls on March 10, 1957, the traditional salmon fishing space for the Warm Springs Tribe, the Confederated Tribes received a four-million dollar settlement for "allowing a long term flowage easement at the site."[45] The money from this settlement was used by the Tribes to fund an internal, comprehensive analysis of the Reservation and provided a guide for subsequent economic development. The 1940s through the 1960s were marked by federal policy of termination which officially passed in 1953. This policy ended federal recognition of tribal sovereignty which would dissolve tribal entities in order to allow the federal government to sell Indian land. Throughout these termination efforts, the Confederated Tribes were able to obtain an exclusion from Public Law 83-280 which retained federal and Tribal jurisdiction over the reservation. Termination conversations and "critical tribal deliberations regarding termination were backdrop to the negotiations with federal agencies about Columbia River fishing rights."[46] Termination was a threat to the tribal activism that was trying to save Celilo Falls and relocate the Dalles Dam in order to protect Native sovereignty and fishing rights.[47] Although these policies were designed for the destruction of indigeneity the Confederated Tribes were able to remain a distinct cultural entity in the region. The Pelton Regulating Dam was completed in 1958 and

[44] Ibid.

[45] "Pelton Regulating Dam," in "Shaping the Future" exhibit. The Museum at Warm Springs, viewed by the author September 24th, 2019.

[46] Barber, *In Defense of Wyam,* 21.

[47] Ibid.

represented how the Confederated Tribes blend economic progress with traditional values. Warm Springs Power Industries sells electricity generated by the dam and also powers the resort complex. The Confederated Tribes were the first Indian tribe to be issued a license by the U.S. Federal Energy Commission in order to sell electricity to Pacific Power and Light Company.[48] In 1962 the Tribes purchased land around the hot springs that would soon become Ka-Nee-Tah Village, the resort opened in 1972 and was a significant source of economic gain for the Tribes. In 1965 the reservation was hit with a massive flood that destroyed Ka-Nee-Tah Village, claimed the lives of three people, and all utility systems were wiped out.[49] The reservation was isolated for several weeks while residents attempted to shuttle supplies back and forth across the reservation.[50] The reservation was Another economic venture of the Confederated Tribes is the Warm Springs Forest Products Industries mill and plywood plant that was established in 1967.

The 1960s and 1970s saw the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs fighting for their rights in an age that brought Native sovereignty to the forefront of the American consciousness. In 1972, the Confederated Tribes won a century long battle over the McQuinn Strip. The dispute over the northern boundary goes back to the 1855 Treaty where the reservation was surveyed by T.B. Handley. This survey was attached to the original treaty and filed in Washington where it would become the standard of judgement for all subsequent surveys. The Handley Line, as it would be known, left out a sixty-thousand acre wedge of land along the northwest corner of the reservation. After

[48] Aguilar, *When the River Ran Wild!,* 22.

[49] Ibid., 56.

[50] Ibid.

contesting this loss of land, John A. McQuinn conducted another survey in 1887 which confirmed that the strip of land should be a part of the reservation. This disputed area became known as the McQuinn Strip and for the next eighty-five years the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs fought the federal government for ownership of the McQuinn Strip. In 1917 a third survey was conducted, and for a second time the McQuinn line was confirmed in favor of the Confederated Tribes. Several compromises were proposed over the years and each time the Confederated Tribes held fast and demanded their right to that strip of land. Finally in 1972, Congress passed Public Law 92-427 which returned the McQuinn Strip and the subsequent valuable timber to tribal ownership. In 1975 the Confederated Tribes adopt a comprehensive fisheries management plan that reaffirms their right to protect and govern their land. In 1977, the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs joined the Yakama Nation, the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation, and the Nez Perce tribe in founding the Columbia River Inter-Tribal Fish Commission (CRITFC).[51] CRITFC "responds at the behest of member tribes to critical salmon issues and management of the river systems held in common with the non-Indians of the region" and this group "was and still is grounded in the traditional sense of place and history and in the cultural and spiritual legacy of responsibility for salmon and water."[52] Indigeneity is seen within every decision made by the Confederated Tribes. These actions are of critical importance to the Confederated Tribes because of how they would gear their tribal decisions and modern practices towards land preservation and management. In the past, "the federal government sought to control Indigenous

[51] Woody, "Tribe Next Door," 35-36.

[52] Ibid.

placemaking, it also attempted to streamline the complexity of Indigenous relationships to the land and to one another."[53] Through these tensions, the Confederated Tribes were able to gear their tribal decisions towards remaining visible in the Indigenous Historical Landscape.

The Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs made a name for their reservation and nations as an entity that was progressive, productive, and inclined towards the preservation of cultural heritage. All of these economic ventures led to the way in which the Confederated Tribes would go about imagining and eventually creating their museum. The decision to build a museum came from a deep desire to create a cultural legacy that the youth of the Confederated Tribes could study and be proud of. From the late 1960s newsletters, announcements, and annual reports followed the journey the Confederated Tribes took to preserve their culture and heritage. Classes on language, beadwork, dancing, and more was offered to members of the Confederated tribes to perpetuate a sense of pride and purpose for the youth. New curriculum and teacher trainings were created for the dissemination of tribal languages in schools. The Confederated Tribes saw the importance of cultural education in the long-term welfare of the Tribes and in some ways goes beyond just the creation of a museum. The need for cultural education allowed for the Museum at Warm Springs to become an author of tribal history.

Around the time the Confederated Tribes started moving towards cultural production and preservation Congress enacted the National Historic Preservation Act in 1966 to preserve and protect America's historical artifacts, including those of American Indian tribes. The act states that "The Secretary shall establish a program and promulgate

[53] Barber, *In Defense of Wyam,* 30.

regulations to assist Indian tribes in preserving their particular historic properties. The Secretary shall foster communication and cooperation between Indian tribes and State Historic Preservation Officers…to ensure that all types of historic properties and all public interests in such properties are given due consideration…"[54] This act created a space for federally recognized tribes to take back the responsibility of preserving and protecting cultural sites, artifacts, and structures. Not only does it promote sovereignty, self-representation, and self-determination it also promotes active and equal coordination between Native nations and the federal government. Shortly after this act passed, the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs voted in 1968 to set aside $50,000 annually to purchase and collect tribal artifacts. This was done in order to stop the competition of collecting tribal artifacts and to prevent the movement of artifacts outside of the reservation and into non-Native hands.

In 1974, Resolution No. 4084 was passed by the tribal council which adopted the first charter and established a Board of directors for the then Middle Oregon Indian Historical Society (MOIHS). After almost a decade of funding their own repatriation efforts, the Confederated Tribes were able to register the Museum at Warm Springs as a non-profit organization in 1975 and begin applying for outside grants that would allow the tribes to move forward with the creation of the Museum as well as pushing for more object repatriation. The 1978 Confederated Tribes Annual Report listed four "straightforward objectives" one of which was that "future development should recognize the Reservation's distinct natural and cultural characteristics."[55] Building upon this, The

[54] National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, Public Law 102-575. Title I, Section 101 (16 U.S.C. 470a).

[55] The Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs, *Annual Report 1978* (Confederated Tribes, 1978).

Tribes utilized the revenue from their various economic ventures to continue towards their goal of building the museum. The 1984 Annual Report for the Confederated Tribes was entirely dedicated to the Tribe's efforts of cultural and historical preservation. Throughout the Annual Report the Tribal Chairman and various writes continued to comment on how "The creation of the Museum/Cultural Center will aid in the process of educating our youth and friends."[56] The dream of a Museum allowed the Tribes to form efforts towards cultural preservation around educating tribal members of their history and culture while also teaching non-tribal members accurate historical narratives of the Confederated Tribes. July 1987 saw the Confederated Tribes passing Tribal Ordinance No. 68, which added another layer of legal tribal support for cultural preservation. Ordinance No. 68 detailed every aspect of cultural preservation and historical narrative protection for the Confederated Tribes and their subsequent museum. The Middle Oregon Indian Historical Society was active in the years before the museum was built, publishing informational booklets, creating promotional videos, and applying for various federal grants. In 1988, the activism of the MOIHS paid off and the Tribe voted to appropriate almost three million dollars to build the museum. This sum represents the largest sum, at the time, committed by an Indian tribe for the creation of a museum, a museum that would be the first tribal museum in the state of Oregon.[57] After the tribal council stopped appropriating funds for repatriation, the Museum received a $500,000 grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities and a $300,000 grant from retailer Fred Meyer,

[56] The Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs, *Annual Report 1984* (Confederated Tribes, 1984).

[57] Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs, "The Museum Story," https://www.museumatwarmsprings.org/the-museum-story/

which brought the Museum to its 1989 fundraising goal of $4.5 million before the museum was even built or the Native American Graves and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) was passed. The museum also represents an important way for the Confederated Tribes to reconcile with painful histories. In 1994, the Smithsonian Institute returned partial remains to the Wasco/Wishram people that were taken from Memaloose Island. The petition to return these remains "took many years of paperwork and careful consideration of spiritual protocols by the Wasco/Wishram people, who are now part of the Warm Springs and Yakama tribes. The tribes have no traditional ceremonies for reinternment, because until recent times, our relatives' graves remained undisturbed. The mass grave is in concrete at the Wishram Cemetery, simply so our ancestors will not be disturbed again."[58] It is more than a museum to the Confederated Tribes, it is a chance to confront and rectify past wrongs.

From its very inception, the Museum was a community based movement. Tribal hall would publish weekly newsletters that detailed community involvement in fundraising, artifact repatriation, and they even had a contest amongst the Confederated Tribes to see who could design the new museum logo. It is meant to be a place for preservation of tribal history as well as the creation of a cultural legacy that will last for generations. What makes the Museum at Warm Springs such an important illuminator of the Indigenous historical landscape is the fact that this cultural preservation and creation movement was started by and for tribal members and no one else.

The 1989 Annual Report dedicated parts of the issue to showcase the improvement that the Confederated Tribes were making towards breaking ground on the

[58] Woody, "Tribe Next Door," 27.

Museum. The report specifically focused on how the museum would function as a "living cultural laboratory" for tribal members and a "bridge of understanding to Native American life" for non-Indian visitors proves that the Confederated Tribes have always wanted this Museum to exist as a space for memory engagement.[59] This conscious move towards cultural engagement and historical preservation was imbued in every aspect of the Tribes' decision making, influencing how natural resources should and will be managed for the betterment of the Tribes.

Opening in 1993, the museum dedicates itself to a singular mission statement which represents self-identifying Native history:

> The Museum at Warm Springs exists to preserve the culture, history, and traditions of the three tribes which comprise The Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs. The Museum was designed to provide a welcoming sight to the public as well as a safe conservatory for the traditional treasures of the Tribes.[60]

The entire purpose of the museum is to educate the general public as well as the youth of the Tribes. As a singular entity, The Museum at Warm Springs serves as a living historical record for the tribe as there is not a complete history of the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs in existence. Each exhibit truly creates a contact zone where historical inquiry and engagement can take place with Native perspective and voice driving the interaction. The very fact that the tribes funded, built, and led their own repatriation efforts all on their own creates a unique layer to the Indigenous Historical Landscape. This collection did not come from a non-Native collector who subscribed to Boasian anthropology; this collection came from the very tribes that the museum is exhibiting.

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[59] The Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs, *Annual Report 1989* (Confederated Tribes, 1989).

[60] Ibid.

The efforts towards repatriation paid off as the facility now "houses the single largest collection of Indian artifacts under one roof in the country."[61] In the words of the Chief Executive Officer of the Confederated Tribes in 1990, "Twenty years ago, tribal members recognized that cultural sites, artifacts and practices were being lost. They began acquiring and preserving what has become one of the finest collections of Native American artifacts of any Indian community in the country."[62] The Confederated Tribes worked hard to raise awareness about the Museum to the surrounding community. From 1990 to 1993 the Confederated Tribes used news stations to give the Museum vast coverage that garnered public support for the project. As a result of this push for awareness, the Tribes were able to repatriate artifacts back to the Museum from all over the Pacific Northwest and the country.[63] While receiving broad public support for the Museum venture, the Confederated Tribes also received financial support from various grant organizations that wanted to invest in the education and historical preservation of the Tribes. The recognition on the part of non-tribal members of exactly how important education was for creating a "lasting impact on the entire State and will fill an important educational role in teaching others about the history and culture of the Tribe and about Native Americans."[64] The Museum at Warm Springs became a space for engagement with memory that was supported by tribal and non-tribal members alike which reaffirms the sovereignty and historical narratives of the Confederated Tribes.

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[61] Woody, "Tribe Next Door," 27.

[62] The Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs, *Annual Report 1990* (Confederated Tribes, 1990).

[63] The Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs, *Annual Report 1991* (Confederated Tribes, 1991).

[64] Ibid.

From its very foundation, the museum was designed to sustain the existing Indigenous historical landscape as well as create and rewrite narratives to support it. This museum was created with an intention towards preservation of culture that was disappearing with each passing of an elder. It differs from white thoughts of preservation because Native preservation lacks the same application of imperial nostalgia and sense of burden to preserve. Building this museum helps The Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs "retain their authenticity and right to live as Indigenous peoples, which requires communication and education on a global scale."[65] The Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs did not create this museum to prove the existence of their cultures and bands. They created this museum with the intention of creating more tangible lasting legacies that can be easily engaged with. The Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs, along with other nations in the region, "have made strategic spending decisions—made possible by better economic times—to generate interest in and develop sensitivity toward Indian people. They have both contributed to and build their own museums, interpretive centers, and schools to help promote the understanding of American history and culture from their perspective."[66] Moving forward I will be analyzing various aspects of the museum that highlight the Indigenous Historical Landscape and show that the Museum at Warm Springs has unique qualities that stem from the way the Confederated Tribes has been invested in cultural preservation from their inception.

After watching a thought-provoking video of elders and other tribal members explaining the need to "return to our traditional values" in order to teach

[65] Woody, "Tribe Next Door," 18.

[66] Ibid., 19.

children and the public, the halls flow effortlessly into the first exhibit.[67] As seen below, a piece of a wall length timeline begins by directly confronting American ideas that settlers were here first. By engaging with concepts of time immemorial in the first exhibit, the museum is actively countering popular stereotypes that justify American expansion.

*Figure 1: An Ancient Heritage, Photo by Author*

The timeline continues on to talk about people from the Columbia Plateau hunting buffalo, trading with Plains hunters, and how and when the first horses came to the Plateau. The timeline ends with this quote:

In the late 1700s, diseases introduced by Euroamericans spread throughout the Western hemisphere, with devastating results for many of the Native peoples. But when Lewis and Clark journeyed down the Columbia in 1805, they met many people of the Upper Columbia who had survived these epidemics, and who stood strong and proud as they greeted the travelers.[68]

This line of text does not necessarily say anything negative about the settlers of the West but the implication of disease and discovery is confronted. It establishes a strength and pride within the Native nations along the Columbia, actively highlighting the continued survivance of Native people. By giving a brief but poignant history of early Columbia Plateau peoples the museum is highlighting the lengthy existence of the Indigenous historical landscape.

[67] "Warm Springs History," in "Our Cultures, Traditions, and Values" exhibit. The Museum at Warm Springs, viewed by the author September 24th, 2019.

[68] "An Ancient Heritage," in "Our Cultures, Traditions, and Values" exhibit. The Museum at Warm Springs, viewed by the author September 24th, 2019.

Following the natural flow of the permanent exhibit, the museum then dives into the oral history and stories of the Tribes by explaining how important rock writings and pictures are to the preservation of culture. Quickly the exhibits establish the importance of the family as being a learning center of culture, language, and history for the children of the Tribes. With this theme firmly established we then see the rest of the artifacts in the exhibits are labeled with the person and family from which it came. This practice highlights the continued existence of kinship networks when U.S. history tells us that Native people have disappeared. The "Traditions and Ceremonies" portion of the exhibit introduces a living historical index of the religious and cultural traditions of all three Tribes. Showing the visitor the importance of berries, salmon, and root digging to the Tribes, the exhibit provides knowledge about the usual and accustomed areas that the Tribes have access to which interacts with the active legacies of settler colonial narratives that celebrate the existence of the Reservation system as a way to confine Native people and cultures.

Going against typical museum procedures, The Museum at Warm Springs does not utilize dioramas as their main form of information dissemination. Certain exhibits use dioramas to display traditional dress but even then there is a sense of activeness coming from the frozen figures. They do not perpetuate the stagnancy of Native peoples instead they show the adaptive moditionality of the Tribes' culture. Moditional, as coined by historian Joshua L. Reid in *The Sea is My Country*, represents a combination of modern and traditional.[69] Moditional represents the dynamism and adaptation of Native cultures and people. A particularly useful part of the exhibits uses life sized pictures within scenes

[69] Joshua L. Reid, *The Sea is My Country: The Maritime World of the Makahs* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015).

which adds a liveliness to an often immovable museum process. In these large ways, The Museum at Warm Springs is actively rewriting United States history while also challenging the entire institution of the Western museum. The Museum at Warm Springs is educational and also truthful without being overly harsh or sad. The important work that the museum is doing is complemented by the fact that each exhibit focuses on all three of the Tribes when it can.

The permanent exhibit forces the visitor to cycle through pleasant and painful histories of the Confederated Tribes. In some ways the visitor is allowed to interact with history by reading the 1855 Treaty or pressing buttons to highlight the ceded lands of each of the tribes. In other ways the visitor interacts with present day histories by participating in a hoop dance and learning how to say different words in Sahaptin, Wasco, and Paiute. The museum allows the visitor to engage with Native history in an accessible way that educates and shows the survivance of the Indigenous Historical Landscape within Oregon. The painful history that makes up Oregon's founding mythology is present in the exhibits but the focus of the museum is to highlight the cultural pride, physical survivance, and resistance of the Tribes despite the contact zones of violence and continued colonization.

An important part of the permanent exhibit is the "On the Threshold of Change." This exhibit focuses on the relationship between the United States and the Confederated Tribes. Educating visitors on the timeline of Western settlement the following quote proves how Indian policy was shaped by these conflicts:

> Official U.S. attitudes toward Indians were based on deep-rooted cultural differences. Issues surrounding land ownership were especially troublesome, because Indians did not believe that land could be bought and sold. And although Indians had

lived wisely and well on the land for thousands of years, most Euroamericans had only contempt for their hunter-gatherer lifestyle.[70]

This exhibit is particularly important because it shows that colonization was not an unstoppable snowball effect; Native people actively negotiated and resisted against settler colonial forced assimilation. Despite the difficult history, a portion of the exhibit also lists each person of Warm Springs who served in the U.S. Armed Forces, dating back to the Modoc War, proving that the Confederated Tribes were proud to be active members of the United States as well as remaining proud of their Indigenous identities. So often Native people are portrayed as enemies of progress and agents of death and destruction; the Museum at Warm Springs denies this history and shows how complicated the relationship that Native people have with the United States is. This exhibit shows how the Indigenous Historical Landscape is an inseparable part of United States history. The museum highlights the Indigenous Historical Landscape by taking complicated histories and making them easily accessible to Native and non-Native groups.

[70] "Seeds of Conflict," in "On the Threshold of Change" exhibit. The Museum at Warm Springs, viewed by the author September 24th, 2019.

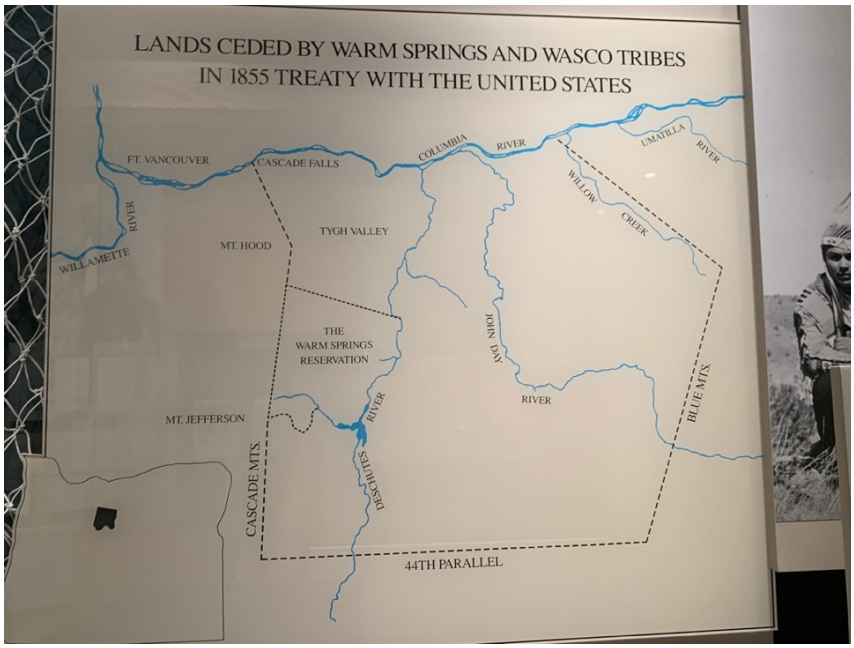

*Figure 2: Lands Ceded by Warm Springs and Wasco Tribes, Photo by Author*

Moving out of "On the Threshold of Change", the following exhibits show the painful process of relocating to the Reservation and fighting for the Tribes' right to the access usual and accustomed places they were guaranteed in the Treaty of 1855. Again this shows the active engagement on the part of the Confederated Tribes which is something not shown in settler museum contexts. Exhibits like this provide a context for visitors to fully understand the extent of the activism and participation of Native peoples in United States history.[71] It is necessary for history and visitors to recognize that the expansion and creation of the United States was inexplicably tied to the theft of Native lands and suppression of Native cultures. It is entirely important for this history of Oregon to be told in order to counter glorified pioneer narratives that interweave within the Indigenous historical landscape.

The permanent exhibit ends with "Warm Springs Today" after traveling through time and history of the exhibits to gain a better understanding of how the Confederated Tribes exist within the present Indigenous historical landscape. Hailed as guardians and

[71] "Lands Ceded by Warm Springs and Wasco Tribes in 1855 Treaty with the United States," in "On the Threshold of Change" exhibit. The Museum at Warm Springs, viewed by the author September 24th, 2019.

conservators, this portion shows that the Reservation boundaries are porous and that the Confederated Tribes have a significant positive impact on the surrounding ecology. Finishing with a video, the visitor is taught how elders used the creation of the museum to teach the tribal youth about the languages and cultures of the Confederated Tribes. Acknowledging the need for preservation, this leaves a legacy for youths to be proud of their Indian heritage and identity. The Museum at Warm Springs is unquestionably a site for active engagement and remembrance within the Indigenous historical landscape of Oregon because of the way the exhibits are displayed.

I have sketched out important aspects of the foundation of the Confederated Tribes as this foundation directly affects how the Indigenous Historical Landscape is seen within the Museum at Warm Springs and more broadly the history of the Confederated Tribes. As a country we must turn towards Native tribal museums as authors and narrators of history. Museums like the Museum at Warm Springs are doing important work in illuminating the Indigenous Historical Landscape and the complex events that occurred in order to create and sustain it. Not only do the exhibits tell Native stories and history, they importantly tell United States history with an emphasis on Native voice and perspective. The Museum at Warm Springs shows how United States history and Native history do not exist separately; instead they operate on the same plane contributing to the decolonization of historical events from a combined perspective that celebrates Native voice, not hide it.

# III. CHAPTER 2

The Museum at Warm Springs must contend with Oregon's history of settler colonialism and colonial violence while discussing the Indigenous historical landscape and Native sense of place. The way the Museum interacts with these histories illuminates the important cultural work of the Confederated Tribes while also complicating Eurocentric ideas of place within Oregon. For most of the histories in the Pacific Northwest and more specifically Oregon, that sense of place is deeply affected by the colonial interactions between Europeans, Americans, and Native Americans. Seen as an untouched and unclaimed land free of Native presence, the Oregon Territory existed at the crossroads of trade, multi-ethnic communities, and complex interactions between Native and non-Native individuals. These interactions were compounded by decades of historical precedence that dictated how Americans acted towards Native nations. Preceding the decades of collecting in the Oregon Territory, a violent history of Indian "wars" and reciprocal action against Native peoples stained the landscape and influenced how indigeneity was seen or unseen. Seen as a process and a structure, settler colonialism changed the Indigenous historical landscape in Oregon forever. It is a process that reverberates to the present day that continually influence retellings of history. It was also a way of life for people who decided to colonize the Oregon Territory as it would manifest as particularly violent and discriminatory against non-American groups. Different groups like "fur traders, settlers, miners, entrepreneurs, and military agents engaged in repeated and often shocking acts of violence against Native people…Those acts of physical injury, murder, and trauma provide insight into how White supremacy

was institutionalized in Oregon."[72] These ideas would continue to be legally affirmed by the 1846 Oregon Treaty and the 1850 Oregon Land Donation Act. By having only one option for "legitimate" legal precedent to fall back on, Oregon settlers continued to disregard Native sovereignty in the eyes of the law.

Seen as particularly heroic and nationalistic, the 2,000 mile adventure that settlers took to settle the Oregon territory layered pioneer history over Indigenous spatial history which in turn created the foundational settler mythology of Oregon and the Pacific Northwest. The truth is that the Oregon Trail set the stage for decades of grave-robbing and artifact purchasing/stealing after settlers were firmly established in the Oregon Territory. This precedent was foundational to how settler colonialism functioned in Oregon and how it would manifest in historical narratives. Within the existing framework of the Indigenous historical landscape, Grey Whaley encompasses Native response to the pressures of colonialism in one word: *Illahee.* As I have previously mentioned, *Illahee* "encompasses the numerous, often contradictory ways in which Native peoples changed in relation to colonialism."[73] Pre-contact, the territory that would become Oregon encompassed diverse climates that stretched from the Pacific coast in the west, over threw arid desert east of the Cascades, to the forest covered Blue Mountains in the east. With these diverse territories came an incredible number of Native nations scattered across the territory where "the dynamic colonial world of Oregon had to be negotiated into existence within the Native world of *Illahee.*"[74] In the early 1780s, a smallpox

[72] David G. Lewis and Thomas J. Connolly, "White American Violence on Tribal Peoples on the Oregon Coast" *Oregon Historical Quarterly,* Vol. 120, No. 4 (2019): 369.

[73] Gray H. Whaley, *Oregon and the Collapse of Illahee: U.S. Empire and the Transformation of an Indigenous World, 1792-1859* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010) x.

[74] Ibid., 19.

epidemic spread along existing Native trade networks that incorporated European traders and routes. The 1787 Northwest Ordinance proclaimed that settlers couldn't take Indian land without Indian consent or without a "legal and just war," but the compounded pressure from political entities to grant western lands quickly to settlers with or without the pretense of fair dealings created a sense that Indians were just tenants on land that Americans were owed.[75] Already in the West there was an entrenched culture of ignoring Indian sovereignty and voice that would be affirmed through settler colonial discourse that was "premised on the usurpation of Native land and the elimination of Native societies."[76] As the trans-Pacific trade took over the Northwest coast in the 1790s, Oregon became contested imperial space where it seemed like every European empire had a self-proclaimed claim to some part of the land or trade entity. Spanish, British, and American explorers were sent into the Oregon territory in order to try and provide some valid claim to ownership over the other vying powers. It was ultimately the American Captain Robert Gray's second voyage through the Northwest, in 1792, where he decided to breach the Columbia River in order to gain access to the Native people and trading there that allowed the United States' claim to pull ahead with the British trailing behind.[77] This allowed other maritime and land based traders access to the growing fur trade industry at the heart of the territory. Following the Louisiana Purchase of 1803, Thomas Jefferson dispatched Meriwether Lewis and William Clark to explore the acquired territory. Eventually the Corps of Discovery made their way through what would become

[75] Lisa Blee, *Framing Chief Leschi: Narratives and the Politics of Historical Justice* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 38.

[76] Ibid., 12.

[77] Whaley, *Oregon and the Collapse of Illahee,* 13.

the Oregon territory, cataloguing, interacting with, and judging various Native groups along the way. The notes taken by Lewis and Clark that were later published several times after the expedition includes Indian lifeways, political organization, and cultural practices, while at the same time "Lewis and Clark also report what they perceive as brutality, thievery, and squalor. Their mixed accounts of unsavory and noble behavior create a complex ethnographic record of culturally diverse native peoples in their historical situation."[78] The consequences of the Lewis and Clark Expedition into Indian territory of the Northwest created a narrative of discovery based off of the published material that prompted various traders and settlers to try and establish a monopoly on land and trades. The material that was published highlighted how "the explorers' views of the Pacific Northwest had been distorted to promote settlement in the Oregon country during the 1830s."[79] While permanently moving onto Indian land in order to save the natural resources from Indians who were 'misusing' them, the Lewis and Clark expedition helped create a narrative that made Oregon seem open for the taking.

In 1811, Fort Astoria was constructed by John Jacob Astor as "an ambitious design aimed at controlling the entire fur trade and extending it to the Pacific."[80] Astor would send one voyage in an attempt to successfully traverse the Columbia in order to establish a trading fort along the river. Wilson Price Hunt's successful expedition into the Columbia and attempts to replicate the Corps of Discovery's trek led to a party member,

[78] Ibid., 53.

[79] Wallace Lewis, "On the Trail: Commemorating the Lewis and Clark Expedition in the Twentieth Century," *Lewis and Clark: Legacies, Memories, and New Perspectives* ed. Kris Fresonke and Mark Spence (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 200.

[80] James P. Ronda, *Astoria and Empire* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 39.

Robert Stuart, creating a path in 1814 from St. Louis into the Oregon Territory that would become known as the Oregon Trail.[81] The Astorians would continue to establish a monopoly in the region creating conflicts with Native nations through trade interactions that would result in precedence of violence that would be replicated for decades to come. The placement of Fort Astoria made it difficult for ships to bring provisions and Astorians became dependent upon local Indian nations for trade. That dependency upon Indian trade forced Astorians to comply with Native rituals such as salmon ceremonies.[82] As the Astorians traversed the Columbia many groups like the Wascoes and Wishrams "expected tolls to be paid for the use of the Columbia highway."[83] An incident involving a "shiny metal dispatch box" and some Wishrams left two Indians shot and John Reed wounded by a blow from a hatchet, the expedition turned around after creating one of many small, local conflicts.[84]

Another larger incident involving the Astorian trading ship *Tonquin* marked another conflict in a long line of incidents between Native people and Astorians. The *Tonquin* had anchored on the west side of Vancouver Island and conducted shipboard trade with local Indians. After conducting trade on board of the ship, a chief was outraged over the price of his pelts and Captain Jonathan Thorn "exploded in a characteristic rage and rubbed the headman's face in the furs."[85] The chief and twenty other unnamed Indians demanded to board the ship under the guise of fur trading and attacked the crew

[81] Whaley, *Oregon and the Collapse of Illahee,* 32.

[82] Ronda, *Astoria and Empire*, 223.

[83] Ibid., 239.

[84] Ibid.

[85] Ibid., 236.

killing all except one. The survivor was unknown to the Indians celebrating on the ship deck and he "exacted his revenge, setting off the ship's large powder magazine. Jack Ramsay, Indian interpreter and the sole survivor of the explosion told the Astorians that "arms, legs, and heads were flying in all directions and this tribe of Indians lost nearly 200 of its people in this unfortunate affair."[86] Incidents like the *Tonquin* disaster and the conflict between the Wishrams and Astorians are just a few of the conflicts that the Astorians inspired in the Columbia River region and throughout the Oregon territory as they voyaged for trade. After the War of 1812 finally reached the Oregon territory in mid 1813, fighting broke out between the Astorians and members of the Northwest Company which constituted a fight for imperial claims and space. The competition between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Company was resolved with a merger in 1821, creating a monopoly over the entire region. In 1824, Peter Skene Ogden would begin expeditions into the southern parts of the Oregon territory, at the behest of his employer the Hudson's Bay Company, where his party would agitate relationships between Native nations who were conducting raids against other nations. Ogden's observations of the raids and violence would create a stereotypical narrative in Oregon's history that would lead to all Native people being seen as violent. Following the endemic violence of the region, malaria epidemics between 1830 and 1834 "reduced *Illahee* in the Greater Lower Columbia region to being a part of colonial Oregon rather than the reverse for the first time."[87] This epidemic allowed more colonial enterprises to move into the

[86] Ibid., 237.

[87] Whaley, *Oregon and the Collapse of Illahee,* 91.

region and instability would allow missionaries to stake a claim for Indian souls and the civilizing mission in the process.

Methodists led by Rev. Jason Lee attempted to bring stability to the region through Christianization and civilizing practices.[88] Lee's interactions with agreeable Native nations paved the way for mission colonies like the Willamette to arrive in 1836. The mission colony would become a place of death and misunderstanding as Native and Christian worldviews would collide in a battle for imperial space as well as attempts to make a space for settlers to move in. The mission would create racialized images of Indians as "vanishing," this idea would ultimately be the downfall of the mission colonies.[89] Methodists also detested the competition from Catholic missionaries in the region, particularly in the Willamette Valley. The competition between the Catholic mission and the Methodist mission "served as a catalyst for sectarian conflict in the Willamette Valley."[90] Through 1830s and 1840s Oregon territory would be consumed by this conflict through incidents between Americans, French Canadians, and Indians. These events would "reveal dynamics of conflict, cooperation, and misunderstanding and a struggle to address civil affairs within the context of sectarian and cultural differences between the French Canadians and the Americans."[91] It is important to note that both the Catholics and the Methodists had the backing of imperial trade entities because they were supposed to promote trade and good relations in order to be able to expand their

[88] Ibid., 99.

[89] Ibid., 146.

[90] Melinda Marie Jetté, *At the Hearth of the Crossed Races: A French-Indian Community in Nineteenth-Century Oregon, 1812-1859* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2015), 104.

[91] Ibid.

respective empires. The tensions between the Methodists and Catholics in the Willamette Valley would, according to Gray Whaley, leave "three crucial legacies for western Oregon":

> First, they legitimated Euro-American colonization through a divinely sanctioned, nationalist mission that readily usurped the land and resources of a Native population reeling from disease and dislocation. Second, they fostered early Euro-American colonization through their mills, credit, and appeals for territorial acquisition. Third, by officially ending their mission to convert and Westernize the Indians of the lower country, they reproduced and popularized the image that Indians were destined to vanish as a consequence of divinely appointed historical processes.[92]

Before the Great Migration of 1843, Europeans and Native people in the Oregon Territory lived in a relative symbiotic environment that relied on a mutual dependency upon trade and communication. Although the mutual dependency upon trade networks established by Native nations sometimes prevented conflicts, at times it was the exact reason that conflicts between Europeans and Native groups broke out. The fur trade and Native kinship networks created a vast web of reciprocity that spanned the territory forever marking the physical landscape. Over time, the trade and kinship webs changed with the influx of American settlers crossing into the territory to claim a piece of the disappearing American Frontier. These networks accurately represent the tangible presence of the Indigenous Historical Landscape as a part of American history. Soon to be overrun by visions of Manifest Destiny, the Indigenous Historical Landscape fades in the eyes of history as Americans impose Jeffersonian ideals traditional of American colonialism upon the landscape and Native people who are already there.[93] In 1846, the

[92] Whaley, *Oregon and the Collapse of Illahee,* 157.

[93] Jetté, *At the Hearth of the Crossed Races,* 3.

United States and Great Britain resolved their imperial claims over the region through the Oregon Treaty. Setting the boundaries at the 49th parallel west of the Rocky Mountains, Americans silently took over Native lands further layering the historical landscape.[94] Native nations were not consulted to establish these boundaries which reaffirmed the idea that Americans saw Native groups as illegitimate governing bodies.

In 1847, the killings of Marcus and Narcissa Whitman and eleven other white settlers of the Waillatpu Mission by Cayuse Indians gave white settlers the excuse they needed to go to war against local Indians. It is important to understand that the Cayuse repeatedly asked the Whitmans to leave and "retaliated because of a measles epidemic, the taking of more land for the mission, and the bringing of more settlers to their country."[95] The Whitman killings led the provisional Oregon government to create volunteer militia campaigns with genocidal intent against Native people. Not only does this incident prove the violent ethos established in the region, it also highlights how destructive missionary activities were to Native nations in the territory. These conditions helped perpetuate action against Native people in order to civilize them and somehow teach them a lesson. The Cayuse War of 1848 was a turning point for relations between settlers and Native people. The act of killing the Whitmans and the eleven other white settlers prompted the Cayuse to be "harassed by American militia hunting those who killed the people at Waiiletpu Mission" and it also opened up other Native nations who

[94] Stephen Dow Beckham, "Oregon History," https://sos.oregon.gov/blue-book/Pages/facts/history/pre-land.aspx

[95] Antone Minthorn, "Wars, Treaties, and the Beginning of Reservation Life," *As Days Go By: Our History, Our Land, and Our People The Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Wall* ed. Jennifer Karson (Portland: Oregon Historical Society Press, 2006), 63.

sided with the Cayuse to be attacked as well.[96] The Cayuse War has been overexaggerated by settler accounts of the violence in an attempt to paint Native people as savages who needed settlers to move into the region to promote peace; this led to Congress creating the Oregon territory in 1848.[97] A series of smaller scale violent events connected to the Cayuse War happened across the region which constituted war in the eyes of white settlers. The killings are sometimes seen "as a separate episode from the skirmished that followed…They were utterly connected in that the killings marked the beginning of the Cayuse War and the first Pacific Northwest Indian war." [98] For example, the *metis* community of French Prairie in the Willamette Valley responded to the call to arms by Governor Abernathy and "supported the Americans' military response to the Whitman mission incident by purchasing war bonds to finance a settler militia and by raising a company of volunteers to participate in the prosecution of the Cayuse War."[99] In most cases the events instigated by militia campaigns were over land claims, raiding, and miscommunications between missionaries like the Whitmans and Native groups. Thus the following colonial Indian "wars" of the region can be seen as nothing more than settlers creating a policy of "legal and just war(s)" in order to fulfill prevailing racial ideologies of the region. By adding the need to create "legal and just war(s)" in order to fulfill territorial and aspirational goals of Manifest Destiny, the Indigenous historical landscape was overrun with white stories of justice against violent Native people.

[96] Ibid., 64.

[97] Whaley, *Oregon and the Collapse of Illahee,* 157.

[98] Minthorn, "Wars, Treaties, and the Beginning of Reservation Life," 65.

[99] Jetté, *At the Hearth of the Crossed Races,* 182.

The Oregon Donation Land Act of 1850 furthered American imperialist claims while also committing to an established precedent for racist and violent attacks against Native people. The Donation Land Act granted up to 320 acres to white males who filed a claim, without purchasing the land first from the Indian nations through treaties; an additional 320 acres also went to the wife if the man was married. For example, in 1851 Captain William Tichenor secured a land claim under the Donation Land Act from the Tututnis "in the Kwatami lands without having first discussed his desires with the Tribe. Such claims were technically illegal under U.S. land law, as the Tribes had neither negotiated treaties nor sold their land to the United States."[100] This act led to multiple battles between Tichenor's men and the Kwatamis in an attempt to keep the land claim when finally "the command at Fort Vancouver sent a military detachment to punish the Tribes and to build a fort, Fort Orford, to ensure the safety of the Americans in the region."[101] The Donation Land Act led to a decades long tension in the region that would result in several wars between settlers and Native people like those that led to the establishment of Fort Orford. This led to the hasty drafting of treaties for land cession in order to cover the political blunder caused by the Donation Land Act. In 1851, Indians of the Willamette Valley: the Santiams, Tualitins, Yamhills, Lucklamiutes, and Molallas were among those who met with Indian affairs commissioners to sign treaties in order to "extinguish Native titles to all lands in the valley, and to remove the remnant bands to a reserve east of the Cascades."[102] It is important to note that Indians who were in

[100] David G. Lewis and Thomas J. Connolly "White American Violence on Tribal Peoples on the Oregon Coast" *Oregon Historical Quarterly,* Vol. 120, No. 4 (2019): pg. 369.

[101] Ibid., 371.

[102] Ronald Spores, "Too Small a Place: The Removal of the Willamette Valley Indians, 1850-1856" *American Indian Quarterly, Vol. 17, Issue 2* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993).

negotiations forced the government to abandon their insistence on removing east of the Cascades and instead set up a reservation at Grande Ronde which was much closer to the tribes' homelands. By hastily drafting treaties, the United States government proved that they held Native governing structures and kinship identities in particularly low accord. The treaties within the Oregon territory would have severe consequences for Native nations as they ceded their land and integrated American culture into their own worldviews.

Gold was discovered by settlers in Oregon in 1851 which led to miners and settlers running to the Rogue River Valley in the thousands. The valley earned its name through settler narratives of seeing Indians as savages or "Rogues". Conflicts in this area would be blamed on the "Rogues" and "each minor incident between colonists and the "Rogues" produced a new tale, which in turn grew with the telling, and justified whatever extreme retaliation the colonists' considered justified."[103] The introduction of genocidal, state sponsored militia campaigns against Native people were for the benefit of the settlers, in order to steal Indian land they had to get rid of the Indians standing in their way. The adopted policy of extermination lives as a dark mark in Oregon's history as evident through the Rogue River Wars. Raiding continued heavily through the 1850s as Native nations fought to survive against the pressures of colonization and established policies of extermination by the Oregon legislature.

Hostilities during from the Rogue River Wars led to the creation of the Table Rock Reservation in 1853 which most of the removed Indian people refused to live on. After the war officially ended subsequent removal of the "Rogue" Indians in 1856 onto

[103] Whaley, *Oregon and the Collapse of Illahee,* 195.

the Siletz Reservation and Grand Ronde Reservation as a punishment for their participation in the conflict and as a way for more settlers to claim Indian land. Not paying attention to the self-determining identities of Native nations, the leaders of the Oregon territory often just lumped regional nations together under one tribal name and identity, completely disregarding Indigenous cultural and religious traditions engrained within the landscape. In doing so, Oregonians were realizing their vision for a white republic within the state.[104] Melinda Marie Jetté posits that this early colonial timeline within the Willamette Valley and ultimately the rest of the region, compared to other contact zones was compressed into a much shorter time span.[105] This timeline gives the Oregon territory a unique historical landscape, one where activism and Native voices were loud and settler colonial violence was reincarnated through the decades.

Moving into the late 1850s and 1860s settlers increased their support for the so called "disappearance" of Indian culture and consequently Indian people. The idea of the Vanishing American represents a past so distinct to American history and culture as well as a "perfect fusion of the nostalgic with the progressive impulse."[106] White settlers were blind to the adaptations taken by Native people and cultures that were in fact incorporating both cultures syncretically within Oregon's landscape. Instead Indians were just seen as stagnant and disappearing, erasing any sort of agency and sovereignty over their own situations. The adaptation on the part of Native people was not inevitable, it was a response to societal pressures and for Native safety. As Indians adapted their

[104] Ibid., ix.

[105] Jetté, *At the Hearth of the Crossed Races,* 7.

[106] Brian W. Dippie, *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1991), xii.

cultures, the subject of authenticity was brought up in white conversations. "Whites imagined what the authentic Indian was, and Aboriginal people engaged and shaped those imaginings in return. They were collaborators—albeit unequally—in authenticity. Non-Aboriginal people employed definitions of Indian culture that limited Aboriginal claims to resources, land, and sovereignty, at the same time as Aboriginal people utilized those same definitions to access the social political, and economic means necessary for survival under colonialism."[107] Native people who didn't look like stereotypical Indians were seen as not Indian enough and those who incorporated their Native culture more heavily were seen as unprogressive, still clinging to "savage" ways. In other words, Native people were subjected to a forced binary of authenticity that influenced how they were able to participate in and adapt to imposing white culture. This perception further spurred collectors in later decades like George Gustav Heye to start salvaging Native culture to preserve the most unique part of American history. Described as difficult in his desire to collect, "George would be fretful and hard to live with until he'd bought every last dirty dishcloth and discarded shirt and shipped them back to New York."[108] Heye would go on to curate the most prolific collection of Native American artifacts in the world try to preserve what he and the rest of the world perceived as lost.

Following shortly after in 1887 the Dawes Act further assaulted Native sovereignty in Oregon as it supported continued loss of Native lands and the splitting of reservations between Native residents and non-Native settlers. All of these events

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[107] Paige Raibmon, *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late-Nineteenth-Century Northwest Coast* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 3.

[108] Clara Sue Kidwell, "Every Last Dishcloth: The Prodigious Collecting of George Gustav Heye," *Collecting Native America, 1870-1960* ed. Shepard Krech III and Barbara A. Hail (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Books, 1999).

amounted to a state that would have a complicated history with Native people and culture. The narratives produced by the Oregon Trail and subsequent pioneers leave a lasting impact on the region that is visible within the museums in Oregon. The High Desert Museum is but one example of how Oregon history is portrayed for the general public to consume.

The legacy of trauma created by Oregon's history of settler violence and settler colonialism extends across generations through the present day. This legacy would legitimize the nostalgic "collecting" and theft of Native artifacts that would complicate the ability of the Museum at Warm Springs to display its own tribal history. Inspired by Franz Boas in the late 1800s regular people became proto-anthropologists who started collecting in order to preserve a record that the Indian had in fact existed in the Pacific Northwest. Going as far north as Alaska, white collectors would travel to fill entire rooms with Native artifacts. For 30 years the general public was self-motivated in acquiring Native artifacts by any means necessary, legitimate or otherwise. They were following popular ideologies that the Indian was a vanishing race because of the powers of settler Westernization. In 1893, Frederick Jackson Turner presented his infamous "Frontier Thesis" wherein he declared that the frontier, a unique and defining aspect of American culture and history was in fact disappearing and with it the Native people who helped define the frontier. In an academic setting, Turner posited this racialized way of thinking for the entire country to justify its racism on. Boas was known for challenging racist ideas in anthropology at the time, "arguing that thought, action, and choice, whether primitive or civilized, were largely determined by the particular body of tradition and custom 'that

has been controlling all our actions since the time of our birth."[109] Despite his argument, decades of Boasian inspired thinkers used a racialized ideology to collect not for the exoticism of Native artifacts but in order to salvage remnants of a dying race.

These practices of collecting vastly altered the Indigenous historical landscape because suddenly indigeneity was noticeably everywhere. Indigenous place names were seamlessly weaved into budding communities in the Pacific Northwest and white settlers claimed Native history as their own within the larger pioneer narrative. Places like Seattle, named for the Duwamish chief Sealth (Seattle), were transformed from Indigenous space into settler space that used Indigeneity to make a claim to the land. Large areas of the Pacific Northwest have a "place-story" that combines Native and white historical narratives.[110] These place-stories show how Native artifacts travelled through hybrid communities far away from the home in an attempt to salvage native cultures. But Indian sovereignty and culture was not respected, it was being appropriated into a voyeuristic form of entertainment that allowed anyone to "claim" a piece of American history for their own. In the Pacific Northwest, missionary zeal was mixed with collection and commodification of Native artifacts. Artifacts from places like Alaska and the Southwest would find themselves in the Pacific Northwest because both missionaries and regular people acted as collectors for their own home museums. Missionary objectives of Christianization and civilization established and perpetuated the settler colonial project in the Pacific Northwest and collecting became an integral way to further

[109] George W. Stocking, Jr., "Franz Boas and the Culture Concept in Historical Perspective," *American Anthropologist* Vol. 68, No.4 (Wiley on behalf of the American Anthropological Association, August 1966): 876-882.

[110] Coll Thrush, *Native Seattle: Histories from the Crossing-Over Place* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007), xiii.

that agenda. Sheldon Jackson, a Presbyterian missionary, collected with zeal across the West and used those artifacts as a reward for donating to Presbyterian causes. In the late 1870s, Jackson shifted his missionary zeal and enculturating focus to Alaska. He would use Native artifacts to fundraise, often "Dressed in an Eskimo parka and fur boots and armed with an extra parka for audiences to try on, he crisscrossed the country, marshaling financial and more support for his campaign to bring Alaska's Native peoples into the Christian fold."[111] Jackson used trade with Alaska Natives and field collectors to amass a collection where no artifact was too small. He soon gained enough popularity that he was asked by the Field Museum of Natural History and the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology to bring back Alaska Native artifacts to boost their own Native collections. Again this is another example of artifacts moving outside of their point of origin in order to supplement Native collections. Many credit Jackson for contributing to the boom in Alaskan tourism that allowed Alaska Native art to be disseminated across the country.

From there Jackson created cabinets and displays of Alaska Native art and artifacts across the country, eventually promulgating a desire to open a museum. The Sheldon Jackson Museum and Library was created to educate local Alaska Natives of their artistic heritage as well as a way for Jackson to boast about "how far Native people have progressed out of the heathen darkness, thanks to the benefits of Christian education."[112] Donating artifacts by the thousands, Jackson himself had donated almost

[111] Shepard Krech III and Barbara A. Hail. *Collecting Native America*, (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Books, 2014).

[112] Ibid., 6.

two-thirds of the museum's collection by his death in 1909.[113] Like other collectors, Jackson used the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition to broaden his audience of "exotic" artifact consumers. Jackson represents an entire generation of Native artifact collectors in the Pacific Northwest who collected out of a supposed duty, nostalgia, and commitment to creating and maintaining a record of Native culture and existence. With this combination of missionary zeal and nostalgic collecting, we can see that collecting by any means is a foundational tenet of the existence of settler colonialism in the Pacific Northwest. Although Jackson would ultimately use Alaskan Native artifacts to exploit Native historical narratives and the Indigenous Historical Landscape, his collecting practices are representative of the entire Pacific Northwest and the West and more importantly how many museums in the West were able to own Indian artifacts. The Indigenous historical landscape in Oregon and broadly the Pacific Northwest is defined by this settler colonial process and the way in which it engages with Native peoples.

There was a certain irony in these collecting practices. While claiming that Indians were a "dying race," settler collecting inadvertently helped raise the visibility of Oregon's Native past. At the same time, settler society was actively trying to abrogate its treaty obligations to Native nations in order to establish a firmer settler presence as well as control over natural resources. Treaties made with Indian nations stood in the way of settler land claims and resource use and thus settler settlement and progress in the West. Settlers firmly believed that they were owed the land and resources regardless of treaty rights. This led to continued violent acts against Native people at the hands of settlers vying for superiority. But Indian sovereignty and culture was not respected; it was being

[113] Ibid., 7.

appropriated into a voyeuristic form of entertainment that allowed anyone to "claim" a piece of American history for their own. By doing this, Americans continually used settler colonial rhetoric to condescend Native nations, Native voice and perspective was not present in these Euro-centric retellings of history. Most if not all of these larger collections were donated to create or bolster museum collections of Native artifacts without the consultation of Native peoples. Precious and sacred objects were sitting in storage while Native nations were mourning the loss of such cultural totems. In one way, museums further perpetuatied the silencing of the Indigenous Historical Landscape across the nation because of the way they portrayed and displayed history. This started in the 1860s and lasted through the 1970s as a prevalent academic and national mindset.

Museums in general are especially at risk of inspiring this very specific type of emotion within its visitors whether or not this is a conscious choice. Museums want to educate Native and non-Native cultures about their histories, not to inspire guilt or sadness. Inspiring guilt or sadness within visitors of a museum implies that Native cultures have not survived the struggles they have faced. Museums that do not recognize that they are inspiring tangible and intangible feelings of imperialist nostalgia are implicating themselves as perpetuators of the very colonial system they seek to dismantle. Imperialist nostalgia is an easy trap for museums to fall into because of how colonialism has shaped history and the legacy of those experiences influencing our everyday lives.

Imperialist nostalgia relates heavily to frontier mythology and the idea of the "dying Indian". At the turn of the twentieth century people in the United States genuinely believed that Native Americans were on the brink of extinction, in a good way. To them

the fact that so many Native people had been civilized meant that they were no longer an Indian in the ancient sense of the word. When looking at commemorations that involve Native history there is an implied feeling that nothing could have been done to save these lost cultures from the power of civilized America. A statue of an Indian man on horseback inspires visions of the Wild West as well as a very specific version of the creation of America. This makes the viewer forget just how America was won: through the colonization and the disenfranchisement of sovereign Native nations. Memory plays a strong role in the way that imperialist nostalgia has survived within the Indigenous historical narratives. Complementary visions of Native Americans as enemies of progress and proponents of savagery are engrained into the historical memory because of the way American history is taught, without a coherent Native voice. While it is these memories that help perpetuate imperialist nostalgia within the Indigenous historical landscape, memory of another kind helps disrupt the narratives it creates within Native histories. By moving these memories into a present perspective the memories themselves "crumble under the weight of their own inconsistencies."[114] Museums are striving to achieve this result by placing Native voice and perspective at the forefront of the museum narrative. They do so through different decolonizing methodologies and through highlighting Indigenous experiences in museums.

The violence within Oregon has added another layer to the Indigenous historical landscape as museums now try to explain what happened between settlers and Native nations. Although decolonization methodologies are the only structure that museums must employ when creating exhibits that involve Native Americans and Indigenous

[114] Renato Rosaldo, "Imperialist Nostalgia," *Representations* No. 26 Special Issue: Memory and Counter Memory (1989): 107-122.

peoples, there is still a matter of how museums like the High Desert Museum, are creating layers of historical inquiry and narratives that contradict the Indigenous historical landscape within Oregon that are highlighted by the Museum at Warm Springs. The High Desert Museum is not a fully decolonized entity and it probably won't ever be fully decolonized because of the way it displays pioneer history alongside Native historical narratives.

Only forty-five minutes south, The High Desert Museum sits on 135 acres of former timber land that was donated by the Brooks-Scanlon Lumber Company. The High Desert Museum opened in 1982 and was founded by Donald M. Kerr, a wildlife biologist/conservationist and Portland native. Kerr wanted to educate the public about the fragility of the High Desert landscape.[115] The museum boasts over 100,000 square feet of exhibit space, over 29,000 artifacts, and it has become an important destination for tourists and locals alike. Along with the main building, the museum houses native wildlife of the High Desert as well as a homestead and sawmill from 1904. The mission of the High Desert Museum reads as such, "The High Desert Museum wildly excites and responsibly teaches through innovative interdisciplinary experiences, creating connection to and dialogue about the High Desert."[116] The High Desert Museum is one of three museums in Oregon that are designated as a Smithsonian Affiliate Institution. This means the High Desert Museum has access to artifacts from the Smithsonian collection as well as sponsored travelling exhibits and educational programs. The museum itself stands as a monument to the pioneer legacy of Oregon that focuses on the "native" aspects of the

[115] The High Desert Museum, "Our Mission", https://highdesertmuseum.org/about-2/

[116] Ibid.

High Desert. The Native American collection at the High Desert Museum was donated by one non-Native woman, Doris Swayze Bounds. She was born in Oklahoma in 1904 before moving to Hermiston, Oregon as an infant. Her father started a bank shortly after moving to Oregon. Doris Swayze Bounds would receive a Master's degree from Stanford University and moved to Washington D.C. to work. In 1947 her and her husband Roger moved back to Oregon to start the Inland Empire Bank of Umatilla where she ran the bank after her husband's death in 1960 until her own death in 1994.[117]

She collected Indian artifacts for her entire life out of nostalgia and the sincere belief that culture was being lost. The High Desert's provided history of Doris Swayze Bounds portrays her as any other settler who was interested in Native culture. On a plaque in the exhibit, the museum states that "Ironically, Doris collected because she believed culture was being lost; her objects now strike us as evidence that cultural change does not mean cultural loss."[118] Another display next to this quote highlights Doris Swayze Bounds as someone who was deeply immersed in Native culture and had the approval of Native people to wear Native clothing or even have a Native name. A small clear box shows a painted hide stretched over small wooden sticks with the accompanying caption: "The Blackfeet in Browning, Montana, gave Doris Bounds this painted hide adoption certificate when she was officially accepted into the tribe in 1965. During the ceremony she was named Sacred Star Woman."[119] The homage to Doris Swayze Bounds does not provide a lot of background to her interactions with the

[117] The High Desert Museum, "Sacred Star Woman".

[118] The High Desert Museum, "A Passion for all things Native American".

[119] The High Desert Museum, "Sacred Star Woman".

Blackfeet other than saying she had "a tremendous passion for American Indian culture."[120] Following this a small paragraph of text at the bottom of the display tries to give a more legitimate reason for her collecting habits: "Out of childhood friendships with Indians she developed a life-long interest in native history and life. As an adult, she collected thousands of Indian artifacts, photographs, and other materials in the hope they would someday be used to educate the world about Native Americans. Most of the artifacts in *By Hand Through Memory* come from this collection, donated by her to The High Desert Museum in 1990."[121] The museum specifically pays homage to Doris Swayze Bounds in order to legitimize her "collecting" practices. Although the High Desert Museum tries to employ decolonizing practices they will never fully achieve full decolonization without acknowledging the origin of their collection as part of settler colonial legacies. On the other hand, without the intense collecting done by Doris Swayze Bounds it is possible that these beautiful works of art and cornerstones of culture would be lost because of settler colonial narrative erasure. I am critical of the High Desert Museum not wholly acknowledging the settler origins of the collection because in order to see the complexities of Native historical narratives context must be provided. If the exhibit that highlights the origin of the collection were to acknowledge that the interactions between Doris Swayze Bounds and Native groups are more complicated than just an exchange of artifacts this would be a huge step towards decolonization for the exhibit. By acknowledging the settler motivations behind Swayze Bound's collecting the museum is placing themselves as an agent of settler colonialism as well as an agent of

[120] Ibid.

[121] Ibid.

decolonization. The origin of the High Desert Museum shows how and why the Museum at Warm Springs is different than non-Native museums with colonial tendencies.

Upon visiting the High Desert Museum I was struck by the beauty of the land the museum sits on. It was hard to not stare at the surrounding trees or the statues placed throughout the property paying homage to various animals, plants, and people of the High Desert. When entering the museum the visitors' eyes are immediately drawn to a covered wagon in the corner of the entrance that reminds the visitor of the museum's pioneer origins. The High Desert Museum actually does a decent job of privileging Indigeneity in certain areas of the exhibits but the Indigenous Historical Landscape is less emphasized as pioneer narratives are the most important part of the exhibits and those voices take priority. At the time of my visit, the High Desert Museum was displaying an exhibit that celebrated Oregon's participation in the space race of the 1950s and 1960s. Off to the left of this eye catching exhibit with pictures of space and astronaut cut outs that guests can put their head in to pretend to be a space person, lies the wing that is dedicated to Native history. I noticed that many visitors were forgoing the Native wing and heading straight to the space race exhibit because of how exciting and new it was. One excellent thing about the hallway leading into the Native history exhibit is that the museum highlights Native sovereignty, survivance, and overall the Indigeneity of plateau peoples with an installation of painted flags representing each of the aforementioned

*Figure 3: Strong, Resilient, Indigenous Photo by Author*

aspects. The collaboration between Native Columbia River Plateau nations and the museum is evident through the construction of a tule mat lodge and many of the new clothes that the statues in the dioramas were wearing. I know for a fact that the curator at the Museum at Warm Springs and her "auntie" were the ones to help make new clothing for the root digging scene and to me that is how all Native exhibits in non-Native museums should be done. The collaborative aspect of these exhibits is invaluable towards highlighting the Indigenous Historical Landscape in non-Native museums. Admittedly collaboration isn't always successful depending on the exhibit and who is involved but when Native and non-Native minds meet that is already a step in the right direction.

One of the first aspects of the *By Hand Through Memory* is a glass case that shows a musket and various Native weapons and clothing. The intent is to show how Columbia River Plateau peoples resisted against settler colonialism in a way that was both modern and Indigenous. The people in front of me in the exhibit instead used the exhibit as an opportunity to talk about how guns were introduced by the Europeans and to have an argument about who was a better weapon constructor at the time, the French or the English. In contrast, the Museum at Warm Springs talks about resistance without

displaying a weapon that was used in genocidal campaigns against Native nations. The exhibit does talk about popular, incorrect stereotypes that characterized Native people in the United States which is more in line with how the Museum at Warm Springs deals with U.S. historical narratives of Indigenous peoples. There was a lot of text accompanying the various parts of the *By Hand Through Memory* exhibit and the people who were walking the exhibit with me spent very little time reading the placards. Instead, they chose to examine the live fish in the Celilo Falls portion of the exhibit or playing a game of bingo that highlights gambling as a part of Plateau culture. The exhibit does a good job of giving a look into the culture of Plateau peoples but some of the examples provided place the same Native people in the past.

The root digging scene in this exhibit is a fantastic display of how Native people continue to practice tribal traditions despite colonization of the region. The outfits are bright and the visitor is really taken by just how hard the task is as well as how important it is to Native nations of the Plateau. Beside this exhibit is a small case containing

*Figure 4: Nature's Bounty Photo by Author*

"modern" foods that Indian people still consume. The visitor can see familiar brands such

as Jif, Jell-O, Hamburger Helper, and more. Nothing is inherently wrong with displaying these brands or foods, it is the caption that inspires concerns as it places Native people in a strange space in time.

> Harvested roots can be made into breads, eaten dried, mashed, or baked, and cooked with meat hunted in forests or fish caught in rivers and streams. Many of the traditional methods of food processing, like drying and pit cooking, continue to be used. With modern industry, eating habits change. Indian families, like every other family, buy snacks and foods packaged, canned, frozen, or bottled, at favorite grocery stores.[122]

Somehow this caption and glass case place Native people simultaneously in the past because of their root digging and in the present because they buy microwaveable bean and rice burritos. Although the display is meant to be a representation of moditionality, it actually confuses the visitor and actively works to erase the survivance of Native people by condescendingly describing how Native people shop in grocery stores like everyone else does. I see the intention is to educate visitors into not assuming Native nations are stagnantly stuck in the past, but the actual result distracts visitors from the Indigenous Historical Landscape. A replica reservation house takes up a

*Figure 5: Reservation Home 1963 Photo by Author*

[122] The High Desert Museum, "Nature's Bounty".

large portion of the exhibit and allows the visitor to walk through the house and see how an Indian family would live on the reservation in the 1960s. The plaque that stands outside the house marks this space from the year 1963 and talks about how families would exist within these spaces: "Within the walls of reservation homes like this one, Plateau grandparents and parents passed their heritage to new generations. In 1963, it was common for extended families to still share single dwellings of this type. All the objects in this house came from Native American families."[123] It is wonderful that the High Desert Museum is able to allow the visitor to step, quite literally, into the life of a Native family living on a reservation but the exhibit ignores how difficult it actually was to live like this. There is no mention of the historical significance of reservation life and even how reservations came to be. By ignoring the origin of reservations and the treatment that Native people received at the hands of the federal government the High Desert Museum gives insufficient information to fully counter the erasure of the Indigenous Historical Landscape. As a pioneer museum, the High Desert occupies a unique space because when

*Figure 6: Reservation Home 1963 Photo by Author*

[123] The High Desert Museum, "Reservation Home 1963".

talking about and displaying the history of Oregon you have to acknowledge how the settlers of Oregon were complicit in the erasure of Native people and cultures as well as how Oregon came to be settled. A museum that acknowledges only one side of history isn't correctly educating the public about historical narratives. As I've said before the High Desert Museum has good intentions behind their displays, they want to educate visitors and they want to collaborate with Native people but the results are not always consistent with their intentions.

Unfortunately most museums operate similarly to the High Desert Museum where they partially participate in decolonizing methodologies but they still don't fully illuminate the Indigenous Historical Landscape because they still subscribe to settler colonial historical narratives. The history of Oregon is riddled with conflict and historical inaccuracies when it comes to telling Native historical narratives. When comparing the High Desert Museum and the Museum at Warm Springs, as I have done in the past two chapters, it becomes obvious that the Museum at Warm Springs is working to further decolonizing strategies and Native historical prevalence while the High Desert Museum favors pioneer narratives that write over Native voices. In the following chapter, I am going to analyze how settler colonial theory interacts with the Museum at Warm Springs in both positive and negative ways.

# IV. CHAPTER 3

In order to understand the full extent of how the Museum at Warm Springs is an active site of memory and decolonization we must turn to how the Museum at Warm Springs fits into the larger settler colonial project within the United States. While the Museum at Warm Springs is unique in Oregon because it illuminates the Indigenous Historical Landscape, in the larger context of settler colonialism the museum itself can be seen as problematic because of how Native history is operating within a Western and settler environment. As examined in earlier chapters, the Museum at Warm Springs serves as a site of education and memory engagement for Tribal members as well as non-Native visitors to the museum. This is especially important within Oregon and more broadly the West because of how pioneer myths and stories are heralded as the true American historical narrative. Settler voices within the museum are determined by settler processes outside of the museum such as: blood quantum requirements, fights over land and fishing rights, rules of land tenure, reservation structures, and even the physical space of the museum. Despite all of this, the Museum at Warm Springs is doing critical work in a hegemonic settler space through active and passive processes of decolonization.

To start, this chapter will outline various aspects of settler colonial theory in order to illuminate issues that are relevant when thinking about museums. Then these theories will be applied to work the Museum at Warm Springs is doing in order to show how the museum is operating as both an agent of settler colonialism and an agent of decolonization through contests and reinforcements of certain historical narratives. The Museum at Warm Springs is manufacturing and sustaining narratives within the Indigenous Historical Landscape that encompasses earlier and present historical

interpretations and contingencies that are incredibly important to the decolonization of settler history in the West. By employing settler colonial theory to the Museum at Warm Springs historians will be able to apply the Indigenous Historical Landscape to locales other than the Pacific Northwest that fit within settler colonial structures.

To start off with a big-picture idea, Kevin Bruyneel's *The Third Space of Sovereignty: The Postcolonial Politics of U.S.-Indigenous Relations* provides a definition of sovereignty and resistance that defines U.S.-Indigenous relations since before the Civil War. Although Bruyneel does not engage directly with settler colonialism as a key concept, he shows how settler colonialism can be put in relation to key ideas within United States historical narratives. The United States' colonial efforts to affix Native people to a particular political status in space and time in an attempt to limit sovereignty and economic and political development has a legacy that reaches through to the post-colonial world in the United States. It is important to note that Bruyneel uses the word "postcolonial" not in order to imply the end of colonialism but to refer to "the consistencies, contingencies, and fissures in the practices of colonization and decolonization."[124] Bruyneel acknowledges that Indigenous political actors must work across "American spatial and temporal boundaries" in order to challenge the continued legacy of colonial imposition and demand sovereignty.[125] Defining this resistance as the "third space of sovereignty," Bruyneel posits this space as residing "neither simply inside or outside the American political system but rather exists on these very boundaries,

[124] Kevin Bruyneel, *The Third Space of Sovereignty: The Postcolonial Politics of U.S.-Indigenous Relations* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), xviii.

[125] Bruyneel, *The Third Space of Sovereignty*, xvii.

exposing the practices and the contingencies of American colonial rule."[126] It is these very contingencies upon which arguments around settler colonialism take place in order to find out specifically how this process operates. These contingencies are essential to the research within this thesis because museum work is dependent upon the telling and retelling of American history to include the crossroads of Native historical narratives and Native historical erasure. Museums have existed in the third space of sovereignty creating important narratives of resistance and sovereignty that assure the continual survivance of Native nations and cultures. I take a different application than Bruyneel as he affixes the third space of sovereignty mostly to political, legal, and economic resistance; while I apply this definition to a literal third space of narrative creation that is important to combatting settler colonial erasure. Decolonization is a road paved with good intentions, one that has bumps and turns along the way as museums fight against the active settler colonial structures in this third space of sovereignty.

Pushing against Native museums within the third space of sovereignty, non-Native museums that glorify American colonial narratives "continually seek to reaffirm a sense of national belonging for the settler society…to forestall discussion of the political implications of the fact that indigenous people assert a deeper temporal and spatial sense of belonging."[127] We see modern arguments against Native casinos, museums, and other economic and political opportunities as the United States placing temporal and spatial constraints on Native nations in a modern world in an attempt to restrict sovereignty and identity production. Bruyneel highlights these arguments against Native economic and

[126] Ibid.

[127] Ibid., 9.

political opportunities through what he calls "American colonial ambivalence". American colonial ambivalence is seen as the "inconsistencies in the application of colonial rule, and it is a product of both institutional and cultural dynamics."[128] This American colonial ambivalence allows the United States to essentially pick and choose when they want to be actively complicit in settler colonial processes of erasure against Native nations. The U.S. uses shifting national cultural and social opinions to decide when to place temporal and spatial constraints against Native people. The deconstruction and affirmation of Native sovereignty at various points within United States history is seen within Native museums as they work to set the historical record on a straighter path. I utilize the third space of sovereignty to highlight the resistance and decolonizing work that the museums are employing in order to be sites of active remembrance and historical engagement.

Leslie Witz, Gary Minkley, and Ciraj Rassool's *Unsettled History: Making South African Public Pasts* provides additional insight into the role of museums in settler colonial societies by showing how they can be complicit within settler colonial historical erasure. The authors refer to "engaging public history" as the way in which assumed historical hierarchies are brought into question.[129] They argue that "there are a range of historical genres and producers of history, who cohere and compete with each other in the making of history in a variety of different ways."[130] Although outside of the spatial constraints of North America, *Unsettled History* provides a great example of how settler colonial theory can be applied globally to commemorations, memory sites, and museums.

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[128] Ibid., 10.

[129] Leslie Witz, Gary Minkley, and Ciraj Rassool, *Unsettled History Making South African Pasts Public* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2017), 7.

[130] Ibid.

Museums as an economic opportunity highlight how tourism can create historical interactions within Native spaces. Highlighted by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in South Africa, the dual history of tourism based on reparations shows how museums and other memory sites can actively celebrate Indigeneity as well as reinforce settler colonialism and white historical narratives.

Museums and other memory sites can celebrate Indigeneity by acknowledging past wrongdoings against Native people and including more Native voices in the display. At the same time, these sites layer settler colonial narratives over Indigenous history and voices, placing an importance on settler history over Native history. Heritage, tourism, and education go hand in hand within museums as the various tensions and historical interactions in the museum emphasize a transformation towards decolonial efforts. The intentions towards decolonization are pure for the Tribal Museum but there is a specific performative aspect that commemoration can take on in other non-Native museums that attempt to display Native historical narratives. While these museums try to incorporate the previously marginalized into the educational tourism of museums, we see the creation of markets of authenticity.[131] The market of authenticity is referred to as such because of how Native history has been commodified through tourism in South Africa similarly to the way tourism and Native history interact in the United States. In South Africa, these markets of authenticity are explained by cultural villages that allow tourists to safely view the "old traditions" of Natives and interact with historic sites in a way that produces the white washed history of South Africa. Similar to these cultural villages, museums are

[131] Ibid., 83.

at risk for creating markets of authenticity depending how certain aspects of Native life are portrayed in both Native and non-Native museums.

Jurgen Osterhammel's *Colonialism* shows how the museum can be both an agent of colonialism and a tool for decolonization through its display of historical narratives. In his section entitled "Colonialist Ideology," Osterhammel highlights a cornerstone of settler colonial thought, "Anthropological counterparts: the construction of inferior 'otherness.'"[132] It is within this definition of otherness that we see Native Americans and their subsequent tribal museums acting as a tool for decolonization. Settler colonists believe that the "inferior mental and physical abilities imputed to non-Europeans would render them incapable of the large-scale cultural accomplishments and heroic deeds that only modern Europe could achieve."[133] This colonial attribute applies heavily to the ways in which museums in general utilize their culture, knowledge, and prescribed "otherness" to unsettle and decolonize popular American historical narratives. The act of even having a museum where Tribal history is displayed makes a strong statement for decolonization against the idea that Native people cannot have meaningful cultural accomplishments.

Another key aspect from Osterhammel that contributes to my working definition of what settler colonialism is and how it applies to museums is the idea that colonial society is created from the contact between two distinct social structures. In the American case, the contact between Indigenous groups and Euro-American settlers created an "overlapping area of the actual colonial society, in which new intermediary social roles

[132] Jurgen Osterhammel *Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview (*Princeton: Markus Wiener and Kingston Ian Randle Publishers, 1997), 108.

[133] Ibid.

emerged: missionaries, interpreters, commercial middlemen, political 'collaborators.'"[134] These intermediary roles are particularly important in the history of Indigenous-U.S. relationships because they were the hybrid cultures that pushed back against settler colonialism to ensure Native survivance and cultural continuation. We see this specifically in the *metis* community in the Willamette Valley mentioned in Chapter 2. Osterhammel alludes to the idea that this intersection between cultures was marked by a social and ethnic distance, which to him, "explains why scarcely any social disentanglement was required when the exploitation colonies were later decolonized."[135] The assumption that the American settler colonial case was decolonized is misleading and ignores the existing settler legacies that are weaved seamlessly into society today. To Osterhammel, "The European, American, and Japanese colonial rulers packed their bags and vanished, leaving only a collection of architectonic shells—public buildings, villas, monumental cemeteries, memorials, entire townscapes."[136] This is evidence that the European, American, and Japanese settler colonial cases have never been truly decolonized because these "shells", at least in the American case, are heralded as the legacy of a one true settler historical narrative with no room for indigeneity. The High Desert Museum is a good example of how the exhibits concerning American historical narratives are not decolonized. This thesis has acknowledged that we do not live in a post-colonial decolonized society and to that end I also acknowledge that settler colonists never "vanish." I am defining this differently than Osterhammel does in the sense that

[134] Ibid., 85.

[135] Ibid.

[136] Ibid.

because settler colonists never vanish, they never leave shells. Instead of leaving shells, they construct physical structures and narratives that make settler colonists seem native to the region. Settlers write over Native physical places and narratives by asserting their own presence as the correct standard of living. By dedicating most of the space at the High Desert Museum to pioneer history, this site of memory uses its physical presence to illuminate the Indigenous Historical Landscape in a way that is not productive for Native voices and histories. In this case, Osterhammel provides space for saying what settler colonialism is and is not and it is not decolonized historically in the American case. It is important to acknowledge that Osterhammel makes the claim that American history and space has been decolonized while other works that engage with settler colonialism critique the opinion by saying it has not. I am firmly of the position that American history and space has not been decolonized specifically because of spaces like the High Desert Museum.

Merging theory and action, Penelope Edmonds' *Settler Colonialism and (Re)Conciliation: Frontier Violence, Affective Performances, and Imaginative Refoundings* turns this discussion of settler colonial theory towards the ways in which settler societies are reckoning with past wrongdoings. Although Edmonds' focuses on performance and performative actions, for the purpose of this discussion I specify that museums are multimedia examples of performative action that contribute to the interactions between settler narratives and Indigenous memory. Edmonds' calls upon historical events to acknowledge what stories and struggles are becoming visible: "Performances of reconciliation are inherently about border-crossings, trust and risk. Here, Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples frequently stand in for their own ancestors

as they face past violence together."[137] Although not as explicit as the reconciliation events that Edmonds highlights, museums create an unobtrusive and almost safe space for settlers and Native people to interact with the past in an attainable way. Calling these events a "relatively new genre" Edmonds hails performances of reconciliation as "new cross-cultural sites of negotiation, which draw on complex and nuanced genealogies of Indigenous diplomacy, culture and knowledge, just as they draw on a European cultural repertoire of diplomacy."[138] To see museums as sites of negotiation of memory and historical narratives within the settler colonial structure is to truly appreciate how Native people have put such monumental efforts towards cultural conservation and reproduction. An important facet of Edmonds' research is the utilization of the term "truth events" or simply, how the past takes shape in the present. Much like the Indigenous Historical Landscape, truth events are visible because of performances of reconciliation and are invisible because of oppressive settler discourses. Truth events come in many forms and "can be performed in public, emerging as embodied enactment or re-enactment of moments of violence, interrupting conventional settler narratives of consensus."[139]

The collection of works *Rethinking Settler Colonialism: History and Memory in Australia, Canada, Aotearoa New Zealand, and South Africa* edited by Annie E. Coombes, uses a transnational approach to settler colonialism. In South Africa, Annie Coombes explains "by the last part of the century the exhibitionary complex had become a vehicle for social imperialism, welding together the classes in the metropolis at the

[137] Penelope Edmonds, *Settler Colonialism and (Re)conciliation: Frontier Violence, Affective Performances, and Imaginative Refoundings* (Cambridge: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2016), 25.

[138] Ibid.

[139] Ibid., 26.

expense of 'othering' the periphery."[140] The museum as an extension of educational entertainment can function within this exhibitionary complex of exploiting Native historical narratives in an attempt to unite the metropole. Coombes mentions "welding together the classes" and this idea is essential to how the 1893 World's Fair functioned as a way to place Indians within the exhibitionary complex. These "late-nineteenth-century world's fairs were popular expressions of the interests of political and economic elites."[141] These elites of "The White City" used their status to prove a "two-fold notion of progress: evolutionary and industrial."[142] This vision of progress had the intention to unite all white Americans, "when visitors saw these live exhibits, they were supposed to know that their sense of White superiority was justified. Here was power inscribed and broadcast for all to see."[143] In order to create that unification, Native people from across the Pacific Northwest were brought to Chicago as ethnological exhibits for white visitors to interact with, creating false narratives of authenticity.[144] Paige Raibmon shows how in these exhibits Native people from the Pacific Northwest were viewed as "ethnographic objects rather than performers."[145] They were forced to wear furs in the dead of summer as well as reconstruct their traditional houses in order to provide an authentic experiences

[140] Martin Leggasick, "From Prisoners to Exhibits: Representations of 'Bushmen' of the Northern Cape, 1880-1900" in *Rethinking settler colonialism History and Memory in Australia, Canada, Aotearoa New Zealand, and South Africa*, ed. Annie E. Coombes (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press distributed by Palgrave, 2006), 64.

[141] Paige Raibmon, *Authentic Indians* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 34.

[142] Raibmon, *Authentic Indians*, 35.

[143] Ibid.

[144] Ibid.

[145] Ibid., 53.

for the visitors. If the Native "exhibits" were seen "drinking liquor and interacting with visitors outside of formally scripted performances" they would be reprimanded by leaders of the exhibits.[146] While some non-Native museums actively play into that settler narrative, Native centered museums are actively trying to rewrite these histories in order to continue decolonization. In Auckland, Leonard Bell highlights a lack of "recognition of the cultural as constitutive, that cultural activities and products—images and objects, music, plays, monuments, museums, parks, the use of food, for example—can be fundamental to the making or negotiation of social identities."[147] Similar to Auckland, the United States also lacks a recognition of Indigenous culture as substantive and fundamental to historical narratives. There is a performance of post-colonial politics within the museum space as certain narratives are highlighted over others.

In Canada, Elizabeth Furniss proposes the idea of a *frontier complex* as a "diverse yet interrelated set of values, beliefs, attitudes, identities, and understandings about society, history, and Aboriginal-non-Aboriginal relations that appears repeatedly in multiple domains of Euro-Canadian everyday life, ranging from casual conversations to public history and town festivals to political discourse on contemporary issues."[148] This same affliction is seen in the United States context: the glorification of pioneer histories, the history of the West as heroic, and the presumed lawlessness and savagery of Native

[146] Ibid., 59.

[147] Leonard Bell, "Auckland's Centerpiece: Unsettled Identities, Unstable Monuments" in *Rethinking settler colonialism History and Memory in Australia, Canada, Aotearoa New Zealand, and South Africa*, ed. Annie E. Coombes (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press distributed by Palgrave, 2006), 102.

[148] Elizabeth Furniss, "Challenging the Myth of Indigenous Peoples' 'Last Stand' in Canada and Australia: public discourse and the conditions of silence" in *Rethinking settler colonialism History and Memory in Australia, Canada, Aotearoa New Zealand, and South Africa*, ed. Annie E. Coombes (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press distributed by Palgrave, 2006), 182.

people. Furniss also defines the *frontier complex* as a "form of historical consciousness, a way of seeing history that provides certain sets of rules that govern how truths about the past, and the present, are to be determined and conveyed." She goes on to say that "this frontier historical consciousness is made manifest in narrative…"[149] This narrative historical consciousness describes what all museums in settler colonial contexts must contend with when creating and maintaining exhibits. This idea is at the crossroads of Edmonds' "truth events" and the performance of reconciliation and raises the questions: How do museums display histories that rewrite the settler narrative? How do they combat this *frontier complex* in a way that doesn't deter engagement and interaction with memory? As we will see, that is what is special about the Museum at Warm Springs. Not only does it combat and rewrite the settler narrative by illuminating the oppressed Indigenous Historical Landscape, it makes the historical consciousness tangible through an Indigenous narrative that unsettles history.

Ending this section I will summarize how the various applications of settler colonialism I have outlined are useful to decolonizing museums. First, I believe it is important to be able to look at the museums as well as the Indigenous Historical Landscape in a transnational context. By allowing museums to be seen within a transnational decolonial narrative we have a deeper understanding of how settler colonial structures and processes influence tangible experiences with memory and history. Often settler colonial theory can be so cerebral that the reader loses sight of the tangible consequences in a particular settler society. By applying settler colonial theory to tangible structures of historical narrative production, museums, we are better able to make

[149] Ibid.

connections between settler colonial influence and memory. Second, by examining settler colonial theory in tandem with museums we are better able to see when and how museums decide to actively participate in settler colonial narrative erasure and how that erasure has affected the historical narratives of certain portions of history. When the inequalities within museums are clearly seen by visitors, this supports the museum as a site that operates within and because of settler colonial structures and narratives. Third, it is important to acknowledge that not all academics believe we live in a post-colonial decolonized society. It is further proof that the museums which contribute to the erasure of the Indigenous Historical Landscape acknowledging the role settler colonialism plays within museums is critical for sustaining correct Native historical narratives. By acknowledging that we do not live in a decolonized society and our history is surely still influenced by settler colonial processes, we are able to view museums as active sites of memory and historical engagement. If exhibits within museums turn visitors towards a decolonial narrative that forces their worldview to acknowledge and engage with unpleasant histories, the museum becomes an active site of engagement with settler colonialism. Finally, by acknowledging the oppression of the Indigenous Historical Landscape I can make an argument for the usefulness of material culture as substantive ways to engage with history. Engagement with historical narratives should not come from just one source, people should be able to engage with history and memory in a way that is productive and also easy to consume. Although more substantive academic monographs make headway in really breaking down the complexities of memory and historical narratives, museums cannot be ignored as sites of active engagement or as producers of historical narratives. All of these ideas show how settler colonialism can be applied to

work within museums. Whether it functions as a roadmap to how the Indigenous Historical Landscape can be reanimated for historical narrative production or how the museum can better decolonize Native history, analyzing settler colonial theory is productive for displaying and engaging with Native historical narratives. In the following section I will take the various applications I have summarized and apply them to work within the Museum at Warm Springs to reassert the case that the Museum at Warm Springs is at once a decolonial project and a settler colonial structure.

Having seen how various theoretical perspectives can help us analyze museums, I now turn to the Museum at Warm Springs and the High Desert Museum as examples of decolonization and agents of colonization. As seen from earlier chapters, the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs have been invested in cultural continuity and preservation from their formation as the Confederated Tribes to the present. As I mentioned in an earlier chapter, the Tribes offered classes on beadwork, basket making, salmon harvesting and cooking, and other tribally important activities. New curriculum and teacher trainings were created for the dissemination of tribal languages in schools. The need for cultural education allowed for the Museum at Warm Springs to become an author of tribal history in the third space of sovereignty. Shortly after Congress passed the National Historic Preservation Act in 1966, the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs voted in 1968 to set aside $50,000 annually to purchase and collect tribal artifacts. This was done in order to stop the competition of collecting Tribal artifacts and to prevent the movement of artifacts outside of the reservation and into non-Native hands. The entire purpose of the museum is to educate the general public as well as the youth of the Tribes. As a singular entity, The Museum at Warm Springs serves as a living historical record for

the tribe as there is not a complete written history of the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs in existence. Each exhibit creates a contact zone where historical inquiry and engagement can take place with Native perspective and voice driving the interaction.

The unique nature of the Museum at Warm Springs highlights the American colonial ambivalence of other museums in eastern Oregon such as The High Desert Museum. As highlighted in Chapter 2, the Native American collection at the High Desert Museum was donated by one non-Native woman, Doris Swayze Bounds. The High Desert Museum uses different tactics in their displays to get the visitor to engage with Native history, opting for games, beautiful displays of art, and incredibly interactive experiences. Instead of focusing solely on Native people as the original inhabitants of the region, the High Desert Museum dedicates most of its space to the pioneer history of Oregon. The exhibits pick and choose when to place Native historical narratives in the past and when to place them the present. The exhibits perfectly represent how the American national consciousness chooses when to ignore Native history and when to highlight it.

To see how the Museum at Warm Springs employs "engaging public history" as an economic, cultural, and educational opportunity it is important to acknowledge that the Warm Springs and Wascoes have been traditional neighbors since time immemorial. The Paiutes were brought to the Warm Springs Reservation area after their participation against the United States in the Bannock War. The Treaty of 1855 applied only to the Warm Springs and Wasco people and was not re-written or re-ratified after the Paiutes joined the Confederated Tribes. Appreciating this term for the intentionality behind decolonization, we can see that this decolonization is contingent upon intergroup

relationships such as those amongst the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs. The fact that there are many authors of history competing in the third space of the Museum at Warm Springs, we see how public history versus oral history versus personal memory fight for precedence. Just like the cultural villages utilized by the TRC in South Africa the Museum at Warm Springs inadvertently creates a market of authenticity within the exhibit "A Timeless Heritage." This market of authenticity allows visitors to partake in the commodification of Native history by experiencing history from a Native point of view. This exhibit features three different housing structures that the Warm Springs, Wasco, and Paiute people used to live in before reservation confinement and forced assimilation. The intention of the exhibit is seen as a way to combat presumed hierarchies between Native and non-Native people while creating a narrative of existence before contact in the region. Instead there is an implicit hierarchy created within the exhibit between the three tribes that make up the Confederated Tribes. In a display of a plank house from circa 1900 for the Warm Springs tribe, for example, the museum provides a plaque that includes praise from William Clark: "The nativs of this village received me verry kindly, one of whom invited me into his house, which I found to be very large and commodious, and the first wooden houses in which Indians have lived since we left those in the vicinity of Illinois."[150] Instantly we see a praise for superiority with a quote that lives in the settler historical record. There is no cultural or environmental explanation for the house like the other two plaques, there is just enough text to show that it complies with white standards of living at the time. The Warm Springs home is a tule mat lodge

[150] "Wasco Plank House, CA.1900," in "A Timeless Heritage" exhibit. The Museum at Warm Springs, viewed by the author September 24th, 2019.

accompanied by a sign that explains the reason for this type of house: "This tule mat lodge from a summer village near the river was a family's home from late March through November. In winter, people moved to more sheltered streamside villages."[151] Here a simple cultural explanation of the seasonal round is employed to explain why this particular home was used and how Warm Springs people operated at different times of the year in order to give the visitor an understanding of Warm Springs culture. Finally, the Paiute home, a wickiup, is shown next to the Warm Springs tule mat lodge with a very simple posted sign next to it: "This comfortable structure could be built in a day, with a minimum of materials."[152] There is no cultural or environmental significance explained, only an implied simplicity of culture that lacks intricate reasoning and no effort towards explanation. Right here we see a hierarchy created within the museum: that Warm Springs and Wasco culture are inherently superior than Paiute culture. Earlier in Chapter 1 I show how Paiute history is not equally displayed within earlier parts of the museum exhibits. This explanation of cultural houses further proves how Paiute culture is not as privileged as Warm Springs and Wasco culture. Although the Museum at Warm Springs is an important cultural and economic opportunity for the Confederated Tribes because of the structures of settler colonialism that are imposed on the Tribes they too participate in Native narrative erasure.

In contrast, at the High Desert Museum there is a reconstructed room from a boarding school that displays pennants advertising school pride and physically allows the

[151] "Summer Home of a Warm Springs Family, CA. 1800" in "A Timeless Heritage" exhibit. The Museum at Warm Springs, viewed by the author September 24th, 2019.

[152] "A Paiute Wickiup on the High Desert, CA. 1800," in "A Timeless Heritage" exhibit. The Museum at Warm Springs, viewed by the author September 24th, 2019.

visitor to step into the life of an Indian child at an American Indian boarding school. Because there is no mention of the cultural destruction of Indian lifeways or the physical death toll that accompanied these boarding schools, many tourists will never be forced to acknowledge the historical pain and suffering of Native Nations at the hands of the United States. On the other hand, the Museum at Warm Springs displays an entire exhibit dedicated to Tribal members who experienced boarding school life and the horrors that went along with it. The visitor to the Museum at Warm Springs is forced to confront dark parts of American history which is not only a living memory site for those tribal members but also a strong take on decolonizing the settler narrative surrounding boarding schools.

While the Museum at Warm Springs actively works to disengage Wasco and Warm Springs history from the settler colonial narrative there are specific word choices made when talking about Paiute history that represent Osterhammel's definition of creation of otherness. There has been a concentrated effort on cultural continuation and survivance within the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs since the establishment of the corporate charter in 1937. On the other hand, within the Museum at Warm Springs we see the exhibits using this defined "otherness" to create an inequality in Tribal narratives. Notably, there is a significant imbalance of Wasco and Warm Springs historical narratives to Paiute historical narratives. The museum primarily turns the focus of the visitor to Wasco and Warm Springs history and only introduces Paiute history in the timeline of the museum when the Paiutes joined the Confederated Tribes in 1879. After celebrating the Treaty of 1855 between the U.S. and the Warm Springs and Wascoes comes a discussion entitled "Paiute Resistance and Resettlement". Taking a very complicated history and watering it down to be palatable enough for museum

consumption is how the Museum at Warm Springs "others" the Paiute nation. Next to a picture of Chief Paulina reads the short story:

> From 1825 almost to 1870, Paiute bands raided stock and fought settlers, other Indians, soldiers and scouts, in a persistent and continuing effort to keep control of their ancestral lands. They were finally defeated by General George Crook after a two-year U.S. Army campaign, 1866-68. After internment at Fort Vancouver and on the Yakima Reservation, about 100 Paiutes asked to return to their long-time hunting grounds on the Warm Springs Reservation. After a general council, the Warm Springs and Wasco people decided to welcome the Paiutes, who began coming back in 1879.[153]

Reading this caption with a critical eye reveals how the Museum at Warm Springs paints Paiute people as rebels against everyone except themselves. There is no easy way to talk about Native resistance to resettlement but by using words such as "defeated" and "internment" the Paiutes are seen on unequal footing with the Wascoes and Warm Springs. The text also shows that welcoming the Paiutes was not a simple or easy decision. It required a general council to be convened and by using the words "decided to welcome" it shows how not everyone was on board with letting the Paiutes join the reservation. This text completely papers over the divisions and conflicts between the three nations. By othering the Paiutes through a process of careful written and visual history the Museum at Warm Springs operates within the settler colonial structures that were forced upon them. Following this discussion of the failed Paiute resistance, the museum highlights a list of the men and women who have served in the armed forces under various conflicts. Along this very large list of participants in World War II, Vietnam, World War I, and others, the museum dedicates a list to the Modoc and Snake Wars. Highlighting the soldiers and scouts that participated in this armed conflict from

[153] "Paiute Resistance and Resettlement," in "A Timeless Heritage" exhibit. The Museum at Warm Springs, viewed by the author September 24th, 2019.

1866-1875 on the side of the United States army against Paiute bands along the Snake River, the internal tribal hierarchy is once again reaffirmed by the Museum's exhibits.[154] By leaving out Paiute narratives in certain places within the museum the Museum at Warm Springs is using the hegemonical settler structure in order to create intra-tribal historical disparity. Moving around within the "otherness" that Osterhammel defines, the Museum at Warm Springs operates on both planes: as a settler structure and as a decolonizing space for Native history.

The Museum at Warm Springs is a physical representation of Osterhammel's intermediary roles in colonial society. The museum functions as a collaborative decolonizing space for The Confederated Tribes as it rewrites popular stereotypical narratives of Native people within Oregon. The fact that the Museum at Warm Springs acknowledges the Confederated Tribes history from time immemorial means that there always has been an Indigenous Historical Landscape that will exist despite settler colonial erasure narratives. The museum continues to highlight the existence of the Indigenous Historical Landscape through the educational, unsettling narratives of the exhibits. The Museum at Warm Springs also represents the most critical critique against Osterhammel's work, that American history and space has been decolonized. If there was not a desperate need for decolonizing historical narratives of Native history within the United States then the Museum at Warm Springs would not function to serve the same purpose that it does now. As it stands the museum highlights the wrongdoings of the United States against the Confederated Tribes in a way that reaffirms tribal sovereignty and social identity production. The Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs dedicates a

[154] "Modoc and Snake Wars Soldiers and Scouts 1866-1874," in "A Timeless Heritage" exhibit. The Museum at Warm Springs, viewed by the author September 24th, 2019.

large portion of the museum, as well as the tribal magazines mentioned in Chapter 1, to an exhibit that highlights their economic success as well as their fight for certain rights that bolstered that success. The exhibit tells the history of the fight for the McQuinn Strip, for fishing rights on the Columbia River, timber production at Warm Springs Forest Products Industries, the creation of the Pelton Reregulating Dam, the history of the museum, and the commitment to land conservation.[155] All of these successful economic ventures created more space for cultural preservation and allowed the Confederated Tribes to dedicate resources towards critical sustaining narratives. This specific narrative is important for decolonizing Native historical memory and narratives because it shows the absolute perseverance, survivance, and success of the Confederated Tribes.

The Museum at Warm Springs functions as a performative space where truth events are seen by settlers and attempts to bring together settlers and Tribal members to educate them on the history of the Confederated Tribes. Not only is the museum a performative space it is also a space of reconciliation. Edmonds defines reconciliation as "an aspirational concept" in most post-frontier societies where the state seeks to incorporate Native people into the idea of one nation.[156] Reconciliation is supposed to begin the healing process for both sides by acknowledging horrendous action and attempting to absolve guilt. But as Edmonds shows, "…reconciliation is both utopic and coercive, and perpetually structured by ambivalence."[157] The Museum at Warm Springs demonstrates a tribal utopic hope for cultural continuation by displaying the

[155] "Shaping the Future" exhibit. The Museum at Warm Springs, viewed by the author September 24th, 2019.

[156] Edmonds, *Settler Colonial and (Re)conciliation,* 13.

[157] Ibid., 134.

accomplishments of the tribe as well as presenting a decolonizing narrative of the Confederated Tribes history as inseparable from United States history. On the other hand, the historical narrative of the Confederated Tribes is coerced by the structures of settler colonialism: the reservation system, various legal battles over land rights, fighting in Indian wars on the side of the United States, the Western structure of the museum itself, and narrative silencing of Paiute history. Consensus narratives prevent the museum from pointing a harsh finger of blame towards the United States government but instead allow the Confederated Tribes to highlight how their nation has existed and will continue to exist within the Indigenous Historical Landscape.

The truth events that appear within the Museum at Warm Springs are important moments in creating the performative reconciliation between visitors and the Indigenous Historical Landscape. Although there are specific truth events within the museum such as the boarding school exhibit mentioned before, more generally the Museum at Warm Springs forces visitors to contend with Native sovereignty and existence when popular American historical narratives seek to erase that history. On a large wall within the museum, the exhibit reminds visitors of the following, "Our people have exercised inherent sovereignty on the Columbia River for thousands and thousands and thousands of years since time immemorial. Our sovereignty is permeated by the spiritual and scared, which are, and always have been inseparable parts of our lives, for the creator leads us in all aspects of our existence."[158] Powerful words from the Confederated Tribes Declaration of Sovereignty remind the visitor that there has never been a time where Native people have not had sovereignty over their situation. Despite being coerced by the

[158] "Resilience" exhibit. The Museum at Warm Springs, viewed by the author September 24th, 2019.

settler colonial structures of the United States they have always existed and will continue to do so through the Indigenous Historical Landscape. To many who know very little about Native history this could be a shocking statement, forcing them to rethink everything they have ever learned about Indigenous-U.S. relations. Although not as obvious as other aspects of settler coercion, this simple but emotionally charged reminder of sovereignty, a truth event, creates a performative interaction between historical memory and the visitor. This engagement with history makes the museum an active space for reconciliation between Natives and settlers, as designated by Edmonds. It goes beyond just teaching visitors how Indigenous-U.S. relations actually played out amongst the Tribes, it creates a moment for reflection. This reflection although intangible, is important for the illumination of the Indigenous Historical Landscape because it creates active engagement with history, making a seemingly immobile space a highly effective one.

The Museum at Warm Springs demonstrates how compelling the use of material culture can be in reaffirming Native accomplishments and engagement with historical narratives. By displaying the different material aspects of the Confederated Tribes the interactions between visitors and the exhibits are more visceral experiences than just reading text and looking at pictures. By examining the work in the Museum at Warm Springs in a transnational context it is easy to see how the Indigenous Historical Landscape can be applied to different settler contexts. The Museum at Warm Springs is fundamental to the making and negotiation of social identities for the Confederated Tribes as well as for settlers to acknowledge their place within the settler colonial complex. While most museums use the exhibitionary complex that Coombes writes about

to inculcate audiences to foreign experiences and cultures in an attainable way, the Museum at Warm Springs uses the exhibitionary complex in two ways. The first, is seen through the unequal narrative of Paiute to Wasco and Warm Springs history which has been previously discussed. The second, is how the museum creates a counter narrative to false markets of authenticity. Through displays of actual culture scenes the Museum at Warm Springs educates the visitor in a thorough yet efficient way. A portion of one exhibit is dedicated to a wedding scene in a longhouse that has salmon drying from the rafters. The wedding scene is accompanied by vocal and light changes that allow the viewer to experience what a traditional wedding in the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs would look like. By being able to sit in a longhouse where a ceremony is taking place, the visitor can almost literally put themselves in the shoes of a Native person in order to understand more about the culture of the Confederated Tribes and be able to appreciate it. These visceral experiences that the museum offers goes far beyond the educational entertainment often associated with museums, it is being used to bridge cultural gaps and knowledge within the settler colonial complex.

Finally, the Museum at Warm Springs spends a considerable portion of the exhibits combatting what Furniss calls the *frontier complex*. The Museum at Warm Springs actively combats these popular narratives by merging the storytelling of Native history and U.S. history. Walking a fine line between appeasement and decolonization the Museum at Warm Springs highlights how deeply entrenched stereotypical narratives truly are in the United States. Oregon has a long and intricate history with pioneer narratives stemming from the Oregon Trail, westward expansion, and the violent Indian conflicts in the region. The permanent exhibit forces the visitor to cycle through pleasant

and painful histories of the Confederated Tribes. In some ways the visitor is allowed to interact with history by reading the 1855 Treaty or pressing buttons to highlight the ceded lands of each of the tribes. In other ways the visitor interacts with present day histories by participating in a hoop dance and learning how to say different words in Sahaptin, Wasco, and Paiute. The museum allows the visitor to engage with Native history in a palatable way that educates visitors on the survivance of the Indigenous Historical Landscape within Oregon. The painful history that makes up Oregon's founding mythology is present in the exhibits but the focus of the museum is to highlight the cultural pride, physical survivance, and resistance of the Tribes despite the contact zones of violence and continued colonization. Throughout the museum visitors are able to engage with the *frontier complex* as well as the Indigenous Historical Landscape an important part of the permanent exhibit is "On the Threshold of Change". This exhibit focuses on the relationship between the United States and the Confederated Tribes. Educating visitors on the timeline of Western settlement the following quote proves how Indian policy was shaped by these conflicts:

> Official U.S. attitudes toward Indians were based on deep-rooted cultural differences. Issues surrounding land ownership were especially troublesome, because Indians did not believe that land could be bought and sold. And although Indians had lived wisely and well on the land for thousands of years, most Euroamericans had only contempt for their hunter-gatherer lifestyle.[159]

This exhibit is particularly important because it shows that colonization was not an unstoppable snowball effect; Native people actively negotiated and resisted against settler colonial forced assimilation. Not only does this quote demonstrate the ability of

[159] "Seeds of Conflict," in "On the Threshold of Change" exhibit. The Museum at Warm Springs, viewed by the author September 24th, 2019.

the Confederated Tribes to push against settler colonialism it shows how the museum itself is important to changing that narrative in the public eye. Museums are the first line of defense we as academics have in keeping the public on the right side of history. If we keep writing books only for other academics then how are we going to change national narratives for the better?

One of the first parts of the museum that the visitor confronts is a piece of a wall length timeline that directly confronts American ideas that settlers were here first. By engaging with concepts of time immemorial in the first exhibit, the museum is actively countering popular stereotypes that justify American expansion. The timeline continues on to talk about people from the Columbia Plateau hunting buffalo, trading with Plains hunters, and how and when the first horses came to the Plateau. The timeline ends with this quote:

> In the late 1700s, diseases introduced by Euroamericans spread throughout the Western hemisphere, with devastating results for many of the Native peoples. But when Lewis and Clark journeyed down the Columbia in 1805, they met many people of the Upper Columbia who had survived these epidemics, and who stood strong and proud as they greeted the travelers.[160]

This line of text does not necessarily say anything negative about the settlers of the West but the implications of disease and discovery are confronted. It establishes a strength and pride within the Native nations along the Columbia, actively highlighting the continued survivance of Native people. By giving a brief but poignant history of early Columbia Plateau peoples the museum is highlighting the lengthy existence of the Indigenous Historical Landscape.

[160] "An Ancient Heritage," in "Our Culture, Traditions, and Values" exhibit. The Museum at Warm Springs, viewed by the author September 24th, 2019.

The examples that have been previously mentioned are a good example of what Native and non-Native museums should be doing to combat settler colonial narrative erasure. As seen in McGuire and Denis settlers are inspired to engage directly with traumatic histories through a myriad of reasons, engagements that mostly involve direct and highly emotional confrontation.[161] The interactions that occur within the Museum at Warm Springs are at once similar and different to those confrontations with the TRC in Canada. We see visitors participating in explicit engagements with painful histories, but the transmission of information is different from TRC events. Using a full range of sensory experiences, the Museum at Warm Springs captures the attention of the visitor by utilizing Native voices and experiences to explain the past and combat settler colonial structures in a way that is palatable but engaging. On the other hand much like the TRC events, the Museum at Warm Springs is a participant in settler colonial processes because of the nature of the museum as a Western and settler institution. The museum is able to at once assert the innocence of the institution as an agent of settler colonialism while also being a proponent of decolonizing Tribal history through experiences within the museum. These experiences much like TRC events are able to continually highlight the Indigenous Historical Landscape and the settler colonial processes at work within the United States.

The settler processes at play that influence all museums' existence and narrative production are the very same that dictate how non-Native museums erase Indigenous narratives in larger historical contexts in the United States. These settler processes that I have outlined in this chapter show how settler colonialism can be operationalized within memory studies, settler colonial studies, and Native and Indigenous Studies. It is vital to

[161] Mollie C. McGuire and Jeffrey S. Denis "Unsettling pathways: how some settlers come to seek reconciliation with Indigenous peoples", Settler Colonial Studies, Vol. 9, No. 4, 505-524.

understand how memory interacts with and within settler colonialism because those interactions have lasting influences on how Indigenous people are seen in global historical narratives. The sites of settler memory that include Indigenous voices and perspectives are part of larger decolonizing narratives to unsettle history. While sites of settler memory try to include Native voices, sites of Indigenous memory such as the Museum at Warm Springs employ the same structures to combat settler colonial erasure and educate visitors about Tribal history. These interactions highlight the Indigenous Historical Landscape in ways that take history off of the pedestal of academia and make it more palatable for the general public.

The existence of the Indigenous Historical Landscape is important within the larger framework of settler colonial studies because it can be applied in a local, national, and transnational context. The Indigenous Historical Landscape is an idea that allows for the illumination of invisible indigeneity due to settler colonialism as well as the realization that the Indigenous Historical Landscape can be an agent of the very structures and processes that seek to eliminate the Indigenous historical narrative. This makes the Museum at Warm Springs even more unique in Oregon because of the ways the museum interacts with and combats pioneer histories and settler narratives. These interactions create the very foundations for an active site of memory and decolonization that sustains the Indigenous Historical Landscape. Not only can this idea be applied in a global spatial context, it can also be applied to other non-traditional sites of memory interaction and production such as: monuments, historical landmarks, commemorations, performative events, reparation events, and so much more. By adjusting the intention behind these spaces to be less settler and more Indigenous, the Indigenous Historical

Landscape will become a more permanent visible entity in the historical consciousness of the United States rather than a supporting character in the large narrative that is United States history.

# V. CONCLUSION

Thinking about the future of both the Museum at Warm Springs and the High Desert Museum is tricky at this point in time. The current administration in the United States seems more concerned with dishonoring the history of and stripping the sovereignty of Native nations and reservations. For example, the Mashpee Wampanoag tribe received news from the Secretary of the Interior in late March that their reservation would be disestablished, during a pandemic. The Mashpee Wampanoag tribe has been in a legal battle against the federal government for over ten years fighting to retain their sovereign rights to their land. By taking the land out of trust during the COVID-19 pandemic this marks the first time since the termination era of the 1950s that a reservation has been disestablished.[162] This decision forces the tribe to divert resources away from protecting their people from the COVID-19 virus and turn it towards protecting their land which leaves the tribe particularly vulnerable to the pandemic. The priorities of this administration are particularly clear and poignant, they don't want to protect Native rights, sovereignty, culture, and people.

During many points of his presidency, Donald Trump has tweeted out statements that encourage the disrespect of Native people and cultures. A particularly tone deaf statement that refers to a video made by Senator Elizabeth Warren reads, "If Elizabeth Warren, often referred to by me as Pocahontas, did this commercial from Bighorn or Wounded Knee instead of her kitchen, with her husband dressed in full garb, it would

[162] Chairman Cedric Cromwell, "We Will Take Action to Prevent the Loss of Our Land," March 27, 2020, https://mashpeewampanoagtribe-nsn.gov/news/2020/3/27/message-from-the-chairman-we-will-take-action-to-prevent-the-loss-of-our-land

have been a smash!"[163] These statements encourage his supporters to follow his lead and participate in the settler colonial erasure of Native historical narratives and Native people themselves. It also directs national attention to one of the worst massacres against Native people in U.S. History. It is irresponsible to direct national attention towards such a horrific event in a joking manner when most of the population of the United States pays no attention to Native people or Indian Country at all. At the same time the global COVID-19 pandemic makes it even harder for Native nations to gain the economic and educational benefits of places like museums, cultural centers, and memorial sites. The Hualapai Tribe closed the Skywalk that extends in an horseshoe shape over the Grand Canyon in order to comply with social distancing guidelines and in order to protect tribal members. In order to protect themselves they had to be "deprived of their primary source of income" and "by following the government's health recommendations, the Hualapai denied themselves the ability to fund government mandated services on its lands."[164] To me this prompts the question: Why should Native nations have to choose between living tribal members and economic benefits? This increasingly desperate and scary time has people reckoning with history and historical events on a global scale that makes memory studies even more prevalent. There is an obsession amongst the general public with analyzing past events in an attempt to gain some semblance of control over the unknown. As we move forward as a global community it seems as though those who ignore history are doomed to repeat it. I refuse to use the phrase "unprecedented times" that is so

[163] Donald Trump Twitter, January 13, 2019, https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/1084644517238714369

[164] Liz Mineo, "For Native Americans COVID-19 is 'The Worst of Both Worlds at the Same Time,'" *The Harvard Gazette,* May 8, 2020, https://news.harvard.edu/gazette/story/2020/05/the-impact-of-covid-19-on-native-american-communities/

popular because can it really be considered unprecedented if we have experienced a global pandemic in the last 103 years?

To conclude this thesis I want to discuss how the Museum at Warm Springs and the High Desert can move forward in continuing to make the Indigenous Historical Landscape more visible. Museums are going to be more important than ever in the future because of the way these spaces are able to create critical zones of engagement between the visitors, historical narratives, and memory. I have shown how unique the Museum at Warm Springs is within the state of Oregon and how the work done there can be applied in a transnational context. I have also shown how museums can be entrapped by settler colonial narratives that encourage visitors to think about Native history in terms of white history instead of showing the two narratives on equal footing. It is my hope that by sketching out a future for both spaces that more emphasis can be placed on museums as important producers of historical narratives and spaces of memory.

The Museum at Warm Springs is a good example of what a tribal museum can be. The creators of the museum had a hard job from the start of the project in making sure the space, artifacts, and perspectives were Indigenous from start to finish. On top of that, the museum has a job to display not just one tribal history, but three. As seen in Chapter 1 the three tribes that make up the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs have a complicated history as those who inhabited large portions of the Columbia River, the high desert, and southwestern Oregon. The Wascoes and Warm Springs have a historically difficult relationship with the Paiutes because of the raiding that took place for most of the 1850s and 1860s. We can acknowledge that the consistent raiding was a result of a competition for land and resources as settlers moved in to the region to stake a claim to the "Eden"

that was Oregon. The tensions between these groups are evident within the Museum at Warm Springs because of the inequality within the exhibits. This is one of three large challenges that the museum faces. If the Museum at Warm Springs was to fix the inequality in the displays to more accurately balance Paiute to Wasco and Warm Springs history the visitor would have a better understanding of how the nations that make up the Confederated Tribes have existed since time immemorial.

The second large challenge that the Museum at Warm Springs faces is the amount of monetary support it receives as a tribal institution. There was a huge fundraising push before the museum even existed in order to build the space and repatriate artifacts that could make up the exhibits. There is no evidence that I found in my research that the tribe allocated any more funds towards the museum after it received its status as a non-profit organization. It is possible they have in small ways but I was not able to gain access to museum archives in order to confirm this. The permanent exhibit could use some touch ups to make the exhibits more modern. For example, instead of using a microfilm reader to look at the Treaty of 1855 the Museum could display the text on interactive screens that highlight important parts of the treaty for the visitor. The rotating exhibit when I visited was dedicated to members of the Confederated Tribes who experienced Indian boarding schools. It was loaded with different artifacts from tribal members' tenure at different boarding schools and it was a good mix of good experiences with the bad. The exhibit really gave context to the complex history of Indian boarding schools and the experiences that accompanies that strained and difficult history. On the other hand, large portions of the exhibit were displayed on thin poster boards or just printer paper typed with the narratives. It seems hard to be able to create a lasting legacy for this exhibit

when most of the exhibit could be recycled at the end of its run. The way in which the rotating exhibit was displayed did not take anything away from the visitor experience per say, it just seemed to look mildly unprofessional next to permanent exhibit. The rotating exhibit is still an extremely important part of the Museum at Warm Springs because the curator is able to highlight unique and previously unknown parts of the Tribes' history for the visitor.

The third and final large challenge the Museum at Warm Springs faces is the amount of exposure it gets to visitors. When I was there on a weekend I spent about four hours total roaming the property and exhibits. In that time only two other visitors came through the museum. It is a travesty that a museum like the Museum at Warm Springs is overshadowed in favor of other tourist destinations in central Oregon. If the foot traffic were to increase at the museum it seems possible that the funds from those visitors would help provide an update to portions of the exhibits. At this time, I am unaware of any plans by museum staff to try and increase visitors. I am aware that the curator plans on changing the rotating exhibit to a new topic but I don't believe this is done in order to bring more people to the museum. I believe that visitor numbers could increase if the museum were to increase its marketing presence in the region as well as the state of Oregon. The Confederated Tribes advertise the casino throughout the high desert and since the museum is directly across the street from the casino, it seems like it would be a natural transition in advertising tactics. It is important for me to say that I am not trying to tell the Museum what to do as an outsider. I am just incredibly passionate about the history being displayed in the museum and I think more people should be aware of it.

A wall to the left of the museum entrance is dedicated to "Twanat: Celebrate Our Legacy" and it tells the story of the inception, creation, and history behind the museum. Delbert Frank Sr., member of the Museum's Board of Directors in 1993 and member of the Tribal Council is quoted on one panel saying, "We wanted the Museum to tell the story of our people. We wanted it to tell the truth. To educate both the public and our children. To tell them who we are."[165] The Museum at Warm Springs achieves the goals set out by the Museum's Board of Directors and Tribal Council: to be a space where memory and history combine to tell the true history of the Confederated Tribes. This museum highlights the Indigenous Historical Landscape in ways that non-Native museums do not. If more people were able to visit the Museum at Warm Springs they would be able to experience the Indigenous Historical Landscape in ways that would change their understanding of the state of Oregon and more broadly the United States. The interaction with memory that Museum at Warm Springs provides for visitors is special and should be something that is strived towards in other museums.

The High Desert Museum is a good example of how non-Tribal museums struggle to display Native history. The High Desert Museum is truly a unique museum experience and it does a lot of things correctly. The way that visitors are able to engage with Oregon history by walking around an old saw mill and town and experiencing first hand the animals that inhabit the region is spectacular. It is a huge space dedicated to telling the history of Oregon and the intentions to tell all sides of that history are good ones. For example, the High Desert Museum had an entire space dedicated to how water has

[165] "Twanat: Celebrate Our Legacy," The Museum at Warm Springs, viewed by the author September 24th, 2019.

shaped the West. The exhibit specifically highlights how water is sacred to many Native nations in the West and included works from Indigenous artists that visually display what that means.[166] This is a really fantastic way for visitors to interact with Native spirituality and worldview in a way that can be easily interpreted. The visitor is able to make connections to events like those at Standing Rock and it sets them up to understand why Native people were willing to be shot at with rubber bullets and pepper spray in order to protect their land and water. Standing Rock became the center point of protests of the Dakota Access Pipeline in mid-2016 through early 2017. The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers supported the project from the company Energy Transfer Partners that would allow crude oil to travel 1,200 miles, most of which covered sacred Lakota-Sioux land. The Water Protectors resisted the pipeline because it would be "constructed across lands recognized by the United States as Sioux territory in the 1851 Fort Laramie Treaty."[167] Although the subsequent 1868 treaty seems as though the Sioux ceded the same lands to the United States, the Indian Claims Commission in 1978 "concluded that 'the Indians cannot have regarded the 1868 Treaty as a treaty of cession. No-where in the history leading up to the treaty negotiations themselves is there any indication that the United States was seeking a land cession or that the Sioux were willing to consent to one.'"[168] The protests started by the Standing Rock Sioux tribe garnered global attention as news outlets showed Native people getting shot at with rubber bullets, mace, and hosed down

[166] "Desert Reflections: Water Shapes the West," The High Desert Museum, viewed by the author September 23rd, 2019.

[167] Jeffrey Ostler and Nick Estes, "The Supreme Law of the Land: Standing Rock and the Dakota Access Pipeline," *Standing with Standing Rock: Voices from the #NoDAPL Movement* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2019), 96.

[168] Ibid., 97.

with water cannons in the middle of winter. It is important to note that Donald Trump in one of his first acts as president signed a memorandum that approved the construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline despite the protests. The exhibit is able to connect to Standing Rock by examining environmental issues such as the Jordan Cove Pipeline. The pipeline would transport liquefied natural gas over 200 mile to the Port of Coos Bay. As of March 19, 2020 the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission gave "conditional approval" but cannot move on until the Canadian fossil fuel corporation qualifies for Oregon permits.[169] The approval by the commission makes the "export terminal the first West Coast natural gas export facility in the United States to be approved."[170] Although the focus is not on Standing Rock and instead water issues that face the Great Salt Lake, the Klamath basin, and the Mid-Columbia basin. The exhibit connects events that are prevalent in the national consciousness like Standing Rock and apply it to situations within Oregon making the issues more relatable to the visitor. Other parts of the museum do not always follow along in this vein. Specifically, the focus of the High Desert Museum as a dedication to the pioneer history of Oregon is problematic. Visitors get swept up in the nostalgia of the pioneer past and often overlook the Indigenous portions of the museum in favor of examining native plants, watching a porcupine climb a tree, and running around an old covered wagon and reading about buckaroos. The spectacle of the High Desert Museum overshadows Indigenous history and often makes the visitor even forget that it was a dedicated part of the museum. I even found myself getting swept

[169] Monica Samayoa, "Jordan Cove Energy Project Gets Federal Approval But State Permit Denials Remain," *Oregon Public Broadcasting,* March 19, 2020, https://www.opb.org/news/article/jordan-cove-energy-project-federal-approval-state-permit-denials/

[170] Ibid.

up in pioneer history, forgetting the implications of my surroundings on Native people and cultures. To me that is the biggest issue at the High Desert Museum, the way in which the Indigenous Historical Landscape is at times invisible. They have massive amounts of people visiting the museum because it is so immersive and as I heard some guests say, "it's a great way to spend the day!" But the focus on Native history is lacking throughout the entire museum. The exhibit centered around Native people of the High Desert does a good job of displaying cultural and historical narratives but even then the exhibit is, at times, overpowered by the settler colonial structures that dictate museum exhibits.

The "By Hand Through Memory" exhibit focuses on the Native nations that inhabit the plateau. There is collaboration between Native people and museum curators to create parts of the exhibit to ensure that they are wholly Indigenous and not just a representations of Indigeneity. For example, the curator at the Museum at Warm Springs helped make the root digging clothes that stand in the root digging scene at the High Desert Museum. From that example we do see a conscious effort towards collaboration and in that case it is successful. This exhibit at times touches on the complexities of certain histories such as the flooding of Celilo Falls, Native religious participation, and reservation life. But in the same breath they do not always acknowledge the context behind the Native survivance of those occurrences like the Museum at Warm Springs does. If the High Desert Museum were able to integrate more context, the good and the bad events, the visitor would be able to see Native history exist side by side with Oregon history not beneath it. By weaving Indigeneity throughout the remainder of the Museum, the visitor would be able to better understand the implications of how Oregon was settled.

It would change historical stereotypes that Indians were bad and settlers were good. The High Desert Museum has the platform to effect change amongst the visitors. They just need a push in a better direction.

After sketching out a rough future for both of the museums, it is important to consider how COVID-19 will impact sites of memory engagement and historical narrative production. To me there are two possible outcomes for museums in a post-COVID-19 future. Trying not to be too pessimistic, I fear the first outcome is that museums will fall out of public engagement because of the risk of illness that guests will face. The more interactive portions of the exhibits will lose influence as guests will not want to touch something without knowing it was properly cleaned. Visitors might possibly still want to visit but will insist on racing through the exhibits not truly taking in the historical narratives being displayed. Make no mistake, COVID-19 will become an important part of history for Native nations and reservations. Disease has been an important factor in Native American population decline since contact and it is a direct result of colonization that Native American nations have so much to fear in the face of the COVID-19 epidemic. Disease isn't simply about population loss and "Indigenous communities are fighting more than a virus. They are contending with the ongoing legacy of centuries of violence and dispossession."[171] This virus will impact how many Native nations receive most of their economic gain in the form of casinos, museums, and other interactive sites.

[171] Jeffrey Ostler, "Disease Has Never Been Just Disease for Native Americans," *The Atlantic* online, https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2020/04/disease-has-never-been-just-disease-native-americans/610852/?fbclid=IwAR33IPZSZLMonTEBRMtkD8CI412WG8D0eZBaJ2E-joJ15MxC_3GRtvijzZo accessed May 9th, 2020.

On the other hand, this newfound obsession with analyzing previous pandemics and historical events that caused devastating population loss might just work in the favor of museums. People will want to engage more with historical narratives in an attempt to understand more about their own situations in 2020. There might even be an uptake in empathy for the Native people lost in the disease epidemics after contact with Europeans because now settlers understand just how devastating and scary it can actually be. The Indigenous Historical Landscape could be illuminated even more as people engage with Native history and American history trying to understand epidemics from a historical perspective. There are so many voices shouting from political parties, media outlets, articles, and social media that information is getting muddled and people don't actually know who to believe. This confusion might just cause people to turn to museums for more information because it is an entity they feel like they can implicitly trust. Undoubtedly the future for museums, like everything else, is uncertain at this point in time. One can only hope that museums will continue to keep people on the right side of history.

In concluding this thesis, it is my hope that this work will contribute to illuminating the Indigenous Historical Landscape and proving to historians that museums are good references for knowledge and historical narrative production. The value of the direct contact and engagement between visitors and these narratives is incalculable. Memory and history have always been important, but now more than ever we must turn to places that privilege memory and historical narratives in order to fully see how history has shaped the present. I have a friend who told me, "I don't want to be angry all the time" when talking about the state of our world and our nation. But in a sense we have to

be angry in order to pay attention to history, to enact change. Native people have fought for their right to be heard and seen, to have their rights and sovereignty respected. Its only fair that I get angry too. To fight for my ancestors, for other Native people and for my family to remain on the right side of history.

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