Indigenous Architecture:
Envisioning, Designing, and Building
The Museum At Warm Springs
by
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A Dissertation Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

Many Indigenous communities in North America develop tribal museums to preserve and control tribal knowledge and heritage and counteract negative effects of colonization. Tribal museums employ many Indigenous strategies related to Indigenous languages, knowledges, and material heritage. I argue that architecture can be an Indigenous strategy, too, by privileging Indigeneity through design processes, accommodating Indigenous activities, and representing Indigenous identities.

Yet it is not clear how to design culturally appropriate Indigenous architectures meeting needs of contemporary Indigenous communities. Because few Indigenous people are architects, most tribal communities hire designers from outside of their communities. Fundamental differences challenge both Indigenous clients and their architects. How do Indigenous clients and their designers overcome these challenges?

This dissertation is a history of the processes of creating a tribal museum, The Museum At Warm Springs, on the Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation of Oregon. The focus is to understand what critical activities Tribal members, designers, and others did to create a museum whose architecture represents and serves its community. The study also considers how people did things so as to honor Indigenous traditions. Design and construction processes are considered along with strategies that Tribal members and their advocates used to get to where they were prepared to design and build a museum.

Interviews with Tribal members, designers, and others were central sources for the research. Other sources include meeting minutes, correspondence, Tribal resolutions, and the Tribal newspaper. Visual sources
such as drawings, photographs, and the museum itself were significant sources also.

This study revealed several key activities that the Confederated Tribes did to position themselves to build the museum. They built an outstanding collection of Tribal artifacts, created and supported a museum society, and hired an outstanding executive director. The Tribes selected and secured a viable site and persisted in finding an architect who met their needs. Collaboration—within the interdisciplinary design team and between designers and Tribal members and contractors—was key. Tribal members shared cultural knowledge with designers who adapted to Indigenous modes of communication. Designers were sensitive to the landscape and committed to representing the Tribes and their world.
DEDICATION

To people of the
Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs.

To all of my students, past, present, and future.

To my parents, Virginia and Samuel Marshall,
who set the bar high.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to first thank members of my committee. Katherine Crewe, thank you for seeing this project through to completion, helping me organize and analyze the voluminous interview transcripts, keeping me on track, and steering me away from writing a thousand-page dissertation. Lynn Paxson, thank you for your wisdom, support, and guidance regarding Indigenous architecture and writing about an Indigenous community. Ted Jojola, thank you for sharing your insights into Indigenous planning and design, guiding me through the Tribal and IRB permissions processes, and providing thoughtful feedback leavened with humor.

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My friend, Mary Ann Reese, reviewed the beginning of the dissertation.
My Father, Samuel Marshall, reviewed and made thoughtful comments on the
last chapter. My sister, Frances Marshall, generously proofread and provided
rigorous feedback on the whole dissertation despite demanding work and family
responsibilities.

Most of all I am grateful to my husband, Bruce Mobarry, who did
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<td>AIA</td>
<td>American Institute of Architects</td>
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<td>AICAE</td>
<td>American Indian Council of Architects and Engineers</td>
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<td>AIM</td>
<td>American Indian Movement</td>
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<td>APA</td>
<td>American Planning Association</td>
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<td>BIA</td>
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<td>CRC</td>
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<td>CTWS</td>
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<td>EDA</td>
<td>Economic Development Administration</td>
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<td>GC</td>
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<tr>
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<td>NEA</td>
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<tr>
<td>NMAI</td>
<td>National Museum of the American Indian</td>
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<td>OSHA</td>
<td>Occupational Safety and Health Administration</td>
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<td>RAIC</td>
<td>Royal Architectural Institute of Canada</td>
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<td>VFW</td>
<td>Veterans of Foreign Wars</td>
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<td>WPA</td>
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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Museum Opening

On March 13, 1993, people of the Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation of Oregon came out in full regalia to celebrate the grand opening of their new museum. The day-long celebration began with a traditional dedication by the Warm Springs Tribe, a ceremonial parade around the museum, and a prayer song. The Wasco, Warm Springs, and Paiute Chiefs welcomed Tribal members and visitors. Members of the Wasco Tribe performed a welcome ceremony and welcome dance, then closed with a prayer. Many state and tribal leaders spoke including the governor, a former governor, a senator, the Tribal CEO, and the Museum Board Chairman. Members of the Paiute Tribe spoke and performed the closing ceremony and a Paiute circle dance. Then an Elder used a traditional obsidian knife to cut the ribbon and officially open the museum. Finally, everyone ate a feast of deer, elk, and salmon collected by men since the previous fall and prepared by groups of women in the longhouse. Some of the salmon was cooked in an outdoor trench dug for the occasion, and because of the cold many people were clustered near the fire cooking themselves on one side, then flipping over like filets of salmon. When the doors to the museum were flung open, people rushed in and flooded the museum. As several non-Tribal designers noted, they could see the look of ownership on the faces of Tribal members. For the designers, this indicated that they had done a good job and that the building was doing what it was meant to do.
1.2 Background and Research Problem

The Museum At Warm Springs is one of approximately 200 tribal museums and cultural centers established by Indigenous communities within the United States.\(^1\) Indigenous communities develop tribal museums and cultural centers for a variety of reasons, but in most cases, these are related to preservation and control of Indigenous knowledge and heritage in the face of social issues precipitated by colonization and US government policy. The architecture of new tribal museums often appears to represent and constitute the Indigenous identity of its respective tribal community. Yet it is not clear how to design architectures that represent contemporary Indigenous communities. Although historical forms may have some cultural relevance, they do not necessarily represent who an Indigenous group is today and they are unlikely to accommodate contemporary building programs. Because so few Indigenous people are architects, most tribal communities hire architects and other design professionals from outside of their communities. Fundamental ontological, epistemological, and communication differences often challenge both Indigenous clients and their architects. How do tribal members and their designers overcome these challenges?

1.3 Research Focus

This dissertation examines processes related to creating a tribal museum. It considers how these processes privilege Indigenous people and their traditional ways of doing things. The focus is to understand what critical activities tribal members, designers, and others did to create a museum whose architecture

represents and serves the associated community. The study also considers how things were done so as to honor Indigenous traditions through the processes themselves. Design and construction processes are considered along with strategies that Tribal members and their advocates used to get to the point that they were prepared to design and build a museum. This investigation is a history of the processes of creating a single building, The Museum At Warm Springs on the Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation of Oregon. The museum is celebrated for its architecture, extensive collection of Tribal artifacts, and exhibit design. The most significant sources for the study are twenty-four interviews of Tribal clients, designers, and others. Additional sources are drawings, photographs, videos, archival texts, Tribal publications, outside publications, and the museum itself.

1.4 Research Questions

The research focuses on processes of designing the museum, yet it also considers the final built form as well as processes that led the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs to have the resources to build the museum. The study asks three primary questions. First, what strategic actions did Tribal members and their advocates do to get to the point that they were ready to design and build a museum? Second, what design strategies and processes did Tribal members, their designers, and builders employ to create an award-winning museum that represents the Tribes and is a source of pride for Tribal members? Third, how did the processes of creating the museum privilege Indigenous traditions?
1.5 *The Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs*

The 25,000-square-foot Museum At Warm Springs is on the Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation of Oregon, two hours southeast of Portland. The Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs includes three Tribes: the Paiute, the Warm Springs, and the Wasco. Warm Springs and Wasco people lived along the Columbia River and its southern tributaries until after they signed a treaty in 1855. In the treaty they ceded ten million acres of their territory, but reserved a 640,000-acre reservation for their exclusive use and retained their rights to fish, hunt, and gather foods in their traditional lands. The Paiutes, who had migrated widely through central and southern Oregon, began to join the reservation in 1879. Of a tribal membership that exceeds 4000 people today, more than 3000 live on the reservation. They are governed by a Tribal Council comprising a Chief from each of the three Tribes and eight elected council members.

1.6 *The Museum At Warm Springs*

In 1955 the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs commemorated the centennial of the 1855 treaty that led to the creation of their reservation. Tribal members wore their finest regalia, which impressed visitors and collectors who offered thousands of dollars to buy regalia and other Tribal heirlooms. To forestall appropriation of the community’s material heritage, Tribal Council allocated $60,000 in 1960 to buy up traditional objects. The Middle Oregon Indian Historical Society (MOIHS) was formed to oversee the collection of artifacts. In 1974, Tribal Council chartered MOIHS and MOIHS applied to IRS for 501 (c)(3) status. Also in 1974, Tribal Council initiated an annual appropriation of $25,000—later raised to $50,000—to buy artifacts and continue building the collection. As
the collection grew, Tribal members became concerned about secure storage for their heirlooms and realized they needed a museum. MOIHS hired its first executive director, Duane King, in 1987. King built support for the project among Tribal members who approved a $2.5 million referendum in 1988 to build a museum. By 1991, with the help of the first two executive directors, MOIHS had raised almost five million dollars, enough to fund museum construction.

1.7 Designing and Building the Museum

In 1989, MOIHS hired an interdisciplinary design team of Stastny and Burke, architects, and Carol Mayer-Reed, landscape architect, to design their museum. Design began with a week-long design workshop on the reservation. People demanded to be engaged in the design process, and they used storytelling to communicate to designers their desire for a building whose architecture represented all three of the Tribes. Elements of the natural world, such as water, were important in the design. Forms and colors of the landscape inspired building forms, materials, and colors. Local materials such as basalt and wood were important in the design. Spatial sequence and ceremony were important too. The landscape design incorporated native plants and storytelling places such as Treaty Oak Place commemorating the oak under which the 1855 treaty was signed. The building design concept was an arrangement of building masses with three different roof forms, representing the three Tribes, as if they were an encampment of traditional buildings along the creek. An entrance water feature welcomes visitors and continues metaphorically into the museum as a pattern on the floor beneath tree-like columns in the lobby.
Although the Tribes planned initially to be the general contractor for the museum, they were not experienced with construction as complex as the museum, and their subcontractor bids were high. So the job was bid in a conventional manner a year later and SM Andersen, the lowest bidder, was selected to be the general contractor. Although the Tribes did not act as general contractor, tribal subcontractors and individual Tribal laborers helped construct the building. Tribal laborers worked with the landscape architect and masons to procure local basalt from the reservation to use in walls, a water feature, and informal seating throughout the site. Artisan craftspeople were hired for unique elements such as the bronze door pulls in the form of dance bustles and a sculptural red wall in the form of basalt columns. Construction began in 1991 and was substantially complete a year later. The general contractor developed an enduring relationship with the museum; he serves on the museum’s Board of Directors, and his company maintains the museum building free of charge.

Meanwhile, Formations, Inc. was hired to design the permanent exhibits. The exhibit designers held extensive meetings with each of the three Tribes to develop content for the exhibits, and then selected appropriate artifacts from the collection to display in exhibits. The exhibits were fabricated and then the museum was blessed and opened, first to the community, and on the following day to the public, in March 1993.

1.8 Indigenous Architectures
This history of creating The Museum At Warm Springs demonstrates how architectural processes can privilege Indigenous people and their traditions, even when designers are not members of an Indigenous community.
An aim of the study is to contribute to the limited scholarship on Indigenous architectures in North America. As an educator of future architects, I have a personal interest and larger goal in undertaking this research project. When I began teaching architecture twenty years ago, I noted the focus in architectural education on European and European American architecture and lack of architecture from the rest of the world. Despite the construction of approximately one hundred tribal museums and cultural centers in the last fifteen years—as well as other buildings such as housing, schools, government centers, and health care facilities—architecture designed by or for Indigenous Americans is underrepresented in architectural literature. Architectural education is based on European models and rarely includes Indigenous architectures. Consequently, most architects are educated inadequately on the architecture and architectural needs of Indigenous communities. Due to alien educational systems, among other reasons, few Indigenous people practice architecture. Consequently, most Indigenous communities hire architects and other design professionals from outside of their communities. In writing this dissertation, I aim to contribute to the scholarship of Indigenous architectures, broaden architectural discourse and education, and ultimately affect the practice of architecture.

1.9 Tribal Museums and Cultural Centers

Many Indigenous communities create their own museums and cultural centers as physical manifestations of tribal sovereignty and identity. In many cases Indigenous communities develop a tribal museum to house a collection. The Makah Cultural and Research Center, in Neah Bay, Washington, was built to house an archaeological collection from an ancestral village. The Zia Museum, In
Zia Pueblo, New Mexico, was created to house a small collection of repatriated pots. And The Museum At Warm Springs was developed to house a collection of Tribal heirlooms. Yet tribal museums and cultural centers are not just about material heritage. They also preserve intangible heritage and one way they do so is by passing it on to younger tribal members. Tribal museums also disseminate some traditional knowledge to outsiders to counteract misconceptions about Indigenous peoples.

Tribal museums and cultural centers privilege Indigenous ways of being and thinking, values, modes of communication, languages, skills, and arts. Tribal museums, as places that house tribal heirlooms and accommodate transmission of tribal knowledge through storytelling, are often symbols of their communities. For this reason, the architecture of a tribal museum, representing the Indigenous identity of its respective tribal community, is important. Although many anthropologists have written about tribal museums, the architecture of tribal museums has not been the focus of these studies. In telling the story of various processes of creating the museum, including design and construction, this dissertation contributes to the discourse on tribal museums.

1.10 Chapter Organization

Chapter Two examines colonization and decolonization, tribal museums, and Indigenous architectures. It explains that Indigenous peoples still experience effects of colonization, and Indigenous scholars argue that decolonization processes are needed sorely. Mainstream Western museums began as colonial institutions that stored and displayed Indigenous artifacts and human remains. Although most museums have discontinued inappropriate displays of sacred
objects and human remains, many displays continue to misrepresent Indigenous peoples.

To counteract negative effects of colonization, many Indigenous communities establish their own museums and cultural centers. Tribal museums and cultural centers employ Indigenous strategies such as privileging Indigenous languages and storytelling, protecting Indigenous knowledges and material heritage, and representing Indigenous people and their histories from their own perspectives. I argue that architecture can be an Indigenous strategy by privileging Indigenous traditions through design processes, accommodating Indigenous activities, and projecting Indigenous identities through architectural expression.

A review of literature on Indigenous architectures in North America reveals a multitude of issues regarding the concept of Native American architecture. It also reveals a lack of critical literature and failure of architectural education to prepare students to design in Indigenous communities. Few Indigenous Americans practice architecture and most other architects are unprepared to work with Indigenous communities. Overcoming administrative barriers of building on reservations and developing meaningful architectures using contemporary technologies can be daunting.

Chapter Three explains the processes of conducting research and writing a history of the creation of The Museum At Warm Springs. The Museum At Warm Springs was selected as an object of inquiry because it is one of only a few tribal museums that is highly regarded for its architecture, its collection, and its role as a tribal museum. This chapter introduces the community that built the museum, the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs, and their histories as three
distinct Tribes—Wasco, Warm Springs, and Paiute—who came together to form a single community. I aimed to include perspectives of tribal members in this history, so a significant part of the research was oral history interviewing on the Warm Springs reservation. This chapter discusses issues about conducting research and writing in an Indigenous community.

Historical research focuses on searching for sources, collecting and evaluating sources, and constructing a narrative from the evidence. The most important sources for this dissertation were twenty-four interviews with Tribal members, museum professionals, designers, builders, and others who were instrumental in bringing the museum to life. The interviews were augmented by visual materials, archival text, and published sources such as magazine articles, the Tribal newspaper, and the museum newsletter. To learn more about the context of the community and museum, I also participated in and observed events such as a powwow, a museum fundraiser, a retirement luncheon, and the annual Tribal member art show.

Chapter Four investigates various processes that led to the creation of The Museum At Warm Springs. These began with the treaty commemoration in 1955 in which people wore regalia, collectors sought to buy the regalia, and Tribal Council allocated resources to buy Tribal heirlooms and keep material heritage of the Tribes on the reservation. Tribal Council chartered the MOIHS, appointed a Board of Directors, and hired staff to oversee the growing collection. The Board, staff, and Elders realized the need for a museum to preserve their artifacts and convinced Tribal Council to allocate funding to hire an executive director to develop a museum. The director and others built support among Tribal members who approved a $2.5 million referendum to fund museum construction.
Through aggressive fundraising, the first two executive directors raised enough external monies to build the museum.

Chapter Five considers processes related to the landscape and architectural design of the museum. Architects, a landscape architect, and an interior designer worked collaboratively with each other and with Tribal members, beginning with a week-long design workshop on the reservation. Interaction between Tribal member clients and their designers required time to build trust and reach consensus. Storytelling was a primary method of communication.

Designers aimed to represent all three Tribes and incorporate storytelling in the design. They sought to emphasize relations between people and the natural world, especially water, native plants, native geology, and daylight. Designers considered materiality and craft carefully throughout the process. Important concepts of the site design were the use of native plants and the creation of outdoor storytelling places to educate younger tribal members. Other outdoor spaces were conceived together with indoor spaces as elements integrated into a single processional sequence. These include a drum-shaped forecourt, a lobby inhabited by tree-like columns, a pyramidal changing exhibits gallery, and a circular dance plaza.

Chapter Six examines processes related to constructing the museum and landscaping the site. This began with construction bidding by the Tribes, and when the bid came in high, competitive bidding from a select group of general contractors. The Tribes required that the general contractor and subcontractors hire Tribal members. Tribal laborers helped harvest local basalt, an important material in the museum. Contractors learned that tribal communities have specific conditions that affect construction. They found that permitting was much
easier, federal OSHA was more challenging than state OSHA, and some services were undeveloped—there was no domestic water or sewer. Contractors and architects worked collaboratively to resolve details on site. Architects chose materials carefully, their design and detailing demanded a high level of craft, and craftspeople did very high quality work throughout. Designers and builders were proud of their roles in creating the museum.

Chapter Seven concludes the dissertation. It begins with a summary followed by research results. Results demonstrate that Tribal members and their traditions were privileged during processes of creating the Museum At Warm Springs. The Confederated tribes collected and preserved the Tribes’ material heritage. Elders were respected and involved throughout, and other Tribal members had opportunities become involved in designing and building the museum. Indigenous modes of communication and decision making were privileged. A brief analysis shows that the museum architecture accommodates Indigenous activities and represents people of the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs. The chapter ends by discussing the significance of this investigation and suggesting avenues of future research.
Figure 1.1. Grand opening of The Museum At Warm Springs. Courtesy of Stastny Brun Architects from the Stastny and Burke project archives.
Chapter 2

ARCHITECTURE AS AN INDIGENOUS STRATEGY IN TRIBAL MUSEUMS

2.1 Introduction

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE OSAGE TRIBE:

The new Osage Indian Museum, financed by the Works Progress Administration as Project Number 582, has been completed and plans are being made for its dedication and opening on May 2 and 3, 1938. On Monday, May 2, the program will be entirely in charge of the full-blood members the Tribe, and I understand it will be a typical Osage celebration. On Tuesday, May 3, the Tribe will be assisted in the program by the Civic groups of Pawhuska. Many notables have been invited to attend the celebration, among whom are Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes, and Indian Commissioner, John Collier. . . . You are urged to attend the dedication and opening and by your presence show your appreciation to the Tribal Council for this fitting monument to the Osage Tribe.¹

As the letter from The BIA Superintendent of the Osage Agency documents, the Osage Tribal Museum, the first tribal museum in the United States, opened in 1938. A Tribal Council member initiated the museum, Works Progress Administration (WPA) provided $25,000 for construction, and the Civilian Conservation Corp (CCC) renovated a historic school building to house the museum. Once complete, the BIA controlled the museum and paid its employees.²

In response to ongoing processes of colonization and conquest, Indigenous communities have established approximately 200 tribal museums

¹ C. L. Ellis to Members of the Osage Tribe, 21 April 1938, Osage Tribal Museum, Pawhuska, OK.
and cultural centers within the United States. Although purposes of tribal museums and cultural centers vary, many tribal communities establish them as tools of decolonization, to regain control of material heritage, cultural knowledge, and representation of their people. Tribal museums are defined primarily as museums owned and operated by a tribal community, “characterized by a predominant Native American controlling interest on several levels – financial, administrative, and substantive.”

As the Osage Tribal Museum illustrates, especially in the paternalistic letter from the BIA superintendent, the level of autonomy varies.

Like the Osage Tribal Museum, many tribal museums have been housed in renovated buildings. Yet in the 1970s, the Economic Development Administration (EDA) funded tribal museums with the intention of building facilities to attract tourist dollars. The tribal museum movement surged again after the 1988 Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (IGRA) allowed federally recognized tribes to operate tax-free casinos and generate funding to build tribal museums. Since passage of the 1990 Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), federally funded museums have returned human
remains, grave goods, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony to affiliated tribes. Although economic strategies vary, some tribes use casino revenue to construct museums and cultural centers, and some house cultural objects repatriated in response to NAGPRA. Hence, the establishment of tribal museums and cultural centers has escalated since 1990. Although some are in renovated facilities, others are in distinctive new buildings.

The next section of this chapter examines colonization and decolonization of Indigenous peoples in North America. The third section considers tribal museums as sites of decolonization, explains Indigenous strategies that tribal museums employ, and argues that architecture can be an Indigenous strategy. The fourth and final section outlines issues pertaining to the discourse and practice of Indigenous architectures.

2.2 Colonization and Decolonization

2.2.1 Colonization Continues in North America

Indigenous people are still colonized in many ways, some of which have been naturalized and are largely invisible to many non-Indigenous people in the United States. For example, histories of the United States glorify actions of our Founding Fathers, many of whom killed Indigenous people directly or made decisions that destroyed their lives. As Michael Yellow Bird (Sahnish/Hidatsa) points out, those Americans gracing our currency were devastating to Indigenous people. George

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9 Abrams, “Tribal Museums in America.”
Washington burned Seneca towns, Abraham Lincoln ordered the execution of thirty-eight Dakotas, and Andrew Jackson slaughtered eight hundred Creeks.\textsuperscript{10} Places are named after these Founding Fathers too. The mountain that defines the southwest corner of the Warm Springs Reservation of Oregon was named after Thomas Jefferson. The river central to the lives of Warm Springs and Wasco people, the most productive freshwater fishery in North America, was renamed from \textit{Nch'i-Wána} (Big River) to Columbia after Christopher Columbus, the person who initiated processes of colonization in the Americas.

Maori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith explains the devastating effects of colonization on Indigenous peoples throughout the world:

\begin{quote}
Imperialism and colonialism brought complete disorder to colonized peoples, disconnecting them from their histories, their landscapes, their languages, their social relations and their own ways of thinking, feeling and interacting with the world. It was a process of systematic fragmentation which can still be seen in the disciplinary carve-up of the Indigenous world: bones, mummies and skulls to the museums, art work to private collectors, languages to linguistics, “customs” to anthropologists, beliefs and behaviors to psychologists.\textsuperscript{11}
\end{quote}

Waziyatawin Angela Wilson (Dakota) explains that “part of the colonization process for Indigenous peoples has been the constant denigration of our intellectual, linguistic, and cultural contributions to the world. We have been trained by the dominant society to think of our stories and language as insignificant or even worthless.”\textsuperscript{12} Yellow Bird illuminates current practices in the United States,

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{12} Waziyatawin Angela Wilson, \textit{Remember This!: Dakota Decolonization and the Eli Taylor Narratives} (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 13.
\end{flushright}
The exploitation and control of Indigenous peoples in the United States continues unabated. . . . Indigenous peoples experience numerous humiliating assaults from colonial society, for instance, control and manipulation of their tribal governments by the US federal government, land and resource theft by US multinational corporations, control and exploitation of tribal gaming and economic revenue by state governments, poorly funded on-reservation substandard schools that continue teaching the prevaricated history of the colonizer, and the continued use of racist images and words to describe Indians.13

2.2.2 Decolonization is Needed Urgently

Scholars of Indigenous studies write about the urgent need for decolonizing processes. In the context of this dissertation, the topic is not decolonization through physical violence, but decolonizing minds,\textsuperscript{14} rewriting racist histories, removing discriminatory policies, and reclaiming intangible and tangible cultural heritage. Smith explains that, “The reach of imperialism into ‘our heads’ challenges those who belong to colonized communities to understand how this occurred, partly because we perceive a need to decolonize our minds, to recover ourselves, to claim a space in which to develop a sense of authentic humanity.”\textsuperscript{15} Smith insists that, “There is . . . [an] immediate need to understand the complex ways in which people were brought into the imperial system, because its impact is still being felt.”\textsuperscript{16} Mohawk scholar Taiaiake Alfred explains,

Decolonization . . . is a process of discovering the truth in a world created out of lies. It is thinking through what we think we know to what is actually true but is obscured by knowledge derived from our experiences as colonized peoples. The truth is the main struggle, and the struggle is manifested mainly inside our own heads. . . . In a colonized reality, our

\textsuperscript{13} Yellow Bird, “Cowboys and Indians,” 33, 45.
\textsuperscript{14} Frantz Fanon, \textit{The Wretched of the Earth}, trans. Constance Farrington (New York: Grove Press, 1963).
\textsuperscript{15} Smith, \textit{Decolonizing Methodologies}, 23.
\textsuperscript{16} Ibid.
struggle is with all existing forms of political power, and to this fight, we bring our only real weapon: the power of truth.\textsuperscript{17}

Wilson argues that, “Decolonization is the most important undertaking for Indigenous Peoples. Without a critical understanding of the colonialist structure as well as a means to resist it, we are in danger of being incapacitated in our dealings with colonialisit regimes and perpetuating a form of neocolonialism among ourselves in our own tribal structures.”\textsuperscript{18}

\textbf{2.2.3 Western Museums are Colonial Projects}

Western museums are powerful colonizing institutions that have appropriated Indigenous objects and bodies and misrepresented Indigenous peoples. One particularly vexing aspect of colonization that Indigenous people face is the collection, excavation, and display of Indigenous heirlooms and human remains. Without consulting Indigenous people, museum personnel have often stored, interpreted, and exhibited sacred objects and human remains in ways that contradicted Indigenous beliefs.\textsuperscript{19} Alienation of ancestral objects disrupted communities especially as many of the objects retain meaning and power for descendants and relatives of those who created them.\textsuperscript{20} The removal of bones of the ancestors themselves is even more troubling.

These issues relate directly to the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs and the genesis of their museum. In reaction to aggressive collecting of Tribal

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{17} Taiaiake Alfred, \textit{Wasàse: Indigenous Pathways of Action and Freedom} (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2005), 280.
\item \textsuperscript{18} Wilson, \textit{Remember This!}, 14.
\item \textsuperscript{19} Linda Ellen Oxendine, "Tribally Owned Museums: A Reinterpretation of Indigenous Collections" (PhD Diss., University of Minnesota, 1992); \textit{The Changing Presentation of the American Indian: Museums and Native Cultures}, (Washington, DC: National Museum of the American Indian, 2000).
\item \textsuperscript{20} Sonya Atalay, "Indigenous Archaeology as Decolonizing Practice," \textit{American Indian Quarterly} 30, no. 3-4 (2006): 280-82.
\end{itemize}
artifacts by outsiders, Tribal Council allocated funding to buy Tribal heirlooms and build a museum to house the collection (see Chapter 4). Repatriation of human remains was a huge issue in the community as well. In 1934, without permission, Herbert Krieger, Curator of Ethnology at the Smithsonian Institution, collected skeletal remains of twenty-eight Wasco ancestors from Memaloose Island in the Columbia River. The skeletons were still at the Smithsonian Institution’s National Museum of Natural History when a contingent of Warm Springs people visited in 1990 to select objects to borrow and use in their museum’s permanent exhibit. According to meeting minutes, Smithsonian personnel said that, “Bones can tell a history of the past, [a] story of old people.” They “praised Warm Springs for being patient [and] understanding.” They stated that they “don’t know if material is Wasco [but they] plan to place bodies back where they came from.” Disturbingly, they voiced their desire, “with Tribal Council approval, to continue study.” Wasco Chief Nelson Wallulatum had testified to a senate panel in 1987 regarding repatriation, and his advocacy helped lead to the passage of NAGPRA in 1990. Chief Wallulatum and tribal attorneys made several formal requests to repatriate the Wasco ancestral remains. Ultimately—after the NMAI Act passed in 1989—the Smithsonian returned the ancestral bones to Tribal members for reburial on the reservation.21

Although most museums have removed inappropriate displays of objects and ancestral remains, art historian Ruth Phillips observed that "displays continue to transmit colonial messages about the Aboriginal peoples of the

21 “Remains to be Returned,” Spilyay Tymoo, September 22, 1989; MOIHS Smithsonian minutes, 20 March 1990, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
Americas."22 All of these processes—the appropriation of ancestral remains and material and intangible heritage along with inaccurate, racist representations—have led to uneasy relationships between Indigenous people and mainstream Western museums, as voiced by Linda Oxendine (Lumbee):

Indian people are beginning to say very clearly, and sometimes very forcefully, that the image of the Indian as presented by cultural institutions, like museums, needs to be redefined and that the redefinition must be based upon the fact that Indian people are very much in the present with an active culture reflecting both the traditions of the past and the realities of today.23

Kristina Ackley (Oneida Bad River Ojibwe) explains that due to the “frenzy of collecting from ‘vanishing’ cultures at the end of the nineteenth century,” Indigenous people distrust museums. “The image of the museum as a place that holds your ancestors’ bodies and epitomizes the cultural theft of your people is not a place that you are likely to visit.”24

2.3 Tribal Museums are Indigenous Sites of Decolonization

In opposition to mainstream Western museums, many Indigenous communities create their own museums and cultural centers as physical manifestations of tribal sovereignty and identity, part of larger processes of decolonization.25 Brenda Child explains that tribal museums are created “to contest and critique colonial notions of American and Canadian history that have been so

disempowering to tribal nations."26 Child adds, “Tribal museums are Indigenous spaces that both reflect Indigenous values and knowledge systems and languages, and work toward the preservation of living cultures. Tribal museums, while rooted in a Western institutional tradition, are furthering goals of decolonization and sovereignty.”27

Amy Lonetree (Ho-Chunk) argues that “it is critical that museums support Indigenous communities in our efforts toward decolonization, through privileging Indigenous voice and perspective, through challenging stereotypical representations of Indigenous people that were produced in the past, and by serving as educational forums for our own communities and the general public.”28

Majel Boxer (Dakota) suggests that tribal museums can be exemplary decolonization projects even though they “can uphold and perpetuate past museum methods of exhibition which were and are colonialist in nature.” Boxer identifies “overarching goals of community empowerment, truth-telling, and privileging indigenous knowledge” as markers of decolonization.29

In her seminal book, Decolonizing Methodologies, Linda Smith introduces twenty-five Indigenous projects that people can do to move toward decolonization.30 After reviewing each of these, which I conceptualize as Indigenous strategies, I found six that are particularly relevant to tribal museums and cultural centers. I will introduce each one and explain how it applies to tribal museums in their operation as sites of decolonization. The six Indigenous

27 Ibid., 253.
30 Smith, Decolonizing Methodologies, 142-62.
strategies are: indigenizing, returning, protecting, representing, storytelling, and remembering.

2.3.1 Indigenizing

Indigenizing is “a centering of the landscapes, images, languages, themes, metaphors and stories in the Indigenous world” and a centering of “politics of Indigenous identity and Indigenous cultural action . . . grounded in the alternative conceptions of worldview and value systems.”31 The centering of the Indigenous world is an overarching framework that circumscribes just about everything that tribal museums do. Indigenous ways of being, thinking, values, modes of communication, languages, foods, skills, and arts are all privileged in tribal museums and cultural centers.

One aspect of Indigenizing is the emphasis of Indigenous languages at tribal museums.32 For example, all of the text panels at the White Mountain Apache Cultural Center in Fort Apache, Arizona, are bilingual, with Apache above and English below. One exhibit includes portions of a book—one of the first examples of written Apache—organized by a teacher of Apache children in the 1940s, showing translations of Apache words into English and children’s drawings and captions describing everyday Apache life of the time. The introductory exhibit at the White Mountain Apache Cultural Center, projected from a wide screen TV in a traditional wickiup, consists of faces and words of Apache elders telling origin stories in Apache that are subtitled in English.33

31 Ibid., 146.
32 Kreps, Liberating Culture, 109.
33 From a visit on March 18, 2005.
2.3.2 Returning

Returning involves the return of (1) lands, rivers and mountains; (2) traditional food gathering places; and (3) “the repatriation of artifacts, remains, and other cultural materials stolen or removed and taken overseas.” Repatriation of ancestral remains and objects has been a serious concern for many tribal communities. “To take back Native American objects held in museums was to take back cultural pride, strength, and autonomy. It was an action through which Indigenous people could reappropriate and reaffirm the power derived from the presentation and interpretation of culture.” Some tribal museums are created specifically to house repatriated objects and in some cases, specified environmental and security controls are prerequisites for repatriation.

The U’mista Cultural Centre and the Kwagiulth Museum and Cultural Centre, in British Columbia, were created to house a repatriated potlatch collection. Over 750 potlatch items were taken in 1921 in exchange for the release of arrested potlatch participants. Efforts towards repatriation of the objects began in 1951, when potlatches were legalized. The Canadian Museum of Civilization in Hull and the Museum of Man in Ottawa eventually agreed to repatriate the regalia if the objects were to be housed in a central, secure, fireproof tribal museum. Because potlatch participants and their descendants lived in two villages, Alert Bay and Cape Mudge, people decided to construct two separate museums, completed in 1979 and 1980. The dedication of both museums was marked by several days of celebration including potlatches, formal

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34 Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 155.
greetings in song and dance by regalia-clad hosts and guests, speeches, salmon feasts, and the ritual of cutting bark to mark the opening of the museums.36

2.3.3 Protecting

Protecting “is concerned with protecting peoples, communities, languages, customs and beliefs, art and ideas, natural resources, and the things Indigenous peoples produce.”37 In many tribal museums, protecting material heritage and knowledge are primary concerns.

Protecting material heritage: Cultural objects tie Indigenous people to their past. Objects of ancestors are especially meaningful in communities where few older written records exist. “Historical objects are witnesses, things that were there, then. They share their maker’s marks in their weaves, textures, and shapes, and have a compelling agency to cause people living in the present to enunciate their relationships to the past.”38

“Many First Nations . . . view the preservation of the cultural significance of a heritage object as inseparable from the preservation of traditions, oral history, community, and identity as First Nations.”39 In some cases, rights to associated practices and status are linked to objects. In the Makah Tribe, for example, harpoon points are linked to the right to hunt whales and means to

37 Smith, Decolonizing Methodologies, 158.
prepare spiritually to do so. In federal court, the Makah Tribe defended their right to use gill nets by a gill net fragment excavated from the ancestral Makah village of Ozette. Gifts given at potlatches link hosts and guests for many years; objects can be the material embodiment of social relations. Confiscation of potlatch regalia (along with the ban on potlatches) undermined the traditional social structure.

Tribal museums follow attitudes of Indigenous communities toward the meaning, ownership, access, use, and curation of objects. At the Makah Cultural and Research Center, “the management system is designed to preserve a range of values, including Makah conceptual categories, traditional property ownership values (such as ownership by house/extended family categories), and gender restrictions.” The collection is organized by conceptual categories embedded in the Makah language. Gender restrictions stipulate that women cannot handle Makah fishing and whaling gear.

The Hoopa Tribal Museum in California acts as a repository where tribal members store and display their regalia and heirlooms. Two-thirds of the collection is on long-term loan. Tribal members do this because they view the museum as a safe place that provides expert care and an opportunity to display their status-marking regalia, “a sign that the bearer is descended from one of the families that had a right to possess and to dance with it.” Owners retrieve their

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40 Tweedie, Drawing Back Culture, 5.
regalia to use in cultural events, and then return them to the museum for safekeeping.\(^{45}\)

At the Hoopa Tribal Museum, regalia and heirlooms are organized by family, and a family “curator” provides physical and spiritual care. “Curatorship entails responsibility because the objects are suffused with supernatural power and danger.”\(^{46}\) At the Oneida Nation Museum, ceremonial masks known as “Grandfathers” or less respectfully as false-face masks are “subject to unique curatorial practices that took into account their status as animate beings who needed certain things: air, respect, corn.”\(^{47}\)

In some communities, the need to house an archaeological collection is the impetus to establish a tribal museum. The Makah Tribe developed the Makah Cultural and Research Center, in Neah Bay, Washington, to store and exhibit the plethora of artifacts excavated at the pre-contact village site of Ozette.\(^{48}\) An underlying motivation for the Suquamish Museum, in Suquamish, Washington, was to house artifacts from the excavation site of Old Man House, the largest longhouse on Puget Sound, burned in the 1870s by a federal agent, probably “to terminate communal lifestyle.”\(^{49}\) The Huhugam Heritage Center, in Chandler, Arizona, was built to serve as an archaeological repository, a repository for tribal

\(^{45}\) Brian Isaac Daniels, “Reimagining Tribal Sovereignty through Tribal History: Museums, Libraries, and Archives in the Klamath River Region,” in *Contesting Knowledge: Museums and Indigenous Perspectives*, ed. Susan Sleeper-Smith (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 289.

\(^{46}\) Ibid., 290. See also Kreps, *Liberating Culture*, 107-08.

\(^{47}\) Ackley, “The Oneida Nation Museum,” 273.


collections, and as a heritage center for people within the Gila River Indian Reservation.

*Protecting knowledge:* Tribal museums document and preserve traditional knowledge. They preserve *living* knowledge by passing it on to younger tribal members. One purpose of the Ak-Chin Him-Dak Ecomuseum is to teach youth about tribal history so as to “defuse tensions and reweave the community together.”\(^5^0\) Tribal museums disseminate knowledge to outsiders to counteract misconceptions about Indigenous people, yet they restrict certain knowledge too.

Because Indigenous voices have been excluded from the written record, traditional knowledge is often in alternate forms such as historic photographs, oral history, language, and objects.\(^5^1\) Specific goals of tribal museums are “to preserve and transmit languages and oral traditions, arts and crafts skills, knowledge of traditional uses of plants and land, and traditional religious practices.”\(^5^2\)

As keepers of traditional knowledge, many tribal museums restrict sensitive knowledge in response to cultural traditions. Access to traditional knowledge varies amongst tribes. For example, Santo Domingo, one of the nineteen participating pueblos at the Indian Pueblo Cultural Center, does not exhibit contemporary works of art because they fear inaccurate interpretation.\(^5^3\) At the Pueblo of Zuni, “the guardianship of knowledge . . . is partitioned among clans and religious societies and is taught on a need-to-know basis in order to

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\(^5^1\) Caldwell, "Suquamish Tribal Cultural Center and Suquamish Museum," 26-27.


ensure the transfer of associated responsibilities."54 As a result, Zunis see reproduction of knowledge as potentially dangerous because knowledge can be alienated from associated responsibilities that are typically communicated orally. The A:shiwi A:wan Museum and Heritage Center at Zuni mediates conflicts arising over knowledge dissemination. For example, a mural at the museum illustrating origins of Zuni clans is used by Elders as a visual aid while telling stories. The mural promotes oral tradition and allows speakers to "control the amount and the context in which information is transmitted and thus the associated responsibilities."55

2.3.4 Representing

Representing has many dimensions: (1) as a political concept in opposition to colonial exclusion from decision-making; (2) as "a project of Indigenous artists, writers, poets, filmmakers and others who attempt to express an Indigenous spirit, experience or world view;" and (3) "countering the dominant society's image of Indigenous peoples, their lifestyles and belief systems."56 Although all of these aspects of representation are relevant to tribal museums, countering centuries of misrepresentation is a primary aim of most tribal museums as Ackley explains.

Tribal museums are charged with the difficult task of challenging officially sanctioned views of history that most non-Natives unquestioningly believe; simultaneously, they try to create and maintain a place for their own people to learn about their stories of the past. They directly confront

55 Isaac, "Responsibilities toward Knowledge," 317.
56 Smith, Decolonizing Methodologies, 150-51.
the nationalizing intentions of Western museums that treat Natives as savage and extinct, existing only as a footnote to the US national story of exceptionalism.\textsuperscript{57}

Tribal museums provide opportunities for creative expression, for people to display their visual arts, perform dances and songs, and tell stories. For example, at The Museum At Warm Springs, sculptor Allan Houser (Apache) exhibited his work, filmmaker Alexie Sherman (Spokane/Coeur d’Alene) spoke, and Warm Springs poet Elizabeth Woodie read her poetry.

Exhibits can privilege Indigenous perspectives. Tribal museums frequently challenge the status quo in museum exhibits. For example, at the Kwagiulth Museum and Cultural Centre, labels of regalia in glass cases emphasize the family ownership of regalia and its participation in specific ceremonies.\textsuperscript{58} Contrary to expected museum practice, the U’mista Cultural Centre does not enshrine the displayed regalia in glass cases and rather than labeling each object, it contains propped-up text panels that narrate the historic Cranmer potlatch, confiscation of regalia, and repatriation of the potlatch collection.\textsuperscript{59}

\subsection*{2.3.5 Storytelling}

Storytelling is important for telling histories that were not written down; it is a way to include Indigenous people in history. Storytelling is used to transmit beliefs and values. “The story and the storyteller both serve to connect the past with the future, one generation with the other, the land with the people and the people

\textsuperscript{57} Ackley, "The Oneida Nation Museum," 264-65.
\textsuperscript{58} Clifford, "Four Northwest Coast Museums," 226-27.
\textsuperscript{59} Ibid., 226-29.
with the story.” Storytelling is a way to represent the “diversities of truth within which the storyteller . . . retains control.”

Ackley explains that, “The stories tribal museums tell and to what extent they challenge the dispossession and colonization of Indigenous people are ways of exercising cultural sovereignty. . . . Tribal museums stress a national identity by telling stories that are based on their unique cultures and histories.”

Ackley relates that at the Oneida National Museum, “The stories people tell about themselves, their culture, and history are diverse and are often in conflict with one another” so it was a challenge to mediate without alienating people and difficult to create a single, unified narrative.

Storytelling is the primary mode of communication and education for many Indigenous people. Tribal museums use various methods of storytelling. Some tribal museums rely on museum staff or volunteers to tell stories directly. Others use audio and video media to deliver recordings of cultural experts, usually elders, telling stories. In some cases, text panels and objects tell stories. At the White Mountain Apache Cultural Center, videotapes of Apache elders telling origin stories in Apache, subtitled in English, are played back for visitors on a large, flat-panel TV. The tribal museum at Zuni and the Ned Hatathli Museum, part of the Diné College in Tsaile, Arizona, have displays without text labels. Instead, Zuni and Navajo elders tell stories and interpret the visual displays through their stories.

Sometimes stories are not told by humans. The name of a British Columbia cultural center, U’mista, means “the state of good luck or good fortune.

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60 Smith, Decolonizing Methodologies, 145.
61 Ackley, “The Oneida Nation Museum,” 267, 75.
62 Ibid., 269, 77.
enjoyed by those captured in war who manage to return home safely” in Kwak’wala.\textsuperscript{63} The name of the cultural center, its architecture—a traditional plank house—and the arrangement of the display—masks on benches along the walls where participants would normally sit—is a tableau that tells the story of the potlatch from which the masks, regalia, coppers, and rattles were confiscated.

2.3.6 Remembering

“The remembering of people relates not so much to an idealized remembering of a golden past but more specifically to the remembering of a painful past and, importantly, people’s responses to the pain.” Sadly, “there is no collective remembering” because families were torn apart as children were sent to boarding school and extended families separated and relocated on different reservations. “This form of remembering is painful because it involves remembering not just what colonization was about, but what being dehumanized meant for our own cultural practices. Both healing and transformation become crucial strategies in any approach which asks a community to remember what they have decided unconsciously or consciously to forget.”\textsuperscript{64}

Following Waziyatawin Angela Wilson, who argues for a United States Truth Commission,\textsuperscript{65} Lonetree is adamant that “truth telling as a decolonizing strategy is critical, and our museums should serve as sites where hard truths are told honestly and specifically.”\textsuperscript{66} Lonetree argues that the Saginaw Chippewa’s

\textsuperscript{63} Clifford, "Four Northwest Coast Museums," 238.
\textsuperscript{64} Smith, Decolonizing Methodologies, 146.
\textsuperscript{66} Lonetree, "Museums as Sites of Decolonization," 326.
Ziibiwing Center for Anishinabe Culture and Lifeway in Mt Pleasant, Michigan, “exemplifies a decolonizing museum practice through privileging oral tradition and through speaking of the hard truths of colonization to promote healing and understanding for their community.”\textsuperscript{67} The Ziibiwing Center is organized by the "Seven Prophecies/Seven Fires" of the Anishinabe people, part of their oral tradition. The prophecies are told orally first in Anishinabe, then in English. Because the Effects of Colonization gallery “was a very painful and emotional era for people to visit, see, and hear,” a round healing space follows, with the sound of singing, aroma of cedar, and displays of beautiful objects.\textsuperscript{68}

2.3.7 Architecture

Although Linda Smith’s \textit{Decolonizing Methodologies} is a useful tool for understanding how tribal museums and cultural centers do their decolonizing work, Smith does not address the issue of \textit{place}. I argue that architecture can be another Indigenous strategy in tribal museums and cultural centers. Tribal museums and cultural centers provide interior and exterior spaces that accommodate activities that strengthen Indigenous identity. Architectural design shapes peoples’ behavior in those spaces. Symbolic architectural expression can communicate tribal identity. Architectural processes that engage tribal members can privilege Indigenous perspectives and styles of communication.

\textit{Places for community activities}: Indigenous people see Western museums, some of which look like tombs and have housed bones of their ancestors, as places of \textit{death}. Tribal museums—sometimes known as “cultural centers” to avoid a negative association—affirm \textit{life}, and although many house

\textsuperscript{67} Ibid., 325.
\textsuperscript{68} Ibid., 332-33.
and display objects of the past, they do so to support continuity of cultural life in the present and future. A characteristic of tribal museums is their complex interrelationship with their tribal communities. When tribal museums are fully integrated into the community, they become the center of many cultural activities. For example, the Makah Cultural and Research Center staff scrambled to welcome visitors arriving by canoe as part of the “Paddle to Seattle” event. The cultural center functioned as “the heart of a network reaching out into the community.”

Many tribal museums and cultural centers include interior and exterior spaces for community gatherings and rituals. In doing so, they strengthen the cohesion of the community and contribute to the construction of identity. The cedar plank longhouse within the MCRC has hosted salmon bakes, parties, graduation ceremonies and a wedding. The Indian Pueblo Cultural Center, in Albuquerque, New Mexico, modeled after the ancient D-shaped Pueblo Bonito, encloses a plaza that hosts special events including dance performances for the public.

Architectural design: Spaces that frame activities within tribal museums are not neutral containers. The Oneida Nation Museum has a longhouse which is sometimes used for meetings and workshops. "Participants noted that being in the longhouse ‘changed the tone of the meeting . . . .’ The longhouse environment seemed to transport the participants to another place and open their minds to the

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70 Oxendine, "Tribally Owned Museums," 119.
71 Ibid., 124-26.
72 Ibid., 126.
74 Oxendine, "Tribally Owned Museums," 83-84.
words that were being spoken, allowing them to better experience the ‘how’ of being Oneida.”

Symbolic architectural languages of tribal museums and cultural centers—often derived from "traditional," tribally-specific Indigenous architectures—emphasize place and refer to traditional building forms and materials. Although tribal museums are rarely replicas of traditional buildings, their architectures are often hybrid, embodying tradition and modernity simultaneously, alluding to architectural forms of the past, but employing contemporary building practices and technologies to create architectures to represent and serve their contemporary communities.

In tribal museums and cultural centers, Indigenous identity and values appear to be expressed through orientation, materials, and allusion to traditional Indigenous building forms. For example, the U’mista Cultural Centre is oriented to the Pacific Ocean as were ancestral plank houses. Many inland museums, such as the Museum at Warm Springs and the Huhugam Heritage Center, are oriented east, to the rising sun. Some museums, such as the cedar plank house of the U’mista Cultural Centre, employ traditional materials and building techniques. Others, such as the Huhugam Heritage Center, use contemporary materials such as concrete and steel to create traditional forms. At the Huhugam

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75 Ackley, “The Oneida Nation Museum,” 278.
77 Clifford, “Four Northwest Coast Museums;” Jacknis, The Storage Box of Tradition.
Heritage Center, the “Great House” and “Ball Court” allude to building forms of the Hohokam, ancestors of the Akimel O’odham, one of the two tribes who share the Gila River Indian Reservation. As Child observes, “Design aesthetics that reflect Indigenous principles are a hallmark of tribal museums, a point of self-esteem for tribes, and an indication to visitors that they are on tribal ground.”

Creating tribal museums: Processes of designing a tribal museum can privilege Indigenous traditions of communication and consensus to consider what the museum should be and how the tribe’s story can be told within it. Brian Vallo, founding director of the Sky City Cultural Center and Haak’u Museum, emphasized the importance of focus groups to gather tribal input in developing their museum. “The meetings were crucial to every aspect of the museum, including the design, which incorporates historic pueblo architecture.” Makah people worked closely with their exhibit designer, Jean André, to design exhibit spaces. As part of the process of designing the Ak-Chin Him-Dak Ecomuseum, architectural models of the proposed design were taken door-to-door to solicit feedback from throughout the community. At the outset of designing The Museum At Warm Springs, the architects set up a design workshop on the reservation for a week and invited all tribal members to envision what the museum should be. (Chapter 5 will explain this in more detail.) The following section will discuss Indigenous architectures more broadly.

80 Ibid., 252-53.
2.4 Indigenous Architectures

A comprehensive literature review of Indigenous architectures in North America reveals five clusters of issues: (1) conceptual categories, (2) scholarship and pedagogy, (3) architects and clients, (4) administrative barriers, and (5) creating meaningful architectures. The review begins with issues pertaining to the discourse of Indigenous architectures—how they are conceptualized, studied, written about, and taught. Then the review considers issues related to practice—the design and construction of buildings for Indigenous communities. Although the review focuses on architecture, it considers planning and landscape design too.

2.4.1 Conceptual Categories

Native American architecture: The category of “Native American architecture” denies distinct tribal identities. Before Europeans arrived, North America was populated by multiple nations with diverse architectures. There was no coherent aggregation of people who considered themselves collectively “Native Americans.” Imposing this category homogenizes Indigenous peoples, and fails to acknowledge their distinct identities. Likewise, to consider all of their architectures in a single category called “Native American architecture” diminishes the diversity and significance of the architectures.83

Tribal architecture: Tribal architectures are specific to individual tribes, each created within a specific cultural context for a specific group of people who usually have an inherently identifiable world-view, a collective understanding of

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83 Craig Phillip Howe, "Architectural Tribalism in the Native American New World" (PhD Diss., University of Michigan, 1995), 19.
custom, language, and tradition. According to anthropologist Peter Nabokov, tribal architectures were, duplicates of mythic homes described in origin stories—they were a key part of the cultural gifts bestowed on each tribe by the creator. Those myths decreed how the structures should be properly made and blessed. . . . Such myths functioned as zoning codes, blueprints, and labor unions. When people rebuilt a house or started a new one, they were renewing their links to the timeless moment when they were born on earth. Architecture was identity.

Ceremonial processes are used to create many tribal architectures. People transmitted the significance of tribal architectures through oral traditions and ritual performances leading to “an interdependent relationship . . . between myth, ritual, and architecture, a relationship that was manifested three-dimensionally in tribally specific architectures.”

**Intertribal architecture:** Intertribal architectures serve people from multiple tribes. As a result of the congressional policy of legally terminating tribes (1953-54), and allied Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) programs relocating Indigenous people from reservations to urban centers, intertribal urban communities evolved in the 1950s. This led to the rise of another level of identity known as intertribal or pan-tribal. Urban centers were established to serve intertribal constituents; these became some of the first examples of intertribal architecture. Howe argues that, “These buildings were collective expressions of Indianness, of Indian

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84 M. Dorris, "Native American Literature in an Ethnographic Context," *College English* 41, no. 2 (1979), 147.
nationalism. In other words, they are among the first truly Native American architectures."89

The Minneapolis American Indian Center (1975), “the first of its kind planned, funded, and run by Indians,” was the first building designed with the specific purpose of serving as a community and social-service center for Indigenous people.90 Architects Thomas Hodne and Gerald Johnson designed the building, assisted by Surrounded-By-Enemy (Sioux-Arikara) and Dennis Sun Rhodes (Arapaho/Shoshone). The center includes many wood components such as rough cedar siding and glue-laminated fir beams, decking, and purlins. Yet it also includes concrete columns and end walls and is similar in form to other contemporaneous 1970s modern buildings. The only overtly Indigenous design element visible on the exterior is a cedar mural in a crow-quill pattern, designed by Ojibwe artist George Morrison.91

Another early example of intertribal architecture is the Daybreak Star Art and Cultural Center, created in 1977 to be a social services center and a cultural center for the 17,000 Indigenous people living in the Seattle area. A Seattle firm, Jones and Jones (with a Cherokee-Choctaw principal, Johnpaul Jones), created the first site plan. The architectural firm of Arai-Jackson-Reyes designed the building. Construction involved Indigenous participation including excavation by an Indigenous subcontractor and landscaping by a predominately Indigenous crew. Northwest tribes—including the Yakima, Quinault, Makah, and Colville—and regional timber companies donated logs for the building. Haida, Tlingit, and

89 Ibid., 22.
other Indigenous people adzed the building’s 50-foot fir beams by hand. For Howe, the Daybreak Star Arts and Cultural Center epitomizes what Indigenous architecture should be, as it was inspired by an Indigenous leader, designed by an intertribal and non-tribal team, and constructed by multiple intertribal and non-tribal groups.

More recent intertribal buildings include Indigenous centers on college and university campuses. The University of British Columbia hired Larry McFarland Architects to design the First Nations Longhouse (1993) to serve students from the 55 Coast Salish bands on their Vancouver Campus. Evergreen State College hired Johnpaul Jones to design the Longhouse Education and Cultural Center (1996) in Olympia, Washington. Portland State University hired Donald Stastny to design its Native American Student and Community Center (2003) for its urban campus in Portland, Oregon.

2.4.2 Scholarship and Pedagogy

Scholarship: Few architectural historians conduct research on Indigenous architecture of the recent or distant past. A recent study of the Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians reveals that of all of the articles published within ten years (1995-2004), not a single one addresses Indigenous architectures in North America. Although discourse on historic Indigenous

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96 Anne Lawrason Marshall, "How Has Scholarship in JSAH Changed in the Last Forty Years?" (paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Marion Dean Ross/Pacific Northwest Chapter of the Society of Architectural Historians, Tacoma, WA, October 2008). It is unclear why architectural scholars have not studied Indigenous architectures, yet anecdotal evidence suggests several possibilities. For historic Indigenous
architectures is not the focus of this study, a lack of scholarship in this area implies that it is not worthy of scholarly attention, provides little to teach from, and affects architectural practice and attitudes toward more recent architectures designed for Indigenous communities.

Anthropologists and others outside the discipline of architectural history have written a variety of texts on historic Indigenous architectures. Although I have found some to be useful, Howe argues that much of the literature on Indigenous architecture is problematic. Except for Native American Architecture, most studies have treated Indigenous architectures "as direct reflections of non-human forces" and have ignored human agency. Indigenous people “are denied creativity and control, purpose and intention” and the image of “invisible Indians” is perpetuated. Howe identifies additional problems with most of this literature: (1) It emphasizes form rather than enclosed space; (2) It typically focuses on “Indianness” rather than tribally specific architecture; and (3) It does not examine architectural developments over time within specific tribal communities.


Very few architects or architectural historians have conducted research or written critically on Indigenous architectures of the recent past.\textsuperscript{99} Howe observes that “the design methodologies architects employed to create [Indigenous architectures] are even less studied.”\textsuperscript{100} Why might this be? Krinsky notes that the architecture is often in isolated locations; small Indigenous firms have little funding or interest in promoting themselves; and editors are uncomfortable with a building that is distinctly different than mainstream contemporary architecture.\textsuperscript{101} I suspect that the lack of scholarly attention may be due, in part, to the fact that some buildings valued highly by their respective communities—whose worldviews may differ from those of non-Indigenous architects—may not be deemed worthy of publication by editors of architectural journals and books.\textsuperscript{102}

Only two books focus on recent Indigenous architectures in North America. The only comprehensive book on the topic is Carol Krinsky’s 1996 \textit{Contemporary Native American Architecture}.\textsuperscript{103} Although it contains a wealth of data supported by representative photographs and copious notes that suggest some important issues, it is more than fifteen years old, so does not include the most recent architectures or issues. \textit{The Architecture of Douglas Cardinal}, by Trevor Boddy, is a biography of a well-known Blackfoot/Métis Canadian architect.\textsuperscript{104} Although the book chronicles much of Cardinal’s career, it was written before Cardinal began designing his best known work, the National

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\textsuperscript{100} Howe, "Architectural Tribalism in the Native American New World," 43.
\textsuperscript{101} Krinsky, \textit{Contemporary Native American Architecture}, 4.
\textsuperscript{102} Although Philip Johnson, possibly the most powerful architect of his time, called Suzanne Stephens, editor of \textit{Progressive Architecture (PA)}, and suggested that she publish the work of Douglas Cardinal (Blackfoot/Métis), Cardinal received a reply from \textit{PA} that his work “did not fit our current editorial needs.” Trevor Boddy, \textit{The Architecture of Douglas Cardinal} (Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1989), 104.
\textsuperscript{103} Krinsky, \textit{Contemporary Native American Architecture}.
\textsuperscript{104} Boddy, \textit{The Architecture of Douglas Cardinal}.
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Museum of the American Indian (NMAI), which opened in 2004. Very few peer-reviewed journal articles focus on recent Indigenous architectures. Most sources are descriptive articles in trade magazines such as *Architectural Record* and *Canadian Architect*. Only one dissertation focuses on recent Indigenous American architecture,\textsuperscript{105} three others mention it,\textsuperscript{106} and two others are somewhat relevant.\textsuperscript{107} Six recent theses address contemporary Indigenous American architecture. Only one focuses on research;\textsuperscript{108} the other five focus on design.\textsuperscript{109}

Craig Phillip Howe (Oglala Lakota) has written the most critical scholarship so far on recent Indigenous architectures. This includes his pithy paper, “Culture Specific Built Forms: A Theoretical Framework,”\textsuperscript{110} and his

\textsuperscript{105} Howe, “Architectural Tribalism in the Native American New World.”
\textsuperscript{107} “Constructing the Navajo Capital: Landscape, Power, and Representation at Window Rock” examines the history of the construction of Window Rock in the early twentieth century. Rachel Leibowitz, "Constructing the Navajo Capital: Landscape, Power, and Representation at Window Rock" (PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2008). "Toward a Theory of Contestation in Public Space" examines contestation regarding two significant Native American places, Taos Blue Lake in New Mexico and the Little Bighorn Battlefield in Montana. Lynn Paxson, "Toward a Theory of Contestation in Public Space" (PhD diss., City University of New York, 2007).
\textsuperscript{108} Patricia Epee Stissi, "Minority Housing Conditions in Urban Settings: Proposals for the Improvement of Las Vegas' Amerindian Homes " (master's thesis, University of Nevada, 1999).
dissertation, “Architectural Tribalism in the Native American New World,” which builds on his earlier article to explore the maintenance of tribal boundaries through architecture. One other significant source is a video from Canada, "Aboriginal Architecture, Living Architecture," which examines recent and traditional architectures in seven Indigenous communities.

Few Indigenous scholars write about architecture, but some exceptional people do. Rina Swentzell, an architect and potter from Santa Clara Pueblo, wrote an architectural history of her pueblo and a paper contrasting traditional buildings in the pueblo with the alien day school. She also wrote about the Indigenous view of nature as integral to place and the connection between Pueblo houses and a larger interconnected cosmology. Theodore S. Jojola, a planner from Isleta Pueblo, wrote about planning in Isleta Pueblo in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and more recently. He also wrote on diverse topics such as federally subsidized housing for Indigenous people, impacts of census undercounts of Indigenous people, and an Indigenous planning framework used to design a school.

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111 Howe, "Architectural Tribalism in the Native American New World."
**Pedagogy:** Architectural education in the United States is based on European models and rarely includes Indigenous architectures. It was first modeled after the École des Beaux-Arts, then later after the Bauhaus.115 Neither approach seeks to explore cultural and social dimensions of architecture outside of Europe. In 1995, Howe noted that, “Few if any North American academic institutions offer courses pertaining to the history, design, study, or teaching of tribal architectures.116 Although these courses exist today in at least five universities,117 one could argue that their distribution is inadequate to serve Indigenous communities.

Faculty who wish to include tribal architectures in surveys of architectural history find that even the most recent and comprehensive global textbooks on architectural history include very little about Indigenous architecture.118 Yet two textbooks on American architecture and one on architecture “outside of the Euro-American tradition” are exceptional in their coverage and approach to Indigenous architectures. *Architecture in the United States* integrates Indigenous structures into every chapter in the book.119 The first of chapter in *American Architecture: A History* examines Indigenous ceremonial spaces and houses within different

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115 Beaux-Arts programs stressed the study and replication of classical architectural monuments in Western Europe. The Bauhaus philosophy focuses on the integration of various arts and crafts.
117 University of Idaho, University of Oregon, Cal Poly San Luis Obispo, Iowa State University, and University of New Mexico.
geographical areas of North America.\textsuperscript{120} *Traditions in Architecture: Africa, America, Asia, and Oceania* examines architecture through case studies; cases from North America include Inuit igluses, Pueblo sacred landscapes, Acoma Pueblo, and tipis.\textsuperscript{121}

Howe argues that any educational programs that teach about Indigenous built environments “require a theoretical basis relevant to Native Americans collectively and individual Native groups specifically.” He proposes to create a foundational framework of Indigenous architecture, “a global built form history of Native Americans from which Native groups may extract their individual built form legacies.” \textsuperscript{122} Howe proposes integrating this historical framework into surveys of architectural history as well as courses dedicated to Indigenous architectural history. He also suggests testing the practical application of the framework by engaging students in devising architectural guidelines for specific Indigenous groups and designing structures based on these guidelines.\textsuperscript{123}

\textbf{2.4.3 Architects and Clients}

\textit{Indigenous architects:} Few Indigenous people practice architecture. A 1999 American Institute of Architects (AIA) study revealed that only 15% of their members were women, only 8% people of color, and most dramatically—only 0.2% Native American.\textsuperscript{124} Barriers such as poverty, inadequate education, lack of role models, and discrimination have prevented many Indigenous people from

\textsuperscript{122} Howe, “Culture Specific Built Forms,” 276.
\textsuperscript{123} Howe, “Architectural Tribalism in the Native American New World,” 114-16.
earning a professional degree and succeeding as architects. Even if they have
the academic preparation and resources to go to college, many Indigenous
students find the stress of an alien environment and separation from their
families and communities unbearable.

Schools of architecture—typically focused on European and European
American architecture—are often part of the problem. Richard Begay (Navajo),
now working as an architect for the Navajo Nation, recounts that when he was
student, his professors did not understand the Navajo perspective that he applied
to his design.125 Harrison Martin, also Navajo, recalls that the only Indigenous
architecture taught to him was Pueblo architecture.126 When Douglas Cardinal
(Blackfoot/Métis) was dismissed from the architecture program at University of
British Columbia in his third year, the program director told him that he had “the
wrong family background” to become a member of the profession or the Royal
Architectural Institute of Canada (RAIC).127

Indigenous architects face multiple social and cultural barriers. Few
Indigenous architects have the personal contacts with wealthy corporate or
residential clients that are helpful in developing a successful architectural career.

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127 Despite this setback, Cardinal earned a professional degree, designed many
significant buildings such as the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI), and
was awarded the RAIC Gold Medal. Boddy, *The Architecture of Douglas Cardinal;* Martin
11 (1989); Douglas Cardinal and Marco Polo, "From Red Deer to Gold Metal," *Canadian
Architect* 44, no. 5 (1999); Douglas Cardinal and Tony Radford, "Douglas Cardinal on
Museum of Man, Hull, Québéco," *Canadian Architect* 29, no. 2 (1984); Peter Hemingway,
"Two Buildings by Douglas Cardinal," *Canadian Architect* 23, no. 2 (1978); Christopher
Hume, "Carved by Wind and Water," *Landscape Architecture* 79, no. 8 (1989); Abraham
Rogatnick and Alvin Balkind, "The Work of Douglas Cardinal: An Evolving Indian
Architecture?," *Artscanada,* no. 208 (1976); Dennis Sharp, "Cardinal Virtues," *Building
Design,* no. 1000 (1990); Stephanie White, "Museums and Their Buildings: Our National
Selling oneself is essential in marketing an architectural practice, but it is contrary to Indigenous social practices. Beginning in the 1960s, incentives and legislation began to mitigate professional barriers. Colleges and tribes offered scholarships to young Indigenous people, and more Indigenous men and women graduated from architecture school. Krinsky suggests that “the more tolerant and optimistic climate of the 1960s and early 1970s may have encouraged Amerindians to enter professions formerly closed to them.”

Many Indigenous architects work in firms that focus on Indigenous commissions and “may benefit from Indian preference provisions included in the federal requests for bids.” Since the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act (ISDEAA) passed in 1975, government agencies have contracted with and made grants directly to federally recognized Indian Tribes. Tribes gained greater financial control and therefore greater control over designing and managing construction projects, thus providing more opportunities for Indigenous people to design and build in reservation communities. The Economic Development Administration (EDA) and the Indian Health Service (IHS) have funded reservation projects that employed Indigenous architects. Tribes often prefer or insist upon hiring Indigenous firms.

In the 1980s, Indigenous architects founded the American Indian Council of Architects and Engineers (AICAE). Planner Ted Jojola began an Indigenous planning division of the American Planning Association (APA) in 2004 to help

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128 Krinsky, *Contemporary Native American Architecture*, 52-53. My experience contradicts Krinsky’s optimism. In the fifteen years I have taught at University of Idaho, less than an hour away from the Coeur d’Alene and Nez Perce Reservations, I have had only one Native architecture student.
129 Ibid., 55.
131 Ibid., 52. Members of this group created the consortium that worked on the Cultural Resources Center (CRC) of the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) in Suitland, Maryland.
tribal planners find a niche for themselves within the profession.\textsuperscript{132} Several exceptional Indigenous architects have developed successful careers and earned national reputations including Johnpaul Jones (Cherokee-Choctaw), Dennis Sun Rhodes (Arapaho) and Louis Weller (Caddo/Cherokee). More recently, David Sloan (Navajo), Richard Begay (Navajo), Daniel Glenn (Crow), and others are growing successful architectural practices too.\textsuperscript{133}

\textit{Indigenous clients and non-Indigenous architects:} Because so few Indigenous people are architects, most tribal communities hire architects and other design professionals from outside of their communities. Fundamentally different worldviews and styles of communication often challenge both Indigenous clients and their non-Indigenous architects. The dilemma is that “non-aboriginal designers face the inherently problematic task of interpreting aboriginal culture. What results, to a certain extent, is a design team interpreting another culture’s interpretation of its ancestors’ values.”\textsuperscript{134} Christopher Boothby, project architect of The Museum At Warm Springs, acknowledges that, “It’s always difficult to design a building for a culture that you can never hope to understand.”\textsuperscript{135}

Differences in worldview necessitate different approaches to design. Robin Reilly, one of only seven landscape architects practicing in the Northwest Territories, sought to assemble the knowledge, skills, and awareness needed to design for Aboriginal residents in Northern Canada. Reilly recognized that differences in worldview necessitate a different approach to design, as well as,

\textsuperscript{135} Krinsky, \textit{Contemporary Native American Architecture}, 86.
sensitivity to cross-cultural communication. Reilly discovered that, “To northern Natives, whose cultural roots are nomadic, . . . long-term domination of one area is inconsistent. . . . Our suburban desire for a tidy yard and a whiter picket fence than the neighbors’ is inconsistent with the view that would see personal wealth displayed alongside neighboring need as vulgar.” Landscape architects hired to create parks are usually concerned that unpoliced common spaces are likely to be abused. Yet Reilly points out that “It is essential to distinguish between modern property arrangements based on legal controls, and the traditional communal systems of Native people which use social controls.” Planner Theodore Jojola explains the difference between an indigenous paradigm of land tenure—sustained patterns of continuous ownership and stewardship—and the western notion of land-use—private property owned by individuals who develop it primarily to raise money by reselling it.

Planner Richard Ackley (Ojibwe) observes that the “visualization of space” is characteristic of Indigenous thought and that while architects and historic preservationists focus on buildings, Ojibwe people are most interested in space. In a survey “to ascertain how architects are designing architectures for tribal communities,” Howe found that in four of the six instances where tribal clients sought to represent their tribes through architecture, they focused on spatial relationships.

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137 Ibid., 7.
139 Jojola, "Indigenous Planning and Community Development," 6-7.
140 Krinsky, *Contemporary Native American Architecture*, 166.
Community participation in design is essential; it is an opportunity for community members to reinforce their group cultural identity, determine their needs, and communicate their visions to designers. In most Indigenous communities, decision making is communal, so to be consistent with traditional values, design processes are communal too. Also, as landscape architect Rob Crosby noted in relation to planning for the Wanuskewin Heritage Park in Saskatchewan, elders should be consulted “to ensure that all design decisions are respectful and sensitive to Indian cultural issues.” In designing the Nicola Valley Institute of Technology, in Merritt, British Columbia, “the design process involved intensive user-group interaction and numerous site visits with the Native elders.” Teachers, students and neighbors were all involved in the design of the Mounds Park All-Nations Magnet School in St. Paul, Minnesota. Architect Fred Bassetti designed the Makah Cultural and Research Center in Neah Bay, Washington, around an interior designed by members of the Makah Tribe. Architects Stastny and Burke conducted a week-long design workshop on the Warm Springs Reservation to allow time for plenty of interaction between Tribal members and designers.

Interactive activities such as drawing or modeling engage Indigenous clients. Architect Thomas Hodne encourages his Indigenous clients to sketch

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ideas that respond to their thoughts about land, cultural traditions, and values. Repeated meetings that included discussion and sketching led to the final design of the Mille Lacs Museum.\textsuperscript{147} D. Kristine Woolsey, who designed the Ak-Chin Him-Dak Ecomuseum in 1991, communicated with the Ak-Chin people by making models of the museum that meeting participants could disassemble and reconfigure. These modeling sessions were held in conjunction with barbecues because, as Woolsey explains, “that’s how you do things there, with barbecues.”\textsuperscript{148} It appears that Woolsey understood that to engage Ak-Chin people, she needed to privilege their ways of doing things.

Different styles of communication influence design processes. Aspects of group behavior are rarely communicated directly to a new outsider acquaintance. “It is often expected or at least hoped, that the outsider will, like a courteous Amerindian, become a patient observer, to whom things will become clear in time. Native reticence . . . is a deeply held value in many cultures.”\textsuperscript{149} Tribal clients may not criticize directly, and some do not welcome forthright challenges. An indirect approach may call for telling a story, apologizing in advance, or asking questions rather than making statements. Well-brought-up Native Americans of many Nations are instructed since childhood to read silences and body language, not to speak or ask; information will explain itself to the attentive observer. A person who feels no need to introduce himself will not do so, and someone who feels that his presence is not needed may leave a meeting without interrupting to offer an excuse. Architects may have to adjust to unfamiliar ideas about courtesy, intrusion on personal space, speed of decision-making, and the need for consensus or for obvious consideration of each person’s opinion.\textsuperscript{150}

Robin Reilly highlights potential pitfalls in communication between an Athabaskan-speaking client and English-speaking designer. Not only are the

\textsuperscript{147} Krinsky, \textit{Contemporary Native American Architecture}, 176.
\textsuperscript{148} Ibid., 174; Fuller, “The Museum as a Vehicle.”
\textsuperscript{149} Krinsky, \textit{Contemporary Native American Architecture}, 172-73.
\textsuperscript{150} Ibid., 172.
words different, but the silence between the words is different, and the structure
through which people think is different too.\textsuperscript{151}

Architects must listen, carefully, and without preconceptions. Architects
John Cunningham and Robert Zakaras, who designed ceremonial buildings for
the Mille Lacs Reservation in Minnesota, attended ceremonies to understand the
needs of the spaces and how many people they needed to accommodate. They
“learned quickly the importance of listening and being directed by the band.”\textsuperscript{152}
As a Tribal member, Andres Fernando, recounted, their architect “came to listen
and help us design a building.” He demonstrated respect for tribal decision-
making processes to his clients: “He brought us his paintings and we sat talking
philosophy. He understands that you have to begin [by] listening.”\textsuperscript{153} Krinsky
notes that “any architect must listen closely to his clients, but for Amerindian
commissions, he may sometimes listen for longer periods.”\textsuperscript{154}

Architects must be enormously patient. Architect Thomas Hodne
observed that “Indians don’t live day to day – they live generation by
generation.”\textsuperscript{155} The design process tends to take more time than with most
clients. This may be because extra time is required for Indigenous clients and
non-Indigenous architects to understand each other. More time may also be
required for group consensus. “It is not always easy to elicit information or design
ideas from inexperienced clients in any ethnic or social group, but architects who

\textsuperscript{151} Reilly, “The Northern Landscape: A Challenge for Cross-Cultural Design,” 7; Michael
Gnarowsj, Native People, Native Lands: Canadian Indians, Inuit and Metis (Ottawa:
Carleton University Press, 1987); Ron Scollon and Suzanne Wong Scollon, Inter-ethnic
Communications (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Native language Center, 1980).
\textsuperscript{152} Krinsky, Contemporary Native American Architecture, 99.
\textsuperscript{153} Ibid., 170.
\textsuperscript{154} Ibid., 172.
\textsuperscript{155} Heidi Landecker, "Designing for American Indians: Three Minnesota Firms Specialize
Collaborations," 51.
work with rather than just for Indigenous people have found themselves gradually able to learn what they need to know."\textsuperscript{156} In some cases Indigenous people “reserve their opinions until they are fully formed and may volunteer comments only when the time seems right. That time may even be after the close of a meeting.”\textsuperscript{157}

Architects need to approach, and seek to understand, each Indigenous tribal client or group as distinct from all others. The actions of inadequately informed architects can have unintended consequences. Non-Indigenous architects with an incomplete understanding of the cultures of their Indigenous clients sometimes apply a motif or symbol of one Indigenous community to the architecture of another inappropriately. For example, in describing the design for a school in New Mexico, John R. Dale discusses the medicine wheel from the northern plains.\textsuperscript{158} Craig Howe discovered that “architects are attempting to produce designs labeled Native American, but in doing so are perpetuating stereotypes and design methodologies which adversely affect efforts to both revive architectural tribalism and develop intertribal or Native American architecture.”\textsuperscript{159} When unknowing non-Indigenous people appropriate images of the past, they often ignore the contemporary reality of living Indigenous people.\textsuperscript{160}

Architects need to be willing to share authority with their Indigenous clients. Although architects are hired for their disciplinary expertise, they are


\textsuperscript{157} Krinsky, \textit{Contemporary Native American Architecture}, 172.


\textsuperscript{159} Howe, “Architectural Tribalism in the Native American New World,” 55.

\textsuperscript{160} Ibid., 56.
rarely expected to be the “sole design authority.” Architect John Cuningham notes that architects “cannot dominate or steer Indians to specific schemes, pretending to have all the answers. . . . You cannot prescribe solutions unless the Indians direct you.” Thomas Hodne observes that “You can’t design buildings for Native people. Architects must learn from what the Indians have to teach us. We are only their interpreters.” Yet some architects, concerned about building up or maintaining their reputations, are reluctant to relinquish authorship of a project. After working with the Oneida Tribe of Wisconsin to design their Turtle School, architect Richard Thern, in a letter to the superintendent said, “This is a project that every architect dreams of and together we made it happen. . . . P.S. The design of the Turtle School is copyrighted.” Even worse, Howe cautions that sometimes Indigenous people are involved in design processes as “consultants” who may “serve as mere tokens” without power to influence the process of design. This leaves the architect with “full, creative, rein to express his or her artistry free from the traditions of the peoples for whom the design is intended.”

2.4.4 Administrative Barriers

Tribal communities do not have complete control of architectural production. Canadian and US policies continue to shape Indigenous space. In Canada, federally conceived programs have been ineffective because they were

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165 Jojola, "Indigenous Planning and Community Development."
166 Howe, "Architectural Tribalism in the Native American New World," 56.
insensitive to traditional Indigenous values. Similarly in the US, federal regulations govern processes of designing and constructing buildings within Indigenous lands. Federal regulations do not acknowledge the pluralism among tribes or the “built form’ history of the entire New World.” HUD and the BIA typically approved identical plans for Indigenous people with vastly different cultures living in a wide range of climate zones. Even government agencies admitted that changes were needed in the policies and processes that govern planning and architectural design within tribal lands. The National Commission on American Indian, Alaska Native, and Native Hawaiian Housing found that, “Federal statutes and implementing regulations that have evolved since the early 1960s are characterized, to an unfortunate degree, by inflexibility and insensitivity to demographic, geographic, and cultural differences among tribes.”

Services provided by agencies such as HUD, Indian Health Service (IHS), and BIA are not well integrated. Peter Pino at Zia Pueblo explains, “HUD gives money for housing, the [Indian] Health Service gives you money for water lines [and] sewers, and the BIA gives you money for street paving. . . . If you talk to HUD, they say, ‘Where’s the infrastructure?’ so you go to the IHS and they say, ‘Where’s the housing?’ and the BIA says, ‘Where’s the housing and the infrastructure?’”

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168 Howe, "Culture Specific Built Forms," 275.
169 Krinsky, Contemporary Native American Architecture, 190.
171 Krinsky, Contemporary Native American Architecture, 195.
Inflexible housing rules inhibit the use of public housing by Indigenous people. Indigenous people who are not enrolled members of federally recognized tribes cannot obtain housing services from the BIA. Home ownership programs do not allow homes to be altered to accommodate the movement of family members into and out of the home as many Pueblo people did traditionally. It is difficult to receive permission to modify a home for a newly disabled person. HUD’s strict rules about the number of rooms given to tenants do not accommodate space for an Elder’s attendant or the movement between reservation and city of working-age people.\footnote{172}

Initiatives in the last few decades have begun to lead to more culturally-specific and climate-responsive housing for Indigenous communities. In 1980, HUD, University of New Mexico, and the Eight Northern Pueblos Council collaborated to develop prototypes and establish performance standards for housing that met the needs of Indigenous people. In 1994, AICAE published \textit{Our Home: A Design Guide for Indian Housing} after workshops directed by Louis Weller.\footnote{173} A 1992 study for the Navajo Nation included planning guidelines that respected the matrilocal society by proposing clusters of houses for parents and families of their daughters.\footnote{174} More recently, Daniel Glenn (Crow), an architect at the ASU Stardust Center for Affordable Homes and the Family, directed ASU architecture students to design and build prototypical sustainable and culturally appropriate housing for several Indigenous communities. The 2005 house built in Nageezi, New Mexico, for a Navajo family incorporates forms and elements of the traditional hogan and ramada. The 2006 Guadalupe House, built in the

\begin{footnotesize}
\footnote{172} Ibid., 191. \\
\footnote{173} American Indian Council of Architects and Engineers, "Our Home: A Design Guide for Indian Housing." \\
\end{footnotesize}
Yaqui/Mexican-American community of Guadalupe, Arizona, is modeled after a traditional courtyard design.\textsuperscript{175}

Since 1988, the US Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (IGRA) has allowed federally recognized tribes to operate tax-free casinos on tribal lands and thus generate funding for new buildings including housing, health care, schools, museums and elaborate resorts.\textsuperscript{176} In Canada, changes in the Indian Act now allow joint commercial development on reserves. Also in Canada, in the 1980s, Vancouver architect Marie-Odile Marceau spearheaded an approach called \textit{devolution} when designing specifically for First Nations. The aim of devolution is to engage—wherever possible—local people to design, build, and supply all new federal buildings on Indian reserves.\textsuperscript{177}

Many Indigenous communities have taken advantage of opportunities to increase control of their built environments. For example, the construction of Chatham Village, a mixed-use project in Prince Rupert, British Columbia, symbolized the new intent of the North Coast Tribal Council "to dictate to all levels of government that we are capable of administering to our needs, we are capable of determining our destiny, and we are capable of managing our own affairs for the betterment and well-being of our people."\textsuperscript{178} Yet "despite the increased input from aboriginal communities and project managers, the devolution process has not yet established a truly independent architectural innovation."\textsuperscript{179}

\textsuperscript{175} ASU Stardust Center for Affordable Homes and the Family, "Demonstration Homes," Arizona State University, http://stardust.asu.edu/projects/.
process” and not all communities have design and construction skills required for complex building projects.  

2.4.5 Creating Meaningful Architectures

Tribal identity: Tribal communities use architecture with the aim of representing tribal identity. This issue is discussed repeatedly in trade magazines. For example, in Canadian Architect, architect Peeroj Thakre observes that the Nk'Mip Desert Cultural Centre, in Osoyoos, British Columbia, became an opportunity for the Osoyoos Band of the Okanagen Nation to shape and express its identity from its own perspective, as well as to offer a counterpoint to ethnographic exhibitions which often give the impression that the aboriginal culture is long lost – far away in time and place. The Centre was envisioned to represent the Osoyoos people as part of a living culture. For this reason, the band eschewed overtly traditional aboriginal forms in favor of a design which would simultaneously convey a long history of inhabiting these lands, along with their progressive, continuing transforming culture. 

Brenda Baptiste, band member and former General Manager of the Desert Centre, notes that, “It’s amazing how closely the building mirrors Okanagan contemporary culture – the building itself is as much part of the Interpretation Centre as the exhibits.”

Craig Howe explains that when tribal communities use architecture to assert their cultural identities and distinguish themselves as unique tribal entities, they do so to delineate ethnic boundaries as theorized by Fredrik Barth,

The nature of continuity of ethnic units is clear: it depends on the maintenance of a boundary. The cultural features that signal the boundary may change, and the cultural characteristics of the members may likewise be transformed, indeed, even the organizational form of the

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180 Thakre, "Earth and Sky" 27.
181 Ibid., 29.
group may change – yet the fact of continuing dichotomization between members and outsiders allows us to specify the nature of continuity.\textsuperscript{182}

In applying Barth’s theory to Indigenous people, Howe observes that although tribal communities and individual tribal members have changed, people still wish to demarcate their unique tribal identities.\textsuperscript{183}

Howe argues that “architecture is eminently suited to the long-term communication of tribally encoded messages” that could communicate the unique cultural identity of a tribal community. Yet Howe cautions that there are two impediments to this process: “First, tribal communities generally do not have control over the processes of producing architectures within their landholdings. And second, there does not exist an explicit method to creatively encode tribally specific messages in contemporary architectures.”\textsuperscript{184}

\textit{Tribal “codes”:} Howe argues that “a matrix for translating the culture specific conceptual basis of historic Native American built forms into modern structures” needs to be developed.\textsuperscript{185} He envisions a utopian scheme whereby each tribe could develop a set of design guidelines, a code, based on its own architectural and cultural history and including “cosmic and mythic references.” Using this process, each tribal community could develop its own built environment so that architectures within tribally controlled lands “would once again embody the specific cultural beliefs of individual tribal communities.”\textsuperscript{186}

Howe devised a survey to ascertain how architects conceptualize buildings they design for contemporary tribal communities. He interviewed

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\textsuperscript{183} Howe, “Architectural Tribalism in the Native American New World,” 6.
\textsuperscript{184} Ibid., 8.
\textsuperscript{185} Howe, "Culture Specific Built Forms" 276.
\textsuperscript{186} Howe, "Architectural Tribalism in the Native American New World,” 8-9.
\end{flushright}
architects who designed structures they consider expressive of tribal identity.\textsuperscript{187} Howe found that only 12\% of the messages sent by these buildings espouse tribalism, and only 2\% of the communication intentions come from tribal members.\textsuperscript{188} “Traditional spiritual beliefs are the foundations of . . . tribal architectures. This survey suggests that these Original Instructions are largely ignored in contemporary Native American architectures. . . . Only two of the seventeen architects stated that they incorporated religious precepts (cosmology and mythology) into their designs. Coincidentally, both of their designs are strongly tribal. The other fifteen architects, however, conflated ‘Indian,’ ‘spirituality,’ and ‘tradition’ in their efforts to create designs expressive of tribal or intertribal identities.”\textsuperscript{189} Howe’s findings contradict statements by Krinsky and others that many late twentieth-century buildings respond to Indigenous tradition and cultural concerns. His survey casts doubt on the sunny views of recent Indigenous architectures depicted by glossy architectural magazines.

Despite dismal results of his survey, Howe remains optimistic. He suggests that, “The communicative and rhetorical functions of architecture, particularly tribal architectures, may be addressed through architectural codes which crystallize shared tribal values and long-term tribal goals.”\textsuperscript{190} He notes that, “Architectural codes assist designers in creating architectures that fulfill the responsibilities of tribal architectures: to embody and explain tribalism. To be efficacious, though, designers must respect the authority of the code; they must

\textsuperscript{187} Ibid., 43-44, 54-55.  
\textsuperscript{188} Ibid., 51.  
\textsuperscript{189} Ibid., 54.  
\textsuperscript{190} Ibid., 109.
agree to accept the code and to work within its descriptive dictates.”\(^{191}\) Finally, Howe urges tribal communities to act: “First and foremost, tribal communities themselves must reassert their inherent authority to determine the nature of their built environments. . . . Through exercise of their authority, tribal communities can promote a renaissance of architectural tribalism in the Native American New World.”\(^{192}\)

**Challenges wrought by colonial processes:** Several fundamental challenges confront Indigenous communities creating architectures specific to their communities. In Pueblo communities in New Mexico where people remain in their ancestral villages, architectural traditions are intact. Cultural centers within these communities are often in the form of traditional Pueblo architecture and some, such as the Tewa Poeh Center, are constructed of traditional materials such as stone and adobe.\(^{193}\) Yet many tribal communities have been alienated from their histories and the architectures of their forebears. The Mashantucket Pequots were massacred in 1637 in a fort in Connecticut that was burned to the ground. The only remnant of their architectural tradition, a woodcut documenting the horrific destruction of their round fort, became the genesis of a symbolic tribal museum, a monumental $193.4 million, 308,000-square-foot complex designed by the prestigious architectural firm of Polshek Partnership.\(^{194}\) Given the rather

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\(^{191}\) Ibid., 111-12. As part of his study, Howe developed an architectural code for the Ponca Tribe. He tested its effectiveness by engaging two separate design studios, but the test was ineffective because the professors’ approaches did not support the research and students did not follow the code, the building program, or the presentation requirements.

\(^{192}\) Ibid., 113.


\(^{194}\) "Native American Initiative," *Interiors* 152, no. 10 (1993); Raul A. Barreneche, "Spirit of Place: A New Museum and Research Center by Polshek and Partners Helps the Pequot
tenuous architectural connection to the past, some might argue that this is an example of the invention of tradition as outlined by Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence O. Ranger.195

Howe suggests developing architecture following a tribal code, yet many tribal communities include two or more tribes. The plurality of constituents within a community—whose histories include different traditional languages, lifestyles, and architectures—makes it difficult to create an architecture representing all members of a community. For example, the “Great House” and “Ball Court” of the Huhugam Heritage Center allude to the ancestral building forms of only one of the two tribes in the Gila River Indian Community. Yet at the Museum At Warm Springs, the three roof forms of the Museum at Warm Springs represent traditional house types of all three tribes within their community.196 What processes did Warm Springs people and their architects follow that led to this architecture? The next chapter will outline research methods I used in efforts to understand these processes.

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196 Bierman, "Tribal Tribute," 72; Clements, "The Integration of Traditional Beliefs into the Museum at Warm Springs," 69; Patt, "The Museum at Warm Springs," 44.
Chapter 3

WRITING A HISTORY OF CREATING THE MUSEUM

3.1 Selecting The Museum At Warm Springs

I first became interested in tribal museums and cultural centers in 2004 when I attended the opening of the Huhugam Heritage Center in Chandler, Arizona, and was fascinated by its landscape and architectural design. The following year I decided to write a dissertation on the architecture of tribal museums and cultural centers. My first research activities were several short road trips to visit tribal museums and cultural centers in Arizona and New Mexico. I found that some tribal museums are not within dedicated facilities and others are in renovated buildings. For example, the Zia Pueblo Cultural Center (1990s) is within the tribal headquarters building and the Huhugam Ki Museum (1987) is within a former youth center building. While these informed me of the nature of tribal museums, I realized that to study the architecture of tribal museums, I needed to focus on purpose-built museums in dedicated buildings.

In 2005, I visited eighteen tribal museums in Arizona, New Mexico, Washington, and Oregon. One of these was The Museum At Warm Springs, which I had already identified as a possible object of inquiry through knowledge derived from publications. Although I considered studying several of the other tribal museums I visited, I selected The Museum At Warm Springs for the following reasons: (1) The building was designed with the express intent of housing a museum. (2) Its architectural design is recognized through multiple architectural publications and design awards. (3) The construction is complete and the museum is operating. (4) It was designed and constructed in the last
twenty years. (5) I can drive from my home in Moscow, Idaho, to the museum in less than seven hours.

The Museum At Warm Springs is on the Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation of Oregon. The Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs constructed the 25,000-square-foot Museum at Warm Springs to house one of the most complete collections of Indigenous artifacts owned by a Tribe. The museum was also envisioned as a place where tribal members and interested outsiders could learn about the cultural heritage of the Confederated Tribes.

3.2 The Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs

The Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs include the Wasco, Warm Springs, and Paiute Tribes. More than 4000 people are enrolled members and more than 3000 live on the 640,000-acre Warm Springs Reservation, a two-hour drive southeast of Portland. The western border of the reservation is along the slopes of the Cascade Mountains. The eastern border is the Deschutes River which has not only afforded access to fishing, but it allowed hydroelectric development, a tribal enterprise. The Confederated Tribes have developed many tribal enterprises to earn money for the Tribes and to employ their people. Some of these include Warm Springs Water and Power, Warm Springs Composite Products, Warm Springs Forest Products, Kah-Nee-Ta Resort, and The Plaza at Warm Springs (a small shopping center across from the museum).

The Tribal administration, services, and a population center are in what appears to be the town of Warm Springs but is actually an unincorporated community. This developed around what was initially the BIA Warm Springs
Agency. Following the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, the three Tribes congregated into a confederacy, adopted a constitution, and formed a common government in 1938. Since then, the Confederated Tribes have been governed by a tribal council comprising a chief from each of the three tribes and eight elected council members.

Although the Confederated Tribes are progressive in terms of development projects, they have maintained many traditional customs. Some of these include the spring root and salmon feast, the late summer huckleberry feast, naming ceremonies, and funeral customs. Giveaways accompany weddings, memorials, name-giving ceremonies, and the Pi-Ume-Sha Treaty Days celebration.¹

Pi-Ume-Sha is an annual celebration of the treaty signed by Wasco and Warm Springs people in 1855 that led to the creation of the reservation. Before that the Kiksht-speaking Wasco were principally fishermen living in longhouses along the south side of the Columbia River, east of the Cascade Mountains. The multiple Ichishkiin-speaking bands of the Warm Springs lived to the east of the Wascos, along the Columbia River and its southern tributaries, fishing and migrating seasonally to hunt game and collect roots and berries.² The seasonal migration necessitated the construction of portable architecture such as the mat-covered tipi.

¹ Potlatch is Chinook jargon word that means “to give.” George W. Aguilar, Sr., When the River Ran Wild! Indian Traditions on the Mid-Columbia and the Warm Springs Reservation (Portland: Oregon Historical Society Press, 2005), 161-62. Giveaways are similar to potlatches and are still practiced in the Inland Northwest; I attended one at Pi-Ume-Sha in Warm Springs and two others in Idaho. Valuable gifts such as Pendleton blankets are given to a few special people, slightly less valuable gifts to others, small gifts such as gloves or earrings to strangers like me, and candy to children. As it has been explained to me, giveaways are public events and all attending bear witness.
Until the Lewis and Clark expedition passed through in 1805, the interaction between European Americans and Indigenous people living along the Columbia River was limited. The US government’s 1787 Northwest Ordinance stated that, “The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and, in their property, rights, and liberty, they shall never be invaded or disturbed.” Yet the influx of white settlers entering Wasco and Warm Springs territory rose from 1000 in 1843 to 12,000 in 1852. The US government ordered the Superintendent of Oregon Territory, Joe Palmer, to remove Indigenous people from their land; he did so by negotiating a series of treaties.

The 1855 treaty with the Wasco and Warm Springs stipulated that the Tribes relinquish ten million acres of riverine land in return for the exclusive use of a reservation of 640,000 acres to the south. The treaty included continued rights to harvest fish, game, and other foods in the usual and accustomed places in ceded lands. Between 1879 and 1884, the United States moved the Northern Paiute people, migrant Numu-speakers originally from southeastern Oregon, to the Warm Springs Reservation. The story of the Confederated Tribes is told eloquently—using voices, objects, and images—in the permanent exhibit of The Museum At Warm Springs.

### 3.3 Research and Writing in an Indigenous Community

The focus of this investigation is to understand what critical activities tribal members, designers, and others did to create the museum. The study also considers how things were done, so as to privilege Warm Springs people and
their traditions. Much of the research was conducted on the Warm Springs Reservation through interactions with Tribal members.

Given the history of research in Indigenous communities, where information gathered has benefited researchers more often than Indigenous people and that Indigenous perspectives have often been excluded from history or misunderstood, I was cautious about how I approached Tribal members and how I am treating information I received from them. I also realize that my disciplinary and ethnic identity is shaping the research, and that some of the same cross-cultural issues that non-Indigenous architects face when designing for Indigenous communities may have influenced my interaction with Warm Springs people and hence the research outcomes.

In the past, non-Indigenous scholars have written most histories about Indigenous people. In many cases, Indigenous perspectives were not included and, as a result, these histories appear inaccurate to many Indigenous people. Historian Donald L. Fixico (Shawnee, Sac & Fox, Muscogee Creek and Seminole) examines the ethics of writing Indigenous history. He states that the most significant ethical consideration is that Indigenous people are included in American history. Literature on Indigenous people should, at the very least, represent Indigenous people fairly. Ideally, it should dispute imbalanced history of the past, dismantle ethnocentrism, and empower Indigenous people.

Fixico argues that “Non-Indian scholars have sought to define the parameters of the field American Indian history. They have attempted to determine its forms of evidence only as written accounts, professed limited

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3 Donald L. Fixico, "Ethics and Responsibilities in Writing American Indian History," in Natives and Academics: Research and Writing about American Indians, ed. Devon A. Miheesuah (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 90.
theories, and devised methodologies from a non-Indian tradition.” As a result, many Indigenous people do not recognize themselves or their ancestors in these histories. Although sociologist Duane Champagne (Chippewa) acknowledges that many texts about Indigenous people are problematic, he posits that “one does not have to be a member of a culture to understand what culture means or to interpret a culture in a meaningful way.” To begin to understand Indigenous history and culture, researchers need to interact with Indigenous people.

Linda Tuhiwai Smith emphasizes that, “In First Nations and Native American communities there are protocols of being respectful, of showing or accepting respect and reciprocating respectful behaviors, which also develop membership, credibility and reputation.” Fixico emphasizes the importance of visiting Indigenous people in their homelands and communicating with them on their own terms. Historian Devon A. Mihesuah (Oklahoma Choctaw) provides guidelines for scholars researching and writing about Indigenous people. When working with Indigenous informants, researchers should be respectful when seeking to acquire informants, use caution when photographing and recording, and give informants “fair and appropriate return.”

Valid research relies on openness to multiple sources of information. Vine Deloria Jr. (Standing Rock Sioux)—activist and professor of history, law, religious studies, and political science—points out that he finds relevant evidence not in the usual locations of scholarly sources, but in minutes of councils and treaty

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4 Ibid., 86.
6 Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 15.
negotiations. Historian Angela Cavender Wilson (Wahpatonwon Dakota) argues that historians should “examine as many perspectives of the past as possible.” Interviews and oral accounts contribute details and perspectives not included in written texts thus providing more complete histories of past events and sometimes challenging the status quo.

Despite the rigorous and extensive training in listening, remembering, and recounting stories that many Indigenous people have received, some non-Indigenous historians contend that oral history is unreliable and thus exclude Indigenous perspectives entirely. Mihesuah advocates using oral histories, yet she acknowledges that they need to be used with caution because “different members of one tribe may have different interpretations of the same stories, and not all Indians can accurately recall tribal stories.” Researchers also need to be cautious about publishing sensitive knowledge. In addition, “No one Indian voice exists; there are many points of view.”

Fixico recommends that researchers strive to “think like an Indian.” He argues that to write an ethical history of Indigenous people,

It is necessary to use introspective analysis of how Indians perceive history with regard to tribal language, values, kinship relations, infrastructure, societal norms, tribal beliefs, and worldview. . . . The scholar must consider the world-view of an Indian group to comprehend its members’ sense of logic and ideology. In order to accomplish this task, thinking about the “whole” of Indian life is imperative. After this step, it is

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11 Ibid., 29; Charles Eastman, Indian Boyhood (New York: Dover, 1971 [1902]), 43.
13 Ibid., 17.
essential to define the conception of reality constructed by the Indian community. . . . The historian has the responsibility to understand the reality a tribe constructed to constitute its historical experiences of the physical and metaphysical as a whole.\textsuperscript{14}

While Fixico suggests that researchers aim to “think like an Indian,” I have not found this to be entirely possible for a non-Indigenous researcher such as myself. As a European-American, however empathetic, I will always be an outsider within any Indigenous community. Although my understanding of the Warm Spring community has certainly increased through this research, I will never understand fully what it is to be a member of that community. As a European American, my ontological and epistemological positions are likely to differ from many Indigenous people.

Smith emphasizes the ethical imperative of “reporting back,” that is, sharing knowledge with people who contribute to the creation of the knowledge and doing so “in culturally appropriate ways and in a language that can be understood.”\textsuperscript{15} Scholar Margaret Kovach (Plains Cree/Saulteaux) points out that “in an Indigenous context, story is methodologically congruent with tribal knowledges. A product resulting from research using a tribal-centered Indigenous methodology ought to have a strong narrative component as part of its method and presentation of findings.”\textsuperscript{16} Whereas I do not claim to be working from a “tribal-centered Indigenous methodology” \textit{per se}, as I write this, I consider who the audience might be. The initial intent of the research was to write for architects working in Indigenous communities and Indigenous communities seeking to build

\begin{thebibliography}{16}
\bibitem{Fixico} Fixico, “Ethics and Responsibilities,” 92-94.
\bibitem{Smith} Smith, \textit{Decolonizing Methodologies}, 15.
\bibitem{Kovach} Margaret Kovach, \textit{Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts} (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 34-35.
\end{thebibliography}
a tribal museum or other significant building. But now I see this as history of the
genesis of the museum written for the Warm Springs community.

At the same time I have the conflict that Opaskwayak Cree scholar
Shawn Wilson discusses of needing to comply with academic requirements that
are sometimes in conflict with what might be best for the Indigenous community.
Timing is an issue; academic deadlines don’t consider time for Indigenous
communities to review research proposals, work in progress, or final documents.
Wilson asserts that, “It’s important to name our elders or where we are getting
our information from. We need to honor the relationships that they share with the
knowledge we are writing down for our research.”\textsuperscript{17} Yet institutional research
boards emphasize the importance of anonymity of research participants rather
than the agency of research participants to decide whether or not they wish to be
identified.

\section*{3.4 Writing a History of Creating the Museum}

Although I initially conceived this research as a case study,\textsuperscript{18} I have come to
approach it as a \textit{story}, a history of the various efforts of many people beginning
in 1955 that ultimately led to the creation and opening of the museum in 1993. I
am approaching this dissertation as interpretive-historical research. Architectural
researcher David Wang defines interpretive research as “investigations into
social-physical phenomena within complex contexts, with a view toward
explaining those phenomena in narrative form and in a holistic fashion.” When

\textsuperscript{17} Shawn Wilson, \textit{Research is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods}\ (Halifax:
\textsuperscript{18} According to criteria set forth by case study guru Robert Yin, case studies address
contemporary events; as this examination is of past events, it is historical inquiry. Robert
K. Yin, \textit{Case Study Research: Design and Methods}, third ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA:
Sage, 2003).
the phenomenon is in the past relative to the researcher, it is *interpretive-historical research*.*¹⁹* Key research activities are (1) searching for relevant sources, (2) collecting and organizing those sources, (3) evaluating them, and (4) constructing a narrative from that evidence “that is holistic and believable.”*²⁰* Historian Ludmilla Jordanova emphasizes that historical research does not follow a prescribed sequence of activities and that “many tasks need to be performed before one even gets to the primary sources, because some context within which to place them is required.”*²¹*

Jordanova also emphasizes that the most fundamental skill is "identifying and shaping a historical problem [and that] the way into any historical work . . . must be through a question, a puzzle, a conundrum, an anomaly, a surprise, a hypothesis. . . . Historical work is based on the idea that there is an issue requiring explanation."*²²* I began this project by visiting tribal museums and cultural centers and reading anthropological and architectural literature on tribal museums. So little has been written on tribal museum architectures that I expanded my literature review to include all recent architectures designed by or for Indigenous people. As discussed in Chapter Two, very little critical or theoretical literature exists for recent Indigenous architectures.*²³* Although this lacuna has been an impetus for this project, it has been a challenge too, because there is little literary context to compare to or on which to build. In any case,

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*²⁰* Ibid., 137.
*²²* Ibid., 152.
*²³* Jordanova points out that historians working in areas of the world “that are distant from their own, poor or politically unstable, probably have the hardest time” finding sources. Jordanova does not even mention historical sources for Indigenous or minority populations. For this project, I was fortunate to have many primary sources; however, very few secondary sources provide literary context. Ibid., 32.
working from what literature exists, I discovered that because so few Indigenous Americans practice architecture, most buildings designed for Indigenous communities are designed by people outside of their communities. Much tribal museum architecture appears to represent the community for which it is designed. This led to my primary research question: What are the processes by which non-Indigenous architects work together with tribal members to create an architecture that represents its respective community? I chose to study The Museum At Warm Springs, in part, because published literature and the building’s appearance led me to believe that the museum did indeed represent the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs.

3.5 Sources and Methods

After identifying a research problem, historical research centers around identifying, collecting, organizing, and evaluating sources. Although historians often focus on written sources, objects and images can be equally relevant, especially when studying architecture. Regarding primary versus secondary sources,

“Primary” source covers all original documents produced at the time one is studying, and the implication is that these bear direct witness to the events, people, processes, and so on, of that moment. Furthermore, “primary” implies that it has not gone through the head and hands of another historian. A crude definition of secondary sources would be that they are the writings of other scholars, not necessarily historians, but anyone who has commented upon a historical situation, possibly using primary sources, without being a participant in it.24

Although primary accounts are often valued more highly than secondary, “the primary/secondary distinction is less important than an overall assessment of the

24 Ibid., 95.
source’s relevance to a given project and of how well it is used.”\textsuperscript{25} Jordanova cautions that although a direct account by a person who has seen something is valued more highly than a secondhand account, “we have to consider the possibility that those bearing direct testimony are also interested parties, who shape the evidence even as they are recording it.”\textsuperscript{26} Jordanova also cautions that all texts are mediated, “They necessarily pass through human agents, who select, alter and make mistakes, that is, they transform and translate. They may also deceive. Inevitably, some documents are more reliable, less overtly mediated than others, but all, by their very nature, are, nonetheless, mediations.”\textsuperscript{27}

A final note regarding sources: they are not necessarily evidence. “Sources are simply ‘raw’ materials of whatever kind. They have the potential to bear on a historical problem. . . . To call something evidence implies that the case for its relevance has been made – evidence bears witness to an issue. . . . If I ask for evidence of something, I have a set of logical problems in mind, to which this thing we call evidence will speak.”\textsuperscript{28}

The sources I expected to use to investigate processes of designing The Museum At Warm Springs were (1) published texts, (2) unpublished texts within archives at the museum and architects’ offices, (3) interviews with tribal members and design professionals, (4) architectural artifacts such as drawings and models, and (5) the museum itself as a built architectural work.

\textsuperscript{25} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{26} Ibid., 40.
\textsuperscript{27} Ibid., 92.
\textsuperscript{28} Ibid., 91.
3.5.1 Visual Sources

As it turned out, very few documents were available from the principal architect because he had moved his office and purged his files. As an architect, I wondered how I could understand design processes without visual evidence in the form of design drawings and models. The architect, Donald Stastny, generously gave me hard copies of everything he had and lent me binders of 800 35 mm photographic slides from which I scanned 214. Fortunately the slide collection included a few drawings and models. It included many photos of material samples emphasizing the importance of materiality to the project. Many slides of the landscape confirmed the architect’s assertion that the color palette for the building came from the landscape. Slides show the building under construction and after completion including the temporary exhibit of work by Apache sculptor Allan Houser. And the slides reveal priorities of the architects who took the photographs. The archivist at the museum, Evaline Patt, provided a disk of digital images of the working drawings and construction photos. The interior architect, Jeff Tathwell, lent a project manual of sketch details of the project.

3.5.2 Texts

For unpublished documents I was dependent on the Museum. The Museum’s Office Manager, Beulah Tsumpti, presented me with a meticulously organized set of the museum society’s Board meeting minutes dating back to 1974 that proved to be invaluable. Additional museum files yielded architectural and construction documents such as contracts, correspondence with architects, architectural field reports, weekly job meeting minutes, and the contractor’s monthly status reports.
Museum files include documents related to fundraising and developing the museum exhibits. The museum archives provided historical documents related to the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs.

The ten-year anniversary issue of the museum’s newsletter, *Twanat*, includes a detailed timeline of the development of the museum. This was enormously helpful in conceptualizing nearly forty years of development. The Confederated Tribes publish a bi-weekly newspaper, *Spilyay Tymoo* (Coyote Speaks). I reviewed all issues of *Spilyay Tymoo* from 1980 to 1993 that are available at the Tribal Records Center and scanned 93 articles relevant to the museum. The Tribal Records Center provided copies of the Tribes’ annual reports, Tribal Council resolutions related to the museum, and Tribal Council meeting minutes, clipped to include only those parts relevant to the museum. Although the oral histories are the most significant sources for this study, other documents help confirm events, fix them in time, and provide voice to instrumental people who passed away before this project began.

### 3.5.3 Oral History

At the heart of this research is a series of twenty-four interviews with Tribal members, museum professionals, designers, builders, and others who were instrumental in bringing the museum to life. In the interviews, people recounted details and perspectives not included in written texts thus contributing to a richer, more complete picture of processes related to creating the museum.

Oral history is a “democratizing approach to history" that “offers access to phenomena that are otherwise close to invisible. . . . It is based on the idea that powerful insights can be derived from people talking about their experiences.”
Oral history “generates an especially direct kind of evidence, which is all the more valued if it comes from those who were not previously considered significant historical actors.” Oral evidence should be cross-checked and researchers need to be aware of the potential danger of “overidentification with those being interviewed.”

Through published literature I identified seven tribal members who were leaders in the genesis of the museum and twelve architects and a landscape architect who were involved in designing the museum. Given that Indigenous perspectives have often been excluded from history or misunderstood, I aimed to interview as many Tribal members involved in creating the museum as were available. Unfortunately, many of the Tribal elders instrumental in creating the museum have already passed on and Wasco Chief Nelson Wallulatum died immediately before my first visit to the museum archives. Fortunately, the current museum Executive Director, Carol Leone, and principal architect, Donald Stastny, identified other people to interview. Through snowball sampling I identified a wider group of potential research participants.

I conducted twenty-four semi-structured interviews of twenty-four people. Although I had planned to collect and read archival sources prior to interviewing people, that did not happen, in part due to the closing of the museum for the funeral of Chief Wallulatum on the first day that I had planned to collect documents. July 2010 was identified by the museum’s executive director as the most convenient time for me to do research at the museum and the time that I was given permission; consequently many research activities were compressed into a short time. It turned out that July was not the best time to interview tribal

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29 Ibid., 54-55.
30 Ibid., 55.
members because people were traveling; some of the travel was unanticipated so people initially agreed to an interview, then cancelled out, sometimes at the last minute. Two elders were at first away at a sundance and then many tribal members left for the Makah Reservation to participate in the Annual Tribal Canoe Journey, a regional intertribal event in which many tribes travel to a common destination on the Northwest coast. I attempted to schedule interviews with tribal members before I interviewed non-Indigenous designers, to privilege tribal members and hear their voices first. This was partially successful, but rescheduling pushed some interviews with tribal members later.

I sought specific information, so I developed questions tailored to individuals and their particular roles in creating of the Museum at Warm Springs. At the same time, I aimed to learn about a complex entity, so like an unstructured interview I sought to avoid “imposing any a priori category that [limited] the field of inquiry.” My experience of interviewing changed throughout the process. As I gained more and more information, I asked more specific questions and got more specific answers. At the same time, I think I was a better listener at the beginning because everything was new and fresh; it may be that some people responded better to me as a good listener than an interviewer with detailed questions.

I took an empathetic approach to interviewing, as advocated by sociologists Andrea Fontana and James H. Frey. Empathetic approaches, where the interviewer becomes a partner or advocate to the participant, seek to empower the individual or group being studied. New empathetic approaches favor “a closer relation between interviewer and the respondent. . . . Interviewers

can show the human side and can answer questions and express feelings.”

Participants have the freedom of open-ended responses.32 “It is paramount to establish rapport with respondents; that is, the researcher must be able to take the role of the respondents and attempt to see the situation from their viewpoint rather than superimpose his or her worldview of academia and preconceptions on them”33 This was my planned approach and in most cases I developed a good rapport with people, perhaps too good, and I may be guilty of “overidentification with those being interviewed” as Jordanova warns.34

Because I sought detailed information, these were long, in-depth, face-to-face interviews with individuals. Although different researchers suggest different specific numbers and lengths of interviews,35 I tend to agree with Professor of Justice Studies John M. Johnson who says that “enough interviews must be conducted so that the interviewer feels he or she has learned all there is to be learned from the interviews and has checked out those understandings by reinterviewing the most trusted and knowledgeable informants.”36 I expected that interviews would require different amounts of time for different individuals depending on the extent of their involvement, styles of communication, and how much time individuals were willing to spend. I requested a ninety-minute interview with each person, but the interviews lasted from forty minutes to three hours.

32 Ibid., 711.
33 Ibid., 708.
34 Jordanova, History in Practice: 55.
In each interview, as recommended by Fontana and Frey, I planned to first “break the ice,” ask general questions, and migrate to more specific questions, including some that check the truth of the respondent’s statements.\textsuperscript{37} I aimed to elicit information about events in the person’s family, education, and work experience that led that person to their role in creating the Museum at Warm Springs.\textsuperscript{38} I planned to follow the procedure recommended by anthropologist Grant McCracken: a series of question areas related specifically to the design of the museum, each with “grand tour” questions (general and non-directive), floating prompts, and planned prompts that target specific topics.\textsuperscript{39} In some cases I did not get the answers I expected, but people discussed issues that led me to think about aspects of the project I had not considered.

As a researcher, I sought to note what participants communicate through nonverbal cues. As Gordon explains, there are four basic modes of nonverbal communication:

\textit{Proxemic} communication is the use of interpersonal space to communicate attitudes, \textit{chronemic} communication is the use of pacing of speech and length of silence and conversation, \textit{kinesic} communication includes any body movements or postures, and \textit{paralinguistic} communication includes all of the variations in volume, pitch, and quality of voice.\textsuperscript{40}

I was aware that cultural differences in nonverbal communication may lead to miscommunication.\textsuperscript{41} I understood and remember some nonverbal communication, but I expect I missed some too.

\textsuperscript{37} Fontana and Frey, “The Interview,” 713.
\textsuperscript{38} Seidman, \textit{Interviewing As Qualitative Research}: 9-21.
\textsuperscript{39} McCracken, \textit{The Long Interview}.
\textsuperscript{41} Fontana and Frey, “The Interview,” 713.
To reduce misinterpreting what is communicated through interviews, researchers can gather redundant data, or *triangulate*. In assessing the interviews, I triangulated by evaluating interview material for internal validity, I checked statements of one participant against the others, and I checked statements in relation to archival material.\(^{42}\) In this study, triangulation frequently identified different perspectives of specific events.

After interviewing, I transcribed interviews and sent digital recordings and hard copies of transcripts to research participants. I also sent self-addressed, stamped envelopes and requested that people send me any corrections or confirm that the transcript was accurate as sent. I planned from the outset to share results of the project with the Warm Springs community by providing a copy of the dissertation to the museum. I also intended to archive interviews of those who consented. I did not anticipate that reviewing the transcripts would be such a time-consuming activity for both research participants and me, to edit out what is inappropriate for a written public record and to correct grammar and diction to the satisfaction of those interviewed.

### 3.5.4 Informal Participation and Observation

I participated in and observed significant events related to the community and museum. These included the annual commemoration of the 1855 treaty signing, Pi-Ume-Sha; the museum’s annual fundraiser, Huckleberry Harvest; the annual Tribal member art show; and the retirement luncheon honoring a longtime employee of the museum. Witnessing these events, along with informal interactions with people at the museum, records center, Tribal resort, and other

\(^{42}\) Seidman, *Interviewing As Qualitative Research*, 17-18.
reservation locations contributed to my understanding of the community and the museum.

3.6 Analysis and Shaping the Narrative

Analysis will "determine categories, relationships, and assumptions that inform the respondent’s view of the world in general and the topic in general.” As McCracken advised, in analyzing the interviews, I needed to be prepared to "glimpse and systematically reconstruct a view of the world that bears no relation to [my] view or the one evident in the literature.” Although I had planned to use McCracken’s prescribed five stages of analysis, I developed my own system.

The interview transcripts were collectively 694 pages of text; I was fortunate to have so much information but challenged initially to comprehend it all and identify primary issues. For each interview, I listened to the recording and read the transcript to identify the most significant statements. I grouped the statements into thematic areas, identifying no more than eight themes expressed within a single page of text. I selected relevant themes from each interview, identified primary relevant themes from the interviews collectively, and let these determine the focus of the dissertation. I organized the themes to build an outline of the body of the dissertation (Chapters Four through Six).

I still had 694 pages of text. So I reviewed each transcript, wrote notes and quotes from it, and organized each transcript set of notes and quotes according to the dissertation outline. Then, beginning with Chapter Four, I took the chapter outline as a scaffold and added the most significant and relevant notes and quotes from all of the transcript sets thus making a highly detailed

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43 McCracken, The Long Interview, 42.
44 Ibid.
chapter outline. Then I added notes and quotes from the MOIHS board meeting minutes and Spilyay Tymoo articles. Thus, in the same document I had comments from multiple people on a single issue or event; this allowed me to consider and evaluate the various sources together.

From this detailed chapter outline I began to write the narrative. I include lengthy quotes from interview transcripts so as to give voice to those who were instrumental in bringing the museum to fruition. Of course, interpretation occurred (and is still occurring) throughout. Although I developed a system I am constantly asking questions regarding content and organization as well as bigger questions about meaning and significance. Should I include this? Is this complete? Does this organization make sense? How do I reconcile these diametrical views on the same issue or event? Why did people do this?

Although many histories focus on written sources, this one privileges oral history. In fact, the oral history evidence reshaped the dissertation. My initial inquiry focused on design processes, yet the interviews revealed so much about strategic activities that Tribal members did to prepare themselves to design and build the museum that I expanded the scope of the inquiry to include them. The strategic activities are chronicled in Chapter Four: building a collection of Tribal artifacts, establishing and supporting a Museum Society, and raising funding for construction.

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45 Wang emphasizes that interpretation occurs throughout the entire process. Wang, "Interpretive-Historical Research," 137.
Chapter 4
ENVISIONING THE MUSEUM

4.1 Existing Conditions

4.1.1 Centennial Celebrations

In June 1955, approximately 3500 people from throughout the Northwest gathered in Warm Springs for a three-day commemoration of the centennial of the signing of the 1855 treaty that led to the creation of the Warm Springs Reservation.\(^1\) The 1955 centennial commemoration began with bone-games, wrestling, boxing, crowning of the centennial queen, and a public dance in the Agency Longhouse. It included a parade of Tribal members, dressed in regalia and accompanied by traditional singers. The color guard leading the parade included VFW Vice Commanders and the Wasco, Paiute, and Warm Springs Chiefs, in full regalia and mounted on horses. Following were the centennial queen and her royal court—also dressed in regalia and on horseback.\(^2\)

The Tribal Council Chair welcomed people and dedicated a monument to treaty signers and veterans of the two world wars. The three Chiefs spoke as did Tribal Elders and the Celilo Falls Wyam Chief. Other speakers included the Resident Engineer of the Dalles Dam, BIA Area Director, Special Representative of the Oregon Governor, and President of the National Congress of American Indians.


\(^2\) The three chiefs were Joe McCorkle (Wasco), Raymond Johnson (Paiute), and Nathan Heath (Warm Springs). The Centennial Queen, Kathleen Heath, was a direct descendant of a treaty signer, Heath Simtustus. Her attending royal court included Evaline Simtustus, Colleen Meacham, Annabelle Queahpama, Marceline Miller, Nina Patt, and Elaine Clements. "100th Anniversary of Treaty Celebrated by Indians."; "Warm Springs Tribe Note Treaty Centennial," Madras (OR) Pioneer, June 25, 1955.
Indians. A feast of barbequed salmon, turkey, and beef, was served. Rodeos and baseball games were held. Traditional dances, including demonstration dances by the nationally-known Warm Springs Boy Scout dance group and a war dance competition, were held outside on Agency Square. First, Second, and Third Place Winners in the competition were honored with Pendleton blankets.³

Newspaper articles described the event as a pageant, a spectacle, and a feast for the eyes. The Madras Pioneer noted that, “The Agency Square was colorful with large, painted teepees and Indians in authentic dress thronged the area” and “Mounted Indians and aged reservation residents seated near the speaker’s rostrum provided a many-colored background for the morning’s program.”⁴ According to the Bend Bulletin, “The Saturday program started with a parade featuring colorfully-garbed men, women, and children parading around Agency Square to the chant of Tribal singers” and “The Agency Square was jammed Saturday evening as dozens of Indians in beaded and fringed costumes worked their way through Tribal dances.”⁵ In addition to the regalia worn by Tribal members and trappings on their horses, “Exhibits of old Indian art, some dating back one hundred years or more, were on display in the boarding school gymnasium.”⁶ Visitors to the centennial event, as well as people who read about it in the newspaper, were suddenly made aware of the rich material heritage of the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs.

⁴ “Warm Springs Tribe Note Treaty Centennial.”
⁵ “100th Anniversary of Treaty Celebrated by Indians.”
⁶ Ibid.
4.1.2 Loss of Heirlooms

Current Warm Springs Chief, Delvis Heath, remembers the celebration vividly, because members of his family played key roles, “In 1955 we had a celebration of 100 years of being on the reservation. When they started celebrating, they brought out all their regalia. My oldest sister was the first Miss Warm Springs at that time, and my Dad was the Chief.”7 He also remembers what happened next,

After that, a lot of the outfits and a lot of the things, people from Canada, Germany and other countries were offering them $1000, $2000 for their regalia. And the [Tribal] Council at that time put aside $60,000 to purchase regalia and things that the countries are buying. [People said], “We’re losing our history. It’s going to be gone to another country. We need to start preserving for our people.”8

Tribal member Brigette Whipple shared an experience that suggests that international collectors did buy many Warm Springs items. She traveled to Europe and found that every museum in the thirteen countries she visited had a Plateau display, and when seeing each one she noted that, “Those might be from my people.”9

This aggressive collecting by outsiders alerted Tribal Council that they needed to take the decisive countermeasure of allocating funding to buy up artifacts to keep them in the community. Tribal members were deeply concerned that unless they acted, they would lose their irreplaceable heirlooms. A Tribal member who served for decades as the museum’s Office Manager, Beulah Tsumpti, explained, “The Elders back then were concerned about their artifacts because they were losing them to outside buyers or fires, theft, floods.”10 A Tribal member and former Registrar at the museum, Roberta Kirk, related that,

8 Ibid.
9 Brigette Whipple, interview with author, August 10, 2010.
10 Beulah Tsumpti, interview with author, July 8, 2010.
We started the museum . . . because there were so many collectors out there that were coming to Warm Springs and coming to our Elders’ homes and they were offering to buy all these beautiful beaded items from our Elders and some of our Elders would need the money or they would get talked to in such a good way that they would agree to sell these objects to those collectors. And once they left the reservation, we would never see those things again.11

4.1.3 Loss of Skills

Olney (JP) Patt, Jr., member of Tribal Council and President of the Museum’s Board of Directors, shared his insight on the complexity of the issue. The objects themselves are ephemeral; they were made to be used, not expected to last for centuries. The more worrisome issue is that people are losing the skills to make the traditional objects:

There was a time when people had winters to work on things, bead work, bags, baskets. But as we became more attuned to the eight-to-five, forty-hour week . . . people started using their spare time differently. And as time went on we started losing some of these skills . . . I think one day people looked around and said we . . . have very few people who make cornhusk bags. Very few people who do the string bags, very few people who can make baskets. And so those skills were starting to go away. And so were the baskets, the bags, and all those things . . . We saw our historical resource—our link to our past—slowly going away. And so I think that was the initial reason . . . to keep our things here for future generations, so people could come here and look at things that were made a long, long time ago.12

4.1.4 Envisioning a Museum

These were the conditions that led Tribal Council to allocate funding to collect Tribal heirlooms. A Tribal member on the museum Board, Warren Rudy Clements, argued that many people were reluctant to sell their valuable heirlooms to the collection because “we had no way to care for them or protect

them.” As the collection grew, Tribal members gradually realized that they needed a museum to store the collection securely.

The next section of this chapter will consider the purposes of the museum. The third section will narrate activities that Tribal members, their advocates, and consultants did to move towards creating a museum. The final section will conclude with an analysis of strategies that Tribal members and others used to build support and financing to get to where they were ready to build a museum. Although this chapter begins by explaining how the museum project began and what its objectives were, the focus is to understand strategic activities that Tribal members and their allies did to prepare to build a museum.

4.2 Purposes of the Museum

Although the need for secure storage of Tribal heirlooms was the spark that ignited ideas of building a museum, from the very beginning, the museum was envisioned as much more than storage. Elders were concerned that Tribal members, especially children, were unaware of their cultural identity and history and did not know their traditional languages or skills. The museum was created as a place for Tribal members to learn about their heritage. It was also created as a place for outsiders to learn about the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs.

4.2.1 A Secure Place to Store Heirlooms

From her work with the collection, Roberta Kirk was aware of the need to safeguard the material heritage of the past for the benefit of future generations, “The main thing was . . . to have a place where we could keep our treasures and

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13 MOIHS museum workshop minutes, 18 March 1983, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
they wouldn’t be sold to outside collectors but also . . . for families so that they can see all of their family objects here in this museum and our future generations can learn from it. . . . We want to educate people, who we are. And we wanted to tell that story with our own voices." Elder Bernice Mitchell, former member of Tribal Council and the Museum’s Board of Directors, stated, “We try to make this place a good place where [people] could come and they could say, ‘I want to look at your moccasins.’ And the person that is taking care of all that stuff, they’d bring out . . . moccasins. . . . This is Paiute, this is Warm Springs, and this is Wasco.”

As Janice Clements, former member of Tribal Council and the Museum Board, chronicled,

So we started having meetings with our people; we’d have meetings and have input from the Tribe, Tribal members, Elders especially. . . . This lady . . . said, “I am just so happy. . . . When you look at what we have, it’s a shrine. We have a shrine; we’re building a shrine. . . . That’s what I’m envisioning.” Her name was Verbena Greene, Verbena Tohet Greene, and very knowledgeable. . . . That was a good, good description of the museum that was coming up in the future. She said, “So I’m really happy that the people want to build this.”

Myra Johnson-Orange, former Director of the Culture and Heritage Department within the Confederated Tribes, articulates her vision of the objectives of the museum,

My father, Raymond Johnson, Sr., was on the Tribal Council when discussion [about the museum] first began. . . . He said that was one of his dreams . . . to see a museum that would take care of all the people’s things that they have in their homes. . . . So the primary objective . . . was to take care of the people and their heirlooms. The second part is to share the history . . . about who the three Tribes were. . . . And the third objective was just that we just needed a place, just a place where people could come and enjoy themselves, and learn.

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14 Kirk.
15 Bernice Mitchell, interview with author, August 9, 2010.
4.2.2 A Place for Tribal Members to Learn about Their Heritage

Tribal members were aware that they were losing their intangible heritage along with their material heritage. Stories of the past, languages, songs, and traditional skills all needed to be preserved and passed on to younger Tribal members. Delvis Heath recalled that his mother, Lillie Heath, was instrumental in warning people of the risk of losing one’s identity and that the museum could help people connect to the past.

In 1963, my mother was on the Board, and she started talking about how . . . “You’re going to be lost in the future. You’re going to gradually start getting lost, so we need to start a museum, someplace you can go back and look at the history of our people and talk about, ‘This is what we were, this is what we did. . . .’” My mother said that, “We need to get a museum and . . . put everything away . . . so you can go back and identify with your old people or identify . . . what dress we wore . . . why was this dress for a certain ceremony. . . . You always have that to go back to [at] the museum . . . ; you can . . . always trace it back and you’ll have it.”

Delbert Frank, former member of Tribal Council and the Museum Board, thought that, “the museum should primarily be a means of ensuring that Indian people knew who they were.” He recalled early views of the museum expressed in Tribal Council,

Our Warm Springs Reservation would be a living museum. . . . The Tribal Council in the beginning was not concerned with the cost of the museum, but to have a facility to tell children, tell the public, "why we were and still are here." If we don’t teach children today, we won't have what we have today. We must teach children what we're all about. While we still have elders [who] can still tell us today.

In a Board meeting, Rudy Clements indicated that, “he believed one of the purposes of the museum was to give the public and ourselves accurate

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18 Heath, interview.
19 MOIHS minutes, 1 August 1986, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
20 MOIHS minutes, 16 July 1986, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
information to decrease the tendency to terminate.\textsuperscript{21} Rudy and Janice Clements both emphasized that the museum’s mission was not economic. Rudy Clements explained,

\begin{quote}
We see the museum/culture center as a primary resource to develop our people in their traditional ways. We don’t see it as tourism, putting ourselves on display to earn money for the Tribe. It could be a spin-off but that’s not the primary concept. Whatever it evolves to be, it has to reflect the pride we have in ourselves, the dignity we have, our confidence, a first-class display of ourselves. We want to present to our visitors what we think of ourselves.\textsuperscript{22}
\end{quote}

Janice Clements articulated her view of the museum,

\begin{quote}
It’s not a money-making enterprise. . . . We don’t do this to sell anything, we do this for us. . . . [When] you look at the museum, it’s not there to purchase every little thing that people want to make money on. That isn’t the purpose of our museum. . . . It’s an educational-history model for our future, for the children today and for the future and to educate the public. . . . Because a lot of people, even in Portland, don’t even know. They still think we live like they do in the movies.\textsuperscript{23}
\end{quote}

Victor Atiyeh, former Governor of Oregon and member of the Museum Board from 1989 to the present, articulated his view of the museum’s objectives:

\begin{quote}
In the broadest sense, it’s an attempt to salvage the history, language, tradition of the Confederated Tribes, and to inform non-Indians about Indians. . . . Hopefully those that stop in the museum and go through the permanent exhibit [will] learn something they hadn’t known about Indians before. . . . So, in my mind it’s a dual purpose. . . . the culture and history and . . . teaching me about the Native Americans.\textsuperscript{24}
\end{quote}

\textbf{4.3 Activities Leading Toward Creating a Museum}

The first activity of the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs that led towards establishing a museum was allocating funding to purchase artifacts. As the

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext[21]{MOIHS minutes, 23 September 1986, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR. Given the termination of the Klamath and other tribes in Oregon that did occur, this was a valid concern at the time that the museum was first envisioned.}
\footnotetext[22]{MOIHS museum workshop minutes, 18 March 1983.}
\footnotetext[23]{Clements, interview.}
\footnotetext[24]{Victor Atiyeh, interview with author, July 27, 2010.}
\end{footnotes}
artifacts accumulated, the Middle Oregon Indian Historical Society (MOIHS) was founded and chartered to care for the collection. Tribal Council appointed a Board of Directors to steer the MOIHS and hired staff that ultimately included an executive director. The executive director engaged Tribal members and obtained their support for a $2.5 million referendum to build a museum. The director leveraged the referendum funding to obtain substantial grants from public and private sources beyond the reservation.

### 4.3.1 Collecting and Preserving Artifacts and their Histories

Allocating funding to purchase artifacts: “The first [strategic action],” according to Delvis Heath, “was 1960, [allocating] the artifacts funds, $60,000, and that preserved the purchase of a lot of the artifacts of the people.”

In 1974, Wasco Chief Nelson Wallulatum requested an appropriation of $25,000 from Tribal Council “to buy Indian artifacts only from Tribal members because many were either selling elsewhere to private collectors or putting them in hock and not being able to retrieve them so they are lost.” Tribal Council initiated an annual appropriation of $25,000 for artifact purchase and raised the appropriation to $50,000 by 1982. By 1983, the Confederated Tribes had invested nearly $400,000 to acquire artifacts whose value Nelson Wallulatum estimated near $1 million. By 1987, shortly after he was hired as the first executive director, Duane King stated that, “Since 1974, the Middle Oregon Indian Historical Society

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25 Heath, interview.
26 CTWS Tribal Council minutes, 29 July 1974, Tribal Records Center, Warm Springs, OR.
spent over $557,000 acquiring Tribal artifacts for the museum. . . . No other tribe in the country has made such a conscientious effort to collect and preserve its treasures. It is the best collection I've seen, not in a museum." 29

Accessions procedures, purchases, and issues: When Tribal Council first allocated funding to purchase artifacts, the Tribal Council Secretary, Juanita Bourland, hired an Elder to appraise artifacts considered for purchase.30 In 1974, MOIHS began to develop specific acquisitions procedures. An Accessions Committee was formed made of a representative from each Tribe and an outside appraiser.31

By 1983, the MOIHS Board of Directors became increasingly aware that they needed to establish an official policy to guide and back up the Accessions Committee. The Board wrote a policy, "The MOIHS Collection and Acquisition Policy," and Tribal Council approved it.32 The policy established procedures for purchase, care, and secure storage of Tribal artifacts. It states that,

The MOIHS can afford to purchase or house permanently only articles and artifacts that have scientific, historical, or artistic value. The MOIHS must be able to provide storage, protection, and preservation under the conditions that ensure availability for study and exhibition. At the present time, we are unable to acquire or house contemporary articles. Contemporary articles for this purpose shall mean articles constructed substantially of manmade or modern processed materials or means and readily capable of duplication.33

The policy states that artifacts must relate to,

the anthropology and history of the Indians of Middle Oregon, including the Ceded area of the Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs

[31] MOIHS minutes, 2 December 1974.
[33] "CTWS Tribal Council Resolution No. 6579 [MOIHS Collections and Acquisitions Policy], December 13."
Reservation of Oregon. Relevant items include (a) Objects made by such peoples; (b) objects of other origins known to have been used by or associated with such peoples; (c) natural historical materials documenting the cultures or biology of these people; (d) paintings, drawings, sculpture, photographs, manuscripts, and printed materials of non-Indian origin but providing evidence on the Indians of Middle Oregon.34

Archaeological artifacts are “preferably materials from scientifically controlled excavations.” Ethnological items are “preferably field collected and documented specimens, identified as to cultural origin, function, period.” Special consideration will be given to “objects and artifacts of cultural and historical significance from local Tribal members with less than complete data, but having artistic or scientific merit.”35

According to the policy, the MOIHS Board will appoint an Accessions Committee, “responsible for making material judgments and recommendations.” The committee, “composed of a professional museum curator and three Tribal members . . . will review objects at quarterly meetings.” The Accessions Committee will appraise and recommend purchases, but the Board of Directors must approve purchases before new acquisitions are added to the collection.36

Roberta Kirk, who began as an intern at the museum in 1985 and became the Registrar in 1992, described meetings of the Accessions Committee,

I participated with the Accessions Committee. . . . They would put prices on . . . everything. . . . [For] each item, we were able to collect histories . . . Where did this item come from, who made this item, what are the Indian names that are attached to this, what materials were made, how did you acquire it? Some things came from Indian trading for weddings or from different trading systems that we had. So a lot of [diverse] items came. . . . These items . . . have family histories and we can link everything to the different families so it was a more of an incentive to build up our collection and our people were real proud to submit things.37

34 Ibid.
35 Ibid.
36 Ibid.
37 Kirk, interview.
From when the MOIHS Collection and Acquisition Policy was implemented in 1984, until the museum opened in 1993, notices in the Tribal newspaper, *Spilyay Tymoo*, alerted Tribal members to upcoming opportunities to sell their artifacts to the museum collection. Two 1984 articles reprinted the policy and summarized the official MOIHS “Acquisition Procedure and Records” with explicit instructions, for example, the seller of an item must complete “A history of the artifact form” for each item considered for purchase. Would-be sellers are warned that the purchase is not final until approved by the Board, and the check is cut only after a phone call confirms that a seller is satisfied to sell at the appraised price.38

Over the years, MOIHS became more focused in seeking particular items for its collection. By 1988, MOIHS requested specific items that might be needed for museum exhibits, “a call for antique hunting, fishing and trapping gear from the people of the Warm Springs Reservation,” requesting things such as a "traditional style wooden bow" and "net making tools."39 By 1989, MOIHS purchased only artifacts with fifty years of documented history except for educational kits purchased for use at schools and in hands-on exhibits.40 By 1991, when exhibit designers were finalizing plans for exhibits, the call for artifacts requested items specific to each of the three Tribes,

38 “Middle Oregon Historical Society Collection and Acquisition Policy Approved." The newspaper article did contradict one element of the policy. The article states that the Accessions Committee includes two Tribal members, whereas the policy specifies three Tribal members. This is significant because the intent of the policy is to have representation from all three tribes."CTWS Tribal Council Resolution No. 6579 [MOIHS Collections and Acquisitions Policy], December 13."; “MOIHS to Purchase Artifacts,” *Spilyay Tymoo*, September 14, 1984.
For the Wasco exhibit: Sally bag, wooden bowl, sheep horn bowl, and sheep horn spoon. For the Warm Springs exhibit: wood or horn digging stick, sheep horn grease cup, wooden mat needle, and extra-small toy beaded baby board. For the Northern Paiute exhibit: rabbit blanket, Willow basket, twined winnowing basket, reed duck decoy, burden basket, tule sandals, twined and pitch water bottle, and rabbit net.  

Despite guidelines set forth by the Collection and Acquisition Policy, the MOIHS Accessions Committee and Board of Directors encountered a few issues while purchasing artifacts for the collection. An overarching issue is that some Tribal members sell artifacts to raise money rather than focusing on contributing heirlooms to the museum. Janice Clements tried to explain to people,

> It’s not a money-making thing. It’s for your heirlooms that you want to leave for the future. . . . You put your history [in] there. . . . If I bring something down it’s for my grandchildren who hopefully live to be my age and look at it. . . . And then people will complain [to] me because they’re not getting enough for their artifact. And I told the Board that, “When you look at the item and you put a price on it, you’re never going to give them enough money for it. There’s just no way.”

Delvis Heath articulated another issue,

> A lot of the people . . . they wanted to go to the celebration; they needed money. So they’d bring a lot of things to [a Board member], and he’d raise his hand and tell them, “We’re not a hockshop here. We’re purchasing items for the museum . . . so you’re not going to get them back. You have to understand, because I know some of you people go out and hock these things. . . . We’re not a hock shop.”

An immediate need for cash, due to a job loss or to pay for the funeral of a family member, led some Tribal members to request an “emergency purchase.” Although the Accessions Committee and Board were sympathetic to personal issues, they came to realize that they could not meet their goals in building the

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42 MOIHS minutes, 25 September 1984, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
43 Clements, interview.
44 Heath, interview. The hock shop issue was discussed multiple times in Board meetings. MOIHS minutes, 11 February 1985, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR; MOIHS minutes, 19 March 1990, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
45 MOIHS Accessions Committee minutes, 11 April 1984, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR; MOIHS minutes, 25 September 1984.
collection if they made emergency purchases or deaccessioned items within the collection.

In a few instances sellers were not entirely honest about what they attempted to sell. Delvis Heath revealed that “some of the young people got good at making things look old. They’ll go around and soak it in water for quite a while and then they’ll bring it back and tell them, “We have old history, an old hammer here,” or something. And some of the ladies [on the Accessions Committee] could spot a lot of things that were mixed in with new plastic and old beads and the wampum.”

Former Executive Director, Michael Hammond, related that an item purchased by the MOIHS was later revealed to have been stolen. Hammond’s solution was to photograph all items submitted for purchase and post the photos in a public place for several weeks to give other Tribal members an opportunity to identify stolen goods.

In some cases, the Accessions Committee and Board were uncertain whether it was appropriate for MOIHS to buy certain types of items such as video tapes, audiotapes, or the contents of a medicine bundle. Questions concerned the media—should we buy tapes?—and the content—recordings of Washut services are important to preserve, but they are sensitive. And should they be with the museum collection or at the Culture and Heritage Department?

The curator and the Accessions Committee often identified more items worthy of purchase than the allocation could support. Repeatedly, the curator and committee pleaded passionately that they needed more money for one-of-a-

46 Heath, interview.
48 MOIHS minutes, 1 April 1988, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR; MOIHS minutes, 21 June 1991, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR; MOIHS minutes, 21 June 1991, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR; MOIHS minutes, 5 June 1992, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR; MOIHS minutes, 6 August 1992, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
kind items such as “a basket that is very unique to the Tribe” brought in by “our oldest senior citizen.” In 1989 the committee was alarmed that a Canadian man “was visiting the reservation periodically and taking advantage of elderly Tribal members in purchasing artifacts.” The committee was concerned that if they did not escalate their purchases, Tribal members would sell their heirlooms to outsiders. Although the curator, Elizabeth Tewee, argued for additional funding for artifacts, she realized that storage space was barely adequate for the artifacts already purchased.

Storing securely, cataloging, labeling, and insuring artifacts: After Tribal Council began the annual allocation to purchase artifacts in 1974, “they wanted someplace where they could be stored and kept safe and locked up.” Tribal Council tasked Juanita Bourland, Tribal Council Secretary, and Harry Paget, MOIHS Director, to purchase and store the artifacts. In 1976 Beulah Tsumpti was hired to work under Bourland and immediately began “recording, wrapping, packing and all that involved in caring for artifacts.” Tsumpti described early storage of the collection,

When I first started working with . . . what little artifacts they had collected, they were stored in boxes in the basement of the jail. . . . It got flooded. . . . Not a lot of [the artifacts] got ruined because they were set up on raised pallets . . . . So it was just the dampness of the basement that worried them. Because of that, we found a place in Portland at a US Bank vault. They agreed to let us bring our artifacts down there so they could be locked up, because we didn’t have any place here to do that. . . . I worked with a police officer and we unpacked all the artifacts . . . to check them to see if they were damaged, and then repack them again, and then the police department transferred them to Portland. . . . They were there for a

49 In 1984 the Accessions Committee requested an additional appropriation of $25,000. The tribal Council Chair denied the request but indicated he would consider a request for a loan against the1985 budget. MOIHS minutes, 25 September 1984; MOIHS minutes, 4 November 1985, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR; MOIHS minutes, February 4, 1991, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
50 MOIHS minutes, 27 October 1989, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
51 Tsumpti, interview.
while until we got a secure place here. In the old boys’ dorm they
renovated and stuck in alarms and weather control, heating and cooling
system; they put in shelves. When that was all complete they hauled the
artifacts back, and locked them up.”\textsuperscript{52}

The move to a room on the second floor of the old boy’s dorm occurred in
1983 after a $7500 remodel including a burglar alarm and special fire
alarm/suspension system.\textsuperscript{53} Three months later, artifacts filled the shelves of the
storage room. As Roberta Kirk recalled, “It was this one little room and it had all
these shelves on it, all the way to the top and we stored all of our baskets and
everything in that little room and it was just jam-packed with all of our little
valuables.”\textsuperscript{54} By 1984, the curator, Elizabeth Tewee, reported on a proposed
storage room to use for newer items and as her workroom. By 1985, the existing
storage was overcrowded and the Tribe did not have any extra rooms for
additional storage of artifacts.\textsuperscript{55}

Staff aimed to catalog and label items in the collection, but moving the
collection around and crowding in the storage space made the task more
challenging. Roberta Kirk related her work with the artifacts,

\begin{quote}
We did an inventory over there and went through all of our records to
make sure that everything was there that we could find and tried to
reconcile tags that had slipped off. . . . It was a difficult process. And I still
don’t think that we were able to reconcile everything. . . . And that was
just because of the shuffle from moving from here to there and not being
in one consistent place from the beginning.\textsuperscript{56}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{52} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{53} Behrend, “Prelude to a Museum;” Elizabeth Tewee, “MOIHS Quarterly Report, 7 April
1983,” MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
\textsuperscript{54} Kirk, interview.
\textsuperscript{55} Tewee, MOIHS Quarterly Report, 7 April 1983; MOIHS minutes, 4 April 1984, MAWS,
Warm Springs, OR; MOIHS minutes, 14 August 1984, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR;
MOIHS minutes, September 25, 1984; MOIHS minutes, February 11, 1985.
\textsuperscript{56} Kirk, interview.
In addition to organizing, cataloging, and labeling artifacts, Roberta Kirk arranged for Elders to conduct blessing ceremonies. She suggested that these blessing ceremonies be done after each accession.\textsuperscript{57}

In addition to preparing a secure place to store the collection, the Board was concerned about insuring all of the priceless artifacts. In 1985, the Board directed Elizabeth Tewee “to obtain written estimate of full appraisal value of all purchased artifacts to date” and to hire a professional curator to assess the condition of each item and make a report. The Board also sought a report outlining how the collection is safeguarded from fire, theft, and other losses.\textsuperscript{58} By 1988 $900 was spent annually to insure the artifact collection in the amount of $400,000. According to the minutes, “Even though the artifacts are irreplaceable, the Board concluded that this expenditure was appropriate. Dr. King noted that many museums do not insure their collections, but rather spend the funds on their protection and security.”\textsuperscript{59}

In a 1991 meeting, Board member Janice Clements asked “if the artifacts are currently loaned out to Tribal members, and whether this has been a continuing practice.” The curator replied that cougar skins are usually loaned out to one individual for ceremonial purposes. All items are photographed and recorded when they are loaned out.\textsuperscript{60} According to minutes from a 1992 Board meeting, “collections from individuals that sold these items to the museum, standard rule of thumb of museum professionals is that these are not loaned out

\textsuperscript{57} MAWS minutes, 4 March 1993, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
\textsuperscript{58} MOIHS minutes, 11 February 1985.
\textsuperscript{59} MOIHS minutes, 1 September 1988, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
\textsuperscript{60} MOIHS minutes, 4 February 1991.
due to insurance purposes." The Board acknowledged that a policy needed to be established and directed Michael Hammond and Roberta Kirk to draft a policy.61

4.3.2 Establishing the Middle Oregon Indian Historical Society

Although the Middle Oregon Indian Historical Society (MOIHS) was established by 1959,62 1974 is when Tribal Council investment allowed the MOIHS to move forward. Not only did Tribal Council begin the annual appropriation of $25,000 to buy artifacts; it also provided $25,000 for operating expenses.63 In the same year, Tribal Council chartered MOIHS and MOIHS applied to IRS for 501 (c)(3) status.64 The Charter for MOIHS detailed its purposes and operations,

The society is formed solely for educational purposes as follows:
1. To preserve and perpetuate the heritage and culture of the Indians of Middle Oregon.
2. To provide facilities for the safe-keeping and display of articles and artifacts relating to the heritage and culture of the Indians of Middle Oregon.
3. To provide educational opportunities to students and scholars interested in the study of the heritage and culture of Indians of Middle Oregon.
4. To ensure that the contributions of the first inhabitants of Middle Oregon to the development and history of the area received their proper recognition.65

The charter stipulates that the business and affairs of MOIHS “shall be managed and controlled” by the Board of Directors, consisting of seven Directors who serve staggered three-year terms. At least three shall be Tribal members and at least three shall be “nonmembers of the Tribes who are interested in the

61 MOIHS minutes, 5 June 1992.
62 MOIHS minutes, 11 February 1985.
65 "Charter for the Middle Oregon Indian Historical Society, approved by Tribal Council May 16."
purposes of the Society.” According to the charter, Tribal Council will appoint the Directors who will elect officers among themselves. The Board will convene regular meetings quarterly and may also hold special meetings if called by the Board Chairman or any three members of the Board.66

One important step for the MOIHS was establishing some physical separation from Tribal Council, but as Beulah Tsumpti related, this did not happen until 1986,

“When we first started [the museum project], we were still working out of the Tribal Council office, at the Administration Building. Then back in ’86 Tribal Council made the museum project into a separate department. At that time they were just [one of many] of the Tribal Council committees. . . . But when the project started growing, they separated the Society from their Council committees. That’s when we opened our own office and moved out of the Tribal Council office (see fig. 4.1).67

4.3.3 Getting the Right People Involved

Many people from Warm Springs and beyond were essential in leading the MOIHS to the point where it was prepared to design and build a museum. Central to this effort were Board members and staff, especially executive directors.

**Board of Directors:** Since the first meeting of the Board of Directors appointed by Tribal Council, many instrumental people served and many were honored later for their years of service.68 People invited to serve on the Board

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66 Ibid.
67 Tsumpti, interview. See also MOIHS minutes, 11 March 1986, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.; “MOIHS Establishes New Museum Office,” Spilyay Tymoo, August 1, 1986.
68 Early participants in the museum project were honored. Their efforts are still remembered and acknowledged in multiple interviews and informal conversations in the last two years. The MOIHS Board wrote a memorial proclamation on a plaque in honor of former Board member Harold Culpus and presented it to his widow. “The Mid-Oregon Indian Historical Society (MOIHS) Board of Directors Presented Effie Culpus a Plaque,” Spilyay Tymoo, April 10, 1987; MOIHS minutes, 13 February 1987, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR. Recognition festivities were planned to honor retiring Accessions
brought important connections or specific skills to assist the Society. In 1984, for example, new Board members included Don Kerr, Director of the High Desert Museum; James Southern, National Bank; and Donna Behrend, *Spilyay Tymoo* (the tribal newspaper). In 1986, the Tribal attorney, James Noteboom; two Tribal Council members, Harold Culpus and Janice Clements; and one past Council member, Delbert Frank, served on the Board. Delvis Heath, Warm Springs Chief, joined the Board in 1988 and Victor Atiyeh, Former Governor of Oregon, joined in 1989 (see fig. 4.2). The Board was a powerful body of influential individuals who were committed to building a museum. By 1991, the Board was adamant about seeing the project through to completion and insisted to Tribal Council that Board membership should not change until after the museum opened.

**Staff:** The MOIHS had no dedicated staff members when it first started. The Tribal Council Secretary, Juanita Bourland, also served as the Secretary/Treasurer of the MOIHS Board, and in this role performed many tasks related to MOIHS. These included consulting outside museum experts about buying collections, writing articles for the Tribal Council newsletter soliciting artifacts from Tribal members, finding storage space for artifacts, and moving artifacts into the space. In 1975, MOIHS hired Harry Paget, a non-Tribal

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69 MOIHS minutes, 12 December 1984, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
70 MOIHS minutes, 16 July 1986; MOIHS minutes, 1 August 1986.
71 “New Member,” *Spilyay Tymoo*, July 15, 1988; MOIHS minutes, 1 September 1988; MOIHS minutes, 23 June 1989, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
72 MOIHS minutes, 4 February 1991; MOIHS minutes, 31 January 1992, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
73 MOIHS minutes, 2 December 1974; MOIHS minutes, 3 January 1975.
member, as a director. Paget served until 1976 when he learned that MOIHS was not awarded a crucial grant and he offered to take a leave without pay.

Beulah Tsumpti, a member of the steno pool assisting Juanita Bourland, began recording and caring for artifacts from the time she was hired by Tribal Council in 1976. As she recounted, “Tribal Council appointed a committee to the society to start helping Juanita and Harry work on this project. And it just built up into that. And then Juanita passed away in ’82. . . . With her passing and me being her assistant I kind of stepped into her shoes.” Tsumpti worked on the museum project from the Tribal Council office until the museum office opened in 1986. As she recalled, Rudy Clements asked her, “How would you like to move into the museum office?” and [she] didn’t hesitate, “Yeah! . . . I wanted to move right along with the museum project.” Tsumpti’s title was initially Executive Secretary/Treasurer, but she became Office Manager the following year, and continued in that role until her retirement in 2011.

Tribal member Elizabeth (Liz) Tewee was hired as a museum intern under a Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) program in 1982. After she earned an Associate of Fine Arts Degree in Museum Training at the Institute of American Indian Arts in 1985 she became the curator, working fulltime with artifacts from her workplace in the planning office. When the museum office opened in 1986, she moved there and became the acting executive director.

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75 MOIHS minutes, 30 May 1976, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
76 Tsumpti, interview.
77 Ibid.
78 “Tewee to Graduate,” Spilyay Tymoo, November 9, 1984; “Society Established to Preserve Tribal Resources;” “MOIHS Establishes New Museum Office;” MOIHS minutes, 23 March 1984, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
Roberta Kirk began as museum intern under Liz Tewee in 1985. She recounted her internship,

I went to the Institute of American Indian Arts in Santé Fe. . . . In the summer times when there was no school I would come home here and I was able to be an intern . . . under Atwai Liz Tewee. . . . We were both kind of new in the whole museum area but she had more experience than I did and she was a great teacher. And so for the next few summers I would come back and be an intern with her.79

Kirk became the Registrar in 1992 with the directive to complete an artifact inventory of the entire collection before moving into the museum later that year. She also served as a liaison between tribal members and exhibits designers, especially after Liz Tewee became ill and unable to continue her job.80

Executive director: Hiring the Museum’s first executive director proved to be a critical step in building the museum. Board member Rudy Clements made great efforts towards this, especially between 1984 and 1987. He sought Tribal Council funding for the position, traveled to consult with the director of a successful tribal museum, and advertised for the position. After receiving applications, the Board selected three finalists.81

And then the Board changed direction and conducted a high level national search, as explained by Beulah Tsumpti: “We hired a firm out of New York, Opportunity Resources, Inc. . . . They did all the advertising, collected the applications, screened them, and set up the interviews for us. It was really helpful. So when we finally started interviewing, the committee picked the top

79 Kirk, interview.
80 MOIHS minutes, 16 April 1992, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR; Kirk, interview.
81 MOIHS minutes, 11 February 1985; MOIHS minutes, 17 June 1985, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR; MOIHS minutes, 18 September 1985, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR; MOIHS minutes, 4 November 1985; MOIHS minutes, 11 March 1986.
three applicants.” The Board interviewed the three finalists; the last one was Dr. Duane King.82

As Janice Clements related, Freda Mindlin, from Opportunity Resources, Inc., “really highly recommended Dr. King.”83 King was executive director of the Cherokee National Museum for five years, director of the Museum of the Cherokee Indian in Cherokee, North Carolina, for seven years, and assistant professor of anthropology at the University of Tennessee for two years.84 Janice Clements was adamant that MOIHS should hire Duane King, whatever the cost:

We were really impressed with Dr. King. . . . The Board was all really awed at his capabilities. . . . And we thought, “No way he’s going to come to Warm Springs . . . .” They offered him [the job]. . . . We had to go back to Council and let our people know what we were doing, because it was above anybody’s salary on our Council and our administration. So I . . . let them know that it’s . . . really an important step for the Tribe and it’ll pay off. . . . So he called the Board back and told them that he was really interested in coming to Warm Springs. . . . And he started fundraising and it was just amazing.85

Duane King was hired in 1987, and by his first Board meeting, he presented an ambitious timetable for museum development.86 King worked intermittently throughout the summer and transitioned to fulltime employment in the fall. King hired architects, oversaw architectural design, and spearheaded efforts to build support for the museum including Tribal support for the $2.5 million referendum. King’s most phenomenal contribution was a series of large grants, which he secured in a miraculously short period of time. But King did not stick around. He left Warm Springs in 1990 to become the Assistant Director of the George Gustav Heye Center, the New York facility of the National Museum of
the American Indian. To fill the gap, Michael Templeton served as an interim executive director in 1991 until a permanent executive director was in place. Once again, the Board sought the services of Opportunity Resources, Inc. to search for a permanent executive director. Freda Mindlin identified six candidates. The Board reviewed the candidates, narrowed the list to two, and interviewed the finalists. Board members decided to offer the job to Michael Hammond. Hammond had earned a PhD in anthropology from Columbia University, conducted archaeological excavations in multiple sites internationally, drafted legislation on Indigenous burial sites, taught at several universities, and served as the Director of Old Salem in North Carolina. Hammond accepted the job and began in 1991, when the building was under construction and exhibit design underway, a critical time. He was engaged in construction meetings and a challenging phase of fundraising. He was described as being “110% engaged” and from what I saw at the retirement celebration for Beulah Tsumpti in 2011, he developed a great rapport with Tribal members. Hammond oversaw the successful completion of the museum and remained there until becoming the executive director at the Agua Caliente Cultural Museum in 1999.

4.3.4 Education and Outreach

At the beginning, few MOIHS staff and Board members had formal training on collecting artifacts or establishing a museum. They increased their knowledge

87 Ken Smith to Neil Goldschmidt, 19 November 1990, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
88 MOIHS minutes, 4 February 1991; MOIHS minutes, 7 June 1991, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
89 MOIHS minutes, 29 March 1991, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR; MOIHS minutes, 7 June 1991; MOIHS minutes, 20 April 1991, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
92 Hammond was invited to be the MC at the luncheon honoring Beulah Tsumpti.
base by attending training programs, participating in conferences and workshops, visiting other museums, and consulting outside museum experts. This began in 1974 and 1975 when Thomas Vaughan and Dale Archibald, from Oregon Historical Society in Portland, participated in MOIHS Board meetings, appraised artifacts, and advised MOIHS about purchasing collections.93 From 1984 to 1988, Don Kerr from the High Desert Museum in Bend, Oregon, served as a Board member.94

Training programs, workshops, conferences, and other museums: From early in the process, the Board aimed to train Tribal members so that by the time the museum was built, they would have knowledge and skills to operate the museum. According to 1974 Board minutes, “Training programs and education have been publicized in the newsletter but so far there have been no Tribal members interested.” The following year the MOIHS Annual Report stated that, “We were also engaged in a student training program this summer. . . . We hope we inspired two young Tribal members to look toward training for a museum career.”95 Elizabeth Tewee and Roberta Kirk each earned an Associate of Fine Arts Degree in Museum Training at the Institute of American Indian Arts. The Board encouraged and supported further training of the curator, Liz Tewee, who augmented her knowledge by participating in workshops and conferences. In 1984 and 1985 she was authorized to attend a tribal archives workshop and a storage handling workshop in Washington, DC. In 1986, she participated in a two-week, Smithsonian-sponsored workshop, the Native American Exhibition

93 MOIHS minutes, 2 December 1974; MOIHS minutes, 3 January 1975; MOIHS minutes, 21 January 1976, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
94 MOIHS minutes, 12 December 1984; MOIHS minutes, 3 February 1988, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
95 MOIHS minutes, 2 December 1974; Paget, MOIHS Annual Report, 10 December 1975.
Design and Production Project, after which she implemented her exhibition plan in Warm Springs. Later that year, Tewee participated in the Smithsonian-sponsored final practicum in Oakland and in a panel at the Oregon Museums Association meeting in Portland.96

Other staff and Board members were active in conferences too. Janice Clements, for example, participated in the Governor's Conference on Tourism in Sunriver (1990), American Association of Museums conference in Baltimore (1992), the Oregon Governor's Tourism Conference in Lincoln City, Oregon (1992), Western Museums Association meeting in Pasadena (1993), and the Discover American International Powwow in New Orleans (1993).97 A side benefit of conference travel was the opportunity to see other museums, as Janice Clements related,

Before we even built our museum we went to a conference and [the curator] . . . contacted the museum in Stewart, Nevada, for us to go on a tour. . . . I really learned then what we need . . . because they have a display of the way that . . . the Paiute lived. . . . They showed where they had pictures, how they lived in the cave-like area. And they had . . . a flat rock . . . to grind their corn. . . . And then they showed how they went hunting, and the women . . . used tules and sagebrush . . . [and] cedar. They used the tules and made skirts. . . . And the men just had breechcloths. . . . So we learned . . . some of the things that they did.98

A group of staff and Board members visited museums in the Southwest such as the Heard Museum and the Ak-Chin Him-Dak Ecomuseum. They also visited the Smithsonian and saw how Smithsonian collections were stored and cared for. As Beulah Tsumpti related,

97 MOIHS minutes, 13 April 1990, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR; MOIHS minutes, 31 January 1992; MAWS minutes, 16 April 1993, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR; MAWS minutes, 25 June 1993, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR; MAWS minutes, 8 December 1993, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
98 Clements, interview.
The [Board] and I started touring other museums; we got to go to the Smithsonian, New York, George Gustav Heye, and toured museums down in the Southwest. . . . We came back home, and started building our own ideas after we saw what could be built into a museum. . . . [At Ak-Chin] we visited the Tribal leaders themselves, asked their ideas, what they felt about their museum.99

**Relationship with the Smithsonian Institution:** In some cases, experts came to Warm Springs to assist in the efforts to establish a museum. Nancy Fuller, from the Smithsonian Institution, came to Warm Springs for a day-long workshop in 1983. Fuller volunteered, “What I can do is lead you to both human resources and written resources; I will respond – ideas on funding, research, etc.” She also spoke about the museum library with materials about establishing and running Indian museums and that she and her associates offer staff training. She said, ”Make the museum your own story, unique to you and your people – animals, plants, rocks; make it fun to bring people back.” Nancy Fuller accepted an offer to become an honorary member of the MOIHS Board of Directors.100 Also from the Smithsonian, Bill Merrill and JoAllyn Archambault visited Warm Springs to see the collection when it was displayed in the Warm Springs Agency Longhouse in 1988.101

In 1990, MOIHS Board and staff attended a Museums and Communities Workshop hosted by the Smithsonian Institution. They visited the Smithsonian’s Museum of Natural History102 and met with the director and other Smithsonian people who invited MOIHS staff for on-site training and to pick out objects to

99 Tsumpti, interview.
100 MOIHS museum workshop minutes, 18 March 1983; Tewee, MOIHS Quarterly Report, 7 April 1983.; Tsumpti, interview.
102 Although not central to my story, the most significant things at the Museum of Natural History during this visit were the 28 sets of human remains that were ultimately repatriated and reburied. During this visit, the human remains and plans for repatriation were discussed as were photos, apparently from the excavation in the 1930s. "Museums Ceremonies to Include Many Activities," Spilyay Tymoo, June 1, 1990.
Smithsonian personnel provided a list of Warm Springs artifacts and offered to do the same for Paiute and Wasco artifacts. They requested assistance from MOIHS with identification, the “Indian name,” and care instructions for each object.  

Representatives from the Smithsonian Institution/National Museum of the American Indian met with the Warm Springs Tribal Council and MOIHS Board in 1990 to discuss “the parameters for the long term relationship between organizations.” Potential benefit included “helping to establish our name,” technical advice regarding curation and running a gift shop, collaboration in museum training or creating a traveling exhibit, increased federal participation in the Warm Springs Museum, and loan of some of the “significant holdings of artifacts that relate to the Warm Springs Tribes.”

During the process of designing the permanent exhibit, it became apparent that particular artifacts, especially Paiute artifacts, were needed for the display. Liz Tewee, Beulah Tsumpti, and the Board visited the Heye Foundation, a part the National Museum of the American Indian in New York, to view artifacts in their possession that were identified as being from all three of the Tribes and within their area. Janice Clements recounted the opportunity,

We got to visit the museum and look at what they have. . . . We have three Tribes . . . the Warm Springs, Wascos, and the Paiutes. So when we do the collection we usually try to look at all the three Tribes and see what we don’t have. . . . The rabbit was the most important hide [for Paiutes]. . . . In New York, the museum had a rabbit quilt, and there were little paws sticking out on all of it. They said that was priceless.

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103 MOIHS Smithsonian minutes, 20 March 1990, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR; Museums and Communities Workshop notes, 21-24 March 1990, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
104 James Noteboom to Tribal Council and MOIHS Board, 5 October 1990, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
105 Alice Carnes to Liz (Tewee) Cross, July 1991, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
106 General Tribal Council minutes, 24 October 1991, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
107 Clements, interview.
After developing a formal agreement with the Smithsonian Institution, MOIHS requested to borrow artifacts. The Museum of the American Indian approved the loan by 1992 and signed a formal loan agreement later that year. By 1993, the Museum At Warm Springs received artifacts on loan from the Smithsonian to use in its permanent exhibit. The twenty loaned items included six Paiute artifacts: a basket, a winnowing basket, a seed beater and sifter, a pair of woven yucca sandals, a rabbit net, and a rabbit fur blanket.108

4.3.5 Engaging Tribal Members

The MOIHS was building a substantial collection of Tribal artifacts. The Board and staff were building up their expertise to be ready to establish and operate a museum. Yet to build the museum, broad support among Tribal members was needed to secure substantial Tribal funding. As Nancy Fuller advised, “If you ask people for money, you have to tell them what you’re going to use it for . . . and what dividend they can expect – not necessarily in cash, but through improvement in the community.”109

Building and sustaining Tribal support over time: As Delvis Heath recalled, people were excited about building a museum shortly after the 1955 treaty centennial celebration, but they could never quite get the funding together, and then enthusiasm for the museum ebbed:

A lot of it was the money part. “We can’t get the money. . . .” And the Tribe didn’t have any money at that time . . . but we tried to . . . keep the people motivated. . . . We would have started in ’55 to ’60 . . . and then it . . . wasn’t on the priority anymore. Then you try to . . . get that priority into

108 MOIHS minutes, 16 April 1992; Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, Outgoing loan agreement form, 16 December 1992, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR; MAWS minutes, 28 January 1993, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
109 MOIHS museum workshop minutes, 18 March 1983.
the interest of the people. . . . “We’ve got to have a museum; we’ve got to put it in.” There was no interest in it. Nowhere. . . . Only advertise for artifacts and people would step forward. So that’s the best time to start getting them. . . . So you start planting, instilling within . . . the people. . . . It doesn’t take overnight; it takes years to try to get something. But when you instill it . . . enough people where they’re pushing it, then . . . you’re rolling, and that’s great, but a lot of times, “All I want is my money and just leave me alone. . . .” It’s really frustrating [along] the way.¹¹⁰

Exhibiting the collection: MOIHS Board and staff, together with other museum advocates, built support for the museum project by exhibiting artifacts, creating and deploying promotional media, and meeting with people. These activities began in 1975 when artifacts were exhibited in Cascade Locks and Jefferson County. They continued in 1976 and 1978 when MOIHS participated in the Indian Trade Fair at the Tribal resort, Kah-Nee-Ta. In 1976 the Board discussed funding for display cases. The Oregon Historical Society donated cases in 1983 and they were installed in the Tribal Council Lobby and at Kah-Nee-Ta (see fig. 4.3). Displays were updated periodically and some were still in place when I visited in 2011.¹¹¹

Most impressive were two displays of the artifact collection in the Agency Longhouse in Warm Springs. In 1983, about half of the collection was set out in the Longhouse for tribal members to see and appreciate. Media coverage through a video on Portland TV station KATU and a full-page illustrated Spilyay Tymoo article spread the word to those who could not attend. One photo in the article shows a teepee, regalia, and stone grinding tools. Another photo shows dresses hung along the wall of the longhouse above three rows of huckleberry

¹¹⁰ Heath, interview.
¹¹¹ MOIHS minutes, 18 August 1975, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR; Paget, MOIHS Annual Report, 10 December 1975; MOIHS minutes, 21 January 1976; MOIHS minutes, 16 April 1976, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR; MOIHS minutes, 6 January 1978, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR; Tewee, MOIHS Quarterly Report, 7 April 1983; "MOIHS to Purchase Artifacts," Spilyay Tymoo, September 27, 1983.
baskets interspersed with beaded bags (see figs. 4.4-4.5). A third photo shows visiting Warm Springs elementary students viewing horse trappings.\textsuperscript{112}

Even more spectacular was a 1988 exhibit in the Agency Longhouse. Delvis Heath explained that the aim of this exhibit was to show Tribal members how extensive and valuable the collection was and that it was imperative to build a museum to display and safeguard the priceless heirlooms:

We asked the lady who was in charge of all the artifacts, “Can you take them and put them out in the longhouse and our people can go see? And when the people see all the artifacts then the people can put it in their mind that we need the money. . . .” And we’ll say “All right, we’ll take it to a vote of the people, and they’ll approve it.” So they put the things in the longhouse. . . . They filled up three benches all the way around the longhouse, and then some. They had some tables. So you had more artifacts than you really need in a museum.\textsuperscript{113}

The 1988 longhouse exhibit included all of the 1600 heirlooms collected since 1974. This was the first time the entire collection had been displayed to the public. A full-page \textit{Spilyay Tymoo} article with seven photographs covered the exhibit (see figs. 4.6-4.9). One photograph shows a line of food-preparation tools on five tule mats laid end-to-end. A second photo shows the teepee with a drum, war bonnets, rolled-up tule mats, and \textit{shup ta kais} (Indian suitcases or \textit{parfleches}). Other photos show a beaded bag with a floral design, 116 huckleberry baskets, and 74 \textit{shup ta kais}. Among the estimated 200 visitors were JoAllyn Archambault and Bill Merrill from the Smithsonian Institution. According to the article,

Archambault stated that the Warm Springs collection is “very important . . . .” She advised that Warm Springs should be sure to “get the collection into a first class museum.” She added that some of the pieces are “very rare.” Speaking of the 74 \textit{shup ta kais} (rawhide suitcases), Archambault stated their designs may be used to “rewrite the history” of beadwork. “They’re extremely important in unraveling history. . . .” Archambault

\textsuperscript{112} Behrend, “Prelude to a Museum."
\textsuperscript{113} Heath, interview.
advised that the tribe retain the collection “safe in your keeping and not in
the hands of collectors. . . . You have a very good collection; make it
available to your children, grandchildren and their children.”

Using and creating promotional media: MOIHS Board and staff used

Spilyay Tymoo, the bi-weekly Tribal newspaper, to disseminate information and
build excitement about their activities. Donna Behrend, a Spilyay Tymoo reporter,
was an ex-officio member of the MOIHS Board who promoted activities leading
toward building the museum. Periodic articles—usually short—invited Tribal
members to bring heirlooms for appraisal and possible purchase for the
collection. Other articles—sometimes full-page with multiple photographs—
publicized events such as the Longhouse exhibits, the museum referendum, the
Cornerstone Laying Ceremony, and finally, the Grand Opening in 1993.

In addition to using existing media, MOIHS created its own promotional
media in the form of videos, booklets, and brochures. At his first Board meeting,
Duane King and the Board discussed using promotional videos and King
presented videos prepared for Cherokee museums where he was employed
previously. Two months later, King was already working on a video about the
reservation, another video on the proposed architectural design, a promotional
booklet, and a promotional brochure.

114 “Exhibit Takes Visitors into the Past.”
115 “MOIHS Artifacts Purchase to Start;” “Exhibit Takes Visitors into the Past;” “Museum
Referendum Set for Thursday, October 27,” Spilyay Tymoo, October 21, 1988;
“Ceremonies Set,” Spilyay Tymoo, April 6, 1990; “Site Blessing to be June 3,” Spilyay
“Agenda Set for June 3,” Spilyay Tymoo, June 1, 1990; “Museums Ceremonies to
Include Many Activities;” “Invitation Extended to Ceremonies,” Spilyay Tymoo, June 1,
Museum At Warm Springs Grand Opening Saturday, March 13,” Spilyay Tymoo,
February 19, 1993; “Museum Notes Contributors, Opening News, Membership,” Spilyay
Tymoo, February 19, 1993; “Ceremonies to Open Museum At Warm Springs,” Spilyay
Tymoo, March 5, 1993; “Traditional Ceremonies Dedicate Museum,” Spilyay Tymoo,
116 MOIHS minutes, 22 May 1987; MOIHS minutes, 24 July 1987.
One of the videos, “Warm Springs Today,” introduces viewers to the history and culture of the Warm Springs Tribes as well as tribal business and economic activities such as the Kah-Nee-Ta Resort and the Warm Springs Fish Hatchery. The other video, “A Future for the Past,” and a twelve-page informational booklet, “Traditions and Treasures,” present justifications for the museum along with preliminary architectural plans. These promotional materials were funded by $5000 from US Bank and a $25,000 allocation from Tribal Council.  

**Building support through meetings:** Duane King and others used videos and brochures when they met with Tribal members to gain support for the museum. King and the Board planned to ask Tribal Council to allocate $2.5 million to build the museum. Given the size of the allocation, Tribal Council would only authorize the funding if Tribal members approved it. Beulah Tsumpti related Duane King’s essential role in this process,

[King] set up meetings on the reservation. They were either community meetings, district meetings, or personal meetings in homes. He was selling the museum project to the Tribal members. That’s what we were doing and that’s what he was doing with our help. He worked with that and we got really good reviews; all the people thought it was a great project. . . . He did recordings, videotaped people, and took all that to the Tribal Council and then the Tribal Council set up a referendum for the Tribal members to vote on funding this project at $2.5 million. That’s what we needed back then to get it started.  

**Establishing the museum as a high priority capital project:** An important step in securing funding through Tribal Council was establishing the museum as

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118 Tsumpti, interview.
a high priority capital project. Janice Clements, MOIHS Board member who served on Tribal Council from 1986 to 1989, argued that the museum should be the first of three important capital projects to be funded,

When we did the capital projects, that's when . . . I really start talking for all three. I told them, “We need to put the museum first. . . . We need the museum, then we need education. But we need the museum; then everything else will fall in place. That’s your education, your children, your history, your culture, and your tradition.”

In 1988, Ken Smith, a Tribal member who served as an economic consultant for the Tribes, assisted Tribal Council in the Tribes’ overall financial planning, including capital projects such as the museum. Smith argued that the Tribes were financially able to build the top three capital projects,

Several capital projects are being seriously considered, one of which is the museum. . . . It is my understanding that the early childhood education center and the new health clinic proposals are also ready for Tribal Council consideration. . . . Our financial projections show that these three projects can be financed by the Tribe. These projects would be funded from a variety of sources including Tribal, federal, state, grant and loan funds and private contributions.

*Tribal Referendum:* In 1987 and 1988 the Board discussed, at length, a referendum in which tribal members would vote to approve funding for the construction of a museum. One important aspect of the referendum and its timing was to "prove to the grant foundations that we do have the support of our people." Board minutes state that,

It was decided that the museum project would be described as a $4.5 million project. $2.5 million would be designated for capital construction, $1 million for site preparation and exhibitry, and $1 million for society

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119 Clements, interview.
120 Ken Smith, interview with author, October 13, 2011. Ken Smith was and is an important leader in the Warm Springs community and beyond, especially concerning economic development. He served as Tribal Secretary/Treasurer 1969-1981, Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs in the Department of the Interior 1981-1985, and Tribal CEO and Secretary/Treasurer 1989-1995.
121 "Museum Referendum Set for Thursday, October 27."
122 MOIHS minutes, 15 December 1987.
endowment. The Board decided to recommend to the Tribal Council a referendum amount of $2.5 million. The museum project could go forward if another $1 million were raised. Any monies raised above that would allow for the formation of an endowment for the society.123

The Board directed Dr. King to present a proposed resolution to Tribal Council.124

Delvis Heath, Board member and Tribal Council member, recalls the Council meeting,

The Chairman at that time was Zane Jackson. Zane just turned around and asked, “Well, Council, what is it going to take to go ahead?” And the Board had already done its work and did a study of how much it’s going to cost to build a museum. . . . “Okay, all right, 2.5 million. Let’s go with the $2.5.” So they made the motion, and . . . they took it to the people to vote.125

The referendum question that Tribal members voted on was: "Shall there be appropriated from Tribal funds the sum of not to exceed $2,500,000 to be used in conjunction with non-Tribal funds for the purpose of planning, developing, constructing, operating and endowing the museum on the Warm Springs Reservation in order to preserve the culture, traditions and histories of the Indians of Middle Oregon?"126

The museum referendum date was set for October 27, 1988, and announced in two Spilyay Tymoo articles.127 The second article, filling a page, includes a perspective line drawing and floor plan of the proposed museum (see figs. 4.10-4.11). Extensive text explains the referendum amount, museum location, history of artifact acquisition, capital projects, and expected revenue and jobs. Within the article, Duane King emphasizes that the collection is outstanding

123 MOIHS minutes, 21 March 1988, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
124 MOIHS minutes, 1 April 1988.
125 Heath, interview.
126 "CTWS Tribal Council Resolution No. 7581 [$25,000 for video and brochure] April 19."; "MOIHS minutes, September 1, 1988."
127 "October 27 . . . Museum Referendum Date Set," Spilyay Tymoo, October 7, 1988; "Museum Referendum Set for Thursday, October 27."
and Liz Tewee notes that without a museum, “we have no way for our people to enjoy the collection.” Also within the article, Ken Smith explains three reasons why the museum is the first of several capital projects to be brought up for referendum:

One is that the museum has been in the planning process for more than two decades. Secondly, the museum will involve a capital campaign to raise funds from outside sources which will require a commitment from the tribe in order to ensure funding agencies that the museum will be a reality and that it is something that tribal members desire. Also, in 1987, the Board of Directors and Tribal Council concluded that plans for the museum should be expedited in order to complete it within the lifetimes of tribal members who have contributed so much to the museum effort.

The referendum passed two to one. Tribal Council ratified the results of the election the following day. According to Spilyay Tymoo, “The referendum represents the largest Tribal appropriation for a museum project in the history of the United States.”

4.3.6 External Fundraising

**Fundraising strategy:** In the 1970s, MOIHS sought external funding, but it did not follow a comprehensive strategy that yielded the level of funding required to build a museum. In 1984, a consultant, Bronson Leigh Weeks, developed a fundraising plan from which Duane King used elements as he developed his three phase strategy to raise $4.5 million for museum planning, construction, exhibit installation, and endowment. Phase I was the Tribal referendum, whose

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128 "Museum Referendum Set for Thursday, October 27."
129 Ibid. The article also provides practical information about the vote in large, bold type at the bottom of the page, "If you are 21 years of age or married, you are eligible to vote in this referendum. Polls at the Community Center will be open from 8 AM to 8 PM."
130 "Members Approve Museum Referendum Two to One," Spilyay Tymoo, November 4, 1988. The article also stated, "Many of the more than 100 Tribal museums, built in the 1970s, were funded by Economic Development Administration (EDA) and other non-Tribal sources." "CTWS Tribal Council Resolution No. 7689 [$2.5 million appropriation] October 27," (1988).
success signaled Tribal support to external funders. After the referendum passed, the capital campaign was announced publicly and Phase II—an effort targeting three to four grants of at least $250,000—began. Phase III focused on Northwest funding agencies whose average grant was less than $25,000; it was projected to be more labor intensive, given the smaller size of each grant.\textsuperscript{131}

Although Duane King began his fundraising efforts even before he began working for the museum fulltime, he did not send out grant proposals right away. Instead, he developed promotional brochures and videos and contacted potential funders to inform them of his intent to request money and find out what level of support might be available. In a 1987 Board meeting, King informed the Board that he planned to do several ambitious fundraising trips to visit major institutions in New York City, Washington, DC, and California. He also planned to visit all potential funders in Oregon and Washington.\textsuperscript{132}

The month before the referendum, the Board discussed the capital campaign in some depth. Key Tribal leaders, Board members, and state politicians were identified to spearhead the fundraising efforts.\textsuperscript{133} The campaign would target a small number of large grants. It would seek funds from non-traditional sources for a museum:

Although large foundations, most notably the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Fred Meyer Foundation would be approached, there would also be an effort to raise funds from other areas such as state lottery, economic development or highway funds, federal funds including the Bureau of Indian Affairs, large corporations having a direct connection to the Confederated Tribes, and large national foundations.\textsuperscript{134}

\textsuperscript{131} Bronson Leigh Weeks, Action Plan Sequence for Middle Oregon Indian Heritage and Cultural Center Fund Raising Campaign, 1984, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR; Duane King to MOIHS Board, 9 September 1988, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR; MOIHS minutes, 20 June 1975, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR; MOIHS minutes, 18 August 1975.
\textsuperscript{132} MOIHS minutes, 24 July 1987; MOIHS minutes, 2 October 1987.
\textsuperscript{133} MOIHS minutes, 1 September 1988.
\textsuperscript{134} Ibid.
Although MOIHS was cautioned against “initiating a major capital campaign prior to financial commitment by the Tribes,” King and the Board aimed to apply to the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) in 1988 rather than waiting a year for the next funding cycle. MOIHS asked Tribal Council to authorize King to visit NEH and to select Tribal Council representatives to accompany King. Janice Clements related King’s effectiveness in persuading people to fund the museum,

“We went back to DC for a meeting, and . . . the Wasco chief asked . . . if he could go with Dr. King. . . . So he went. When he came back, he said, “I was very, very, very impressed with Dr. King. When we got there, this guy told him that there was no way that they could give him a grant. . . . After he talked to that guy for a while—I don’t know how long we were there—you know what happened? . . . We got the grant. We did. I don’t know what Dr. King told him; he changed his mind and gave us the money.”

Grants awarded: By October 1988 Phase I of the capital campaign—the referendum—was successfully concluded. Five weeks later, NEH awarded a challenge grant of $500,000 to MOIHS. As King noted, “The challenge grant signified that the largest federal funding agency considers the museum important enough to award the grant to MOIHS. It also indicates their confidence in our ability to raise the remaining monies needed to complete the project. For every dollar NEH offers, three dollars must be raised from non-federal agencies.”

Three other large grants were awarded in 1989. Fred Meyer Foundation, the largest funding agency in the Northwest, awarded MOIHS a $300,000 grant to be used for “construction, exhibits, educational programming

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135 MOIHS Board of Directors to Tribal Council, 17 February 1988, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
136 Clements, interview.
138 MOIHS minutes, 16 December 1988, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
and outreach for the new museum." MOIHS received a $200,000 block grant from HUD and $300,000 from the Murdock Charitable Trust. Pacificorp awarded MOIHS $75,000, bringing the total of funds committed up to $3,875,000 by the end of 1989. In 1990, MOIHS received $465,000 in regional strategy lottery funds from the State of Oregon. It also received $25,000 from the Johnson Foundation, $25,000 from Occidental petroleum, $10,000 from Central Oregon Community College, and smaller amounts from private sources.

Completing the campaign with interest income: The amount raised by 1990 was more than $4.4 million, less than $100,000 away from the initial goal of $4.5 million. Given that $60,000 in interest had already accumulated, Duane King argued that on the basis of additional expected income, MOIHS could declare the capital campaign complete by the two year anniversary of the Tribal referendum that began the capital campaign. In the beginning of 1991, Tribal Council agreed to allocate the interest earned since the 1988 referendum vote on the $2.5 appropriation to MOIHS. This satisfied the matching and “top-off” requirements of other grants and helped MOIHS meet its campaign goal. By February 1991, Development Officer Lisa Watt reported that more than $4.9 million had been raised—enough to build the museum.

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139 "MOIHS Receives $300,000 Grant from Fred Meyer," Spilyay Tymoo, February 24, 1989.
141 Ken Smith to Neil Goldschmidt, November 19, 1990. MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
142 Duane King, Fundraising Strategy for Completion of the MOIHS Capital Campaign, 1990, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
143 Ibid.
145 MOIHS minutes, 4 February 1991.
4.4 Strategic Actions

What strategic actions positioned Tribal members and their advocates to build the museum?

4.4.1 Built an Outstanding Collection

The first critical step was building the collection. This was begun by Tribal leaders with the first allocation of $60,000. Tribal Council’s annual commitment to allocate funding to buy heirlooms allowed the dedicated members of the Accessions Committee to purchase representative artifacts from all three tribes every year. Staff members labeled, cataloged and cared for the collection for several decades until the museum was ready. As Duane King noted in 1987, "No other Tribe in the country has made such a conscientious effort to collect and preserve its treasures. It is the best collection I’ve seen, not in a museum."[146]

4.4.2 Supported MOIHS

The Confederated Tribes created MOIHS as a non-profit, headed by its own Board, thus allowing some autonomy and insulation from Tribal leadership changes. Tribal Council provided continuous financial support for decades—and it still does. Tribal Council did not just allocate money for artifacts. It paid to store the artifacts, for example, to renovate the space in the old boys’ dorm with security and fire suppression systems. It also paid to insure the collection. Tribal Council provided MOIHS with an annual budget, paid staff, and travel funding for Board and staff. Importantly, Tribal Council provided the salary to hire an outstanding executive director.

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[146] "Executive Director Hired for MOIHS."
4.4.3 Hired an Outstanding Executive Director

Several people claim that the most significant step in establishing the museum was hiring a good executive director. Janice Clements recalled, “Just looking at . . . how long it took us, my God, it must have taken about fifteen years or so before they finally got down to really coming up with what we really needed to do. And that was to search for a director in order to guide us, who was a professional director in an Indian museum.”147 Victor Atiyeh considered the process and concluded that,

I think the significance was the executive director that finally got us pointed. I was on the Board for some time . . . but until that executive director came . . . That was a spark that—“Oh, maybe we can actually get this thing done!” So there had been a lot of talk about we ought to have a building some day and maybe we’ll have a building someday, but it was always that kind of thing. It was a dream, and that started it off.148

Beulah Tsumpti stated that when she met with tribes planning to build museums, she always let them know, “The most important thing that you need to do to get your museum going is hire a professional museum person right off the bat. That’s what we didn’t do for a few years; we were trying to do everything on our own. We were going, going, but we weren’t getting off the ground. So, you know, after we hired Duane [King], the museum project just took off!”149

4.4.4 Conclusion

When the Museum Board of Directors met for the last time before the museum opened, they reflected on the considerable accomplishment and all of the people who contributed to the monumental effort. What is significant here is that many

147 Clements, interview.
148 Atiyeh, interview.
149 Tsumpti, interview.
people—Tribal members and others—contributed on many levels, for decades.

According to the minutes,

Rudy spoke of the elders and the support they gave us. A dream came true for them. Janice also mentioned the Board and how far they came with this project. She is thankful to Jim Noteboom, Jim Southern and Governor Atiyeh for their help and support. . . . Jim Southern spoke of when he began working with us on the project and what we went through to get to where we are now. . . . Janice added that she feels the Tribal members are the first to be thanked as it was [they] who voted “yes” for the funding.150

Craig Kerger, who as an exhibit designer has seen thirty years of museum projects succeed or fail, concluded that at The Museum At Warm Springs,

I believe that the Board, together with a hired outsider like King, who understood that if he could get this museum launched that he would clearly be able to use that as a stepping stone. And then the fundraising aspect of this was very good and very strong, and Vic Atiyeh was involved in that. So when you've got all the right people in all the right places and you've got your funding moving, oh baby, you can build a museum now! Because that's what it takes . . . having the right people at the top.151

150 MAWS minutes, 4 March 1993.
151 Kerger, interview.
New home for MOIHS

The Mid-Oregon Indian Historical Society recently moved into their own quarters. The old Ralph Minnick house is now the home of the full-time staff, which includes Liz Tewee, left, and Beulah Wahpat, right. In the center is Roberta Kirk, who is helping to photograph artifacts that have been acquired by the MOIHS.

Figure 4.1. Staff at new MOIHS office in 1986. Reproduced by permission from "Warbonnet Given to MOIHS." Spilyay Tymoo, August 15, 1986.

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Figure 4.2. MOIHS Board, staff, and executive director with new Board member, former Governor Victor Atiyeh in 1988. Reproduced by permission from "New Member." Spilyay Tymoo, July 15, 1988.
Figure 4.3. Display case at Kah-Nee-Ta Resort in 1983. Reproduced by permission from "Museum Storyline to Reflect Tribal Struggles, Successes." Spilyay Tymoo, October 7, 1983.
Figure 4.5. Teepee, regalia, and stone tools displayed at the Warm Springs Agency Longhouse in 1983. Reproduced by permission from Behrend, Donna. "A Prelude to a Museum . . . Artifacts Displayed at Longhouse." Spilyay Tymoo, January 24, 1983.
Figure 4.6. Above, JoAllyn Archambault and Jim Southern at the Warm Springs Agency Longhouse display in 1988.

Figure 4.7. Below, Shup ta kais (also known as “parfleches or “Indian suitcases”) displayed at the Warm Springs Agency Longhouse in 1988.

Figure 4.8. Teepee, regalia, shup ta kais, drum, and tule mats displayed at the Warm Springs Agency Longhouse in 1988. Reproduced by permission from “Exhibit Takes Visitors into the Past.” Spilyay Tymoo, July 15, 1988.
A tule mat in the middle of the Longhouse floor was backdrop to many pre-contact era artifacts.

Figure 4.10. Above, Perspective drawing of early museum design
Figure 4.11. Below, Plan drawing of early museum design.

Chapter 5
DESIGNING THE MUSEUM

5.1 Introduction

5.1.1 Cornerstone Setting and Blessing Ceremonies

In 1990, six Spilyay Tymoo articles invited Tribal member participation in an event that the MOIHS Board and staff and many others from throughout the community had planned and prepared for many months.¹ The event, described as the Cornerstone Setting and Blessing Ceremonies, was to be held at the museum site. The planned agenda for the all-day event began with Washat Services followed by a Blessing Parade of the museum site and speeches by the Tribal Council Chairman, MOIHS Executive Director, and Tribal CEO. Next, the Chairman of the MOIHS Board was to perform the Cornerstone Setting Ceremony and another Board member was to recognize MOIHS supporters. Last on the agenda were a salmon bake and “Indian social dancing.”² The governor, a former governor, and two senators from the State of Oregon along with representatives from the Smithsonian Institution and Institute of American Indian Arts were invited to attend and be recognized.³ Tribal members were urged to wear their finest regalia for “a very special group photograph” to be printed life size and displayed at the end of the museum’s permanent exhibit. Tribal

¹ MOIHS minutes, 3 March 1990, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
² “Agenda Set for June 3,” Spilyay Tymoo, June 1, 1990.
members were also invited to submit letters “to their families of the future” to be placed in a time capsule buried beneath the cornerstone.4

The Three Sisters—Elders in their 90s—stood and sang throughout the one-hour Washat service.5 Alice Parman, exhibit planner, described the Blessing Ceremony, “As drums were beaten and songs were sung, the men and boys moved around the future perimeter of the museum in big sideways jumps . . . showing their strength and their determination to honor and bless this undertaking.”6 Brigette Whipple remembered participating with her family in the horse parade and being photographed with her family and with friends, “We all dressed up. The outfit that I wore . . . was my grandma’s . . . I just remember so many horses and . . . being very proud that our people, our Tribal people still had outfits to wear and were able to dress up.”7 Alice Parman observed, “Everyone was dressed up in their absolutely incredible regalia. Some of it may not have seen the light of day in a long time, especially the horse trappings. . . . That’s where those pictures came from.”8 Craig Kerger, the exhibit designer, had envisioned taking a single group photograph of Tribal members in regalia. Yet so many people came that, “We were totally overwhelmed beyond our wildest dream that we could produce a photo of that many people.”9

The Cornerstone Setting and Blessing Ceremonies marked the beginning of the process of building the museum. But it also celebrated the culmination of arduous processes of reaching consensus on a site, assessing its viability,

4 “Invitation Extended to Ceremonies,” Spilyay Tymoo, June 1, 1990.
6 Parman, “A Joint Effort.”
7 Brigette Whipple, interview with author, August 10, 2010.
8 Alice Parman, interview with author, October 8, 2010.
9 Craig Kerger, interview with author, July 28, 2010; “Hundreds Attend Museum Ceremonies.”
gaining approvals, leasing the site, and preparing it for construction. The remainder of this section chronicles processes of selecting and preparing a site and selecting architects to design the museum. The following section describes communication processes between Tribal clients and their designers including building trust, holding a design workshop in the community, building consensus and approval, and using storytelling as a primary method of communication. The third section considers key design issues and sources of inspiration to design a place that specifically represents the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs. The fourth section outlines architectural and landscape architectural design processes—programming, schematic design, design development, and contract documents—as well as design media—drawings and models. The fifth section concludes by analyzing strategic activities that Tribal members and their designers did that led toward the final built form of the Museum At Warm Springs.

5.1.2 Selecting and Preparing a Site

The MOIHS began considering and evaluating alternate museum sites in 1975. Initially, the preferred site was near the Kah-Nee-Ta Resort, convenient for tourists and conference-goers. At one point the museum was envisioned as part of a cultural center complex near Kah-Nee-Ta that included an auditorium that could be rented out as an extension of the resort’s conference facilities. Other people argued in favor of a site along Highway 26 close to the population center of Warm Springs so as to be more accessible to Tribal members and
visitors from out of town. People debated the museum site for more than a
decade.\textsuperscript{11}

In 1987, the MOIHS executive director and Board, in consultation with the
Tribal Planning Department and Tribal Council, established criteria for an ideal
museum site:

1. Readily accessible to the population center of the Warm Springs
Reservation, preferably within 2 miles of the Agency.
2. Readily accessible to the traveling public, preferably visible from
Highway 26.
3. Within reasonable distance of governmental offices and schools to
facilitate use of the archives and research materials and to
accommodate visitors to those offices.
4. A site with multiple ecological zones and a natural stream for outdoor
interpretation.
5. A land base sufficient in size to accommodate present and future
museum buildings, parking areas and outdoor exhibits.
6. Reasonably close to utilities.\textsuperscript{12}

Soon after establishing these criteria, the MOIHS Board identified a site
on the hill south of Shitike Creek. The site had “a commanding view” and would
be “an excellent location for an impressive architectural structure.”\textsuperscript{13} But BIA
planned to build a road in the same location, so MOIHS selected another site on
the valley floor, between Highway 26 and Shitike Creek. The site is immediately
accessible from the highway, about one mile east of the Warm Springs Agency. It
has a “sufficient land base” and “multiple ecological zones and a natural stream.”
But it is in the flood plain and many Tribal members questioned the wisdom of
building a museum in the floodplain.\textsuperscript{14} Others favored a site near water. Janice
Clements argued that the site was “ideal because of the water . . . which is very

\textsuperscript{11} Donna Behrend, “Museum to Depict Warm Springs’ Story,” \textit{Spilyay Tymoo}, June 3,
1983; MOIHS minutes, 18 September 1985, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
\textsuperscript{12} “MOIHS Board Considering Museum Site,” \textit{Spilyay Tymoo}, August 28, 1987; MOIHS
minutes, 24 July 1987, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
\textsuperscript{13} “MOIHS Board Considering Museum Site.”
\textsuperscript{14} Beulah Tsumpti, interview with author, July 8, 2010.
important to Indian people . . . looking at the creek that’s running by, and knowing what that water stands for, for us. It’s right in our treaty.\textsuperscript{15}

MOIHS hired Century West Engineering to assess their preferred site and compare it to four other sites. After considering the assessment, the MOIHS Board stuck with the same site, but hired CH\textsubscript{2}M Hill to conduct a floodplain analysis. The CH\textsubscript{2}M Hill report concluded that “neither floodplain problems nor geotechnical problems were an impediment to the construction of the museum on the site.” However, development of the site required adding five feet of fill to elevate the building one foot above the 500-year floodplain.\textsuperscript{16}

Because the chosen site was allotment land and part of it was leased for alfalfa production, obtaining the rights and approvals to build on it was complicated. MOIHS applied to the Land Use Committee for a lease and directed the BIA Realty Officer to contact adjoining landholders to ascertain their interest in selling or leasing their interest in the allotment. Because part of the land was currently leased, lessees were contacted too. After Board members contacted individual owners of the fractionated allotment to explain the proposed museum project, owners were ready to negotiate.\textsuperscript{17} Tribal Council approved the site in 1989 and provided a 25-year lease.\textsuperscript{18}

\textsuperscript{15} Janice Clements, interview with author, July 20, 2010.
\textsuperscript{16} “Museum Referendum Set for Thursday, October 27,” \textit{Spilyay Tymoo}, October 21, 1988; MOIHS minutes, 1 September 1988, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR; MOIHS minutes, 8 November 1988, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR; MOIHS minutes, 22 November 1988, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR; MOIHS minutes, December 16, 1988, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
\textsuperscript{17} MOIHS minutes, 22 May 1987, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR; MOIHS minutes, 2 October 1987, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR; MOIHS minutes, 5 November 1987, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
Before the project was put out to bid, boulders, rocks, gravel, soil and sand were trucked in and compacted to form a pad five feet above the surrounding floodplain. Boulders were also placed along the shore of Shitike Creek to contain fill, prevent erosion of the bank, and protect the planned museum.19

5.1.3 Selecting Architects

Over the years, MOIHS hired three different architecture firms. In 1983 it hired its first architect who designed several alternative schemes for a site near Kah-Nee-Ta. The first scheme was a 10,000 square foot facility including an exhibit space, storage, gift shop, offices, and an auditorium.20 Some Board members had a “negative reaction to the rectangle design” and the architect responded that he intended to put “symbolism on the outside of the building to resemble or depict Warm Springs people.”21 In 1984 the architect presented a design that was described as looking like a fort. The Board instructed the architect to build a scale model to get input from the Tribal community. The architect built the model, but the Board disagreed about excess payment for the model.22 In 1985 the architect presented an alternate design, for a 30,000 square foot multi-use facility including an auditorium and a research wing. Once again, the Board responded

19 “Boulder Placement Protects New Museum, Shitike Creek," Spilyay Tymoo, August 10, 1990; Steve Andersen, interview with author, July 26, 2010; Christopher Boothby, interview with author, July 26, 2010; Tsumpti, interview.
20 MOIHS minutes, 23 December 1982, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR; MOIHS minutes, 2 March 1983, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
21 MOIHS minutes, 8 December 1983, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
22 MOIHS minutes, 23 March 1984, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR; MOIHS minutes, 4 April 1984, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
that the building needed to look like an Indian building rather than a military building.\textsuperscript{23} By 1986 the Board was considering other architects.\textsuperscript{24}

In 1987, MOIHS hired its second architect, a well-regarded Northwest architectural firm known for museum design. The Board accepted the firm’s proposal to complete the preliminary design phase in fifteen weeks, billing by time-and-materials charges, with a maximum of $30,000.\textsuperscript{25} The firm completed the tasks on time—including program, cost estimate, and conceptual design—and requested payment before beginning schematic design.\textsuperscript{26}

When the firm presented its building program, the Board had only a few changes.\textsuperscript{27} When it presented conceptual design, the Board made few qualitative comments on design, but did suggest adding petroglyph symbols.\textsuperscript{28} The firm proposed to complete schematic design and prepare documents for the referendum for a fee not to exceed $35,000. Yet, this proposed fee did not include presentation work such as renderings, models, and text.\textsuperscript{29} The firm offered a less costly option, to make a visual presentation of the preliminary scheme without further design work for $5000-$8000. Board members were concerned about “the amount of work completed so far on the design in comparison to the amount charged for this work.” The Board authorized the executive director to negotiate a $5000 settlement with the architects for architectural drawings.\textsuperscript{30} It is not clear whether this negotiation was successful or

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{23} MOIHS minutes, 18 September 1985.
\item \textsuperscript{24} MOIHS minutes, 23 September 1986, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
\item \textsuperscript{25} MOIHS minutes, 29 June 1987, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR; MOIHS minutes, 24 July 1987; Warm Springs Museum: Design process - Outline of preliminary Phase, 1987, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
\item \textsuperscript{26} Architect to Duane King, 4 November 1987, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
\item \textsuperscript{27} MOIHS minutes, 2 October 1987.
\item \textsuperscript{28} MOIHS minutes, 5 November 1987.
\item \textsuperscript{29} Architect to Duane King, 4 November 1987.
\item \textsuperscript{30} MOIHS minutes, 5 November 1987.
\end{itemize}
if MOIHS ever received the drawings. A few months later MOIHS developed a promotional booklet and video that show architectural drawings credited to Tribal planners Dale Parker and Ray Rangila rather than the architectural firm.  

In 1989, once again, MOIHS sought to hire an architect; by this point engineering reports had helped to finalize site selection and much of the construction funding was in place. MOIHS considered twelve different architectural firms and selected two finalists. In July 1989 Donald Stastny and Bryan Burke assembled a proposal booklet, interviewed, and signed a contract the next month for complete architectural services for a fixed fee of $250,000. According to another architect, the other finalist was “a really top-notch architect, but he’s a very stiff person. And Don went to the interview in a leather jacket, black jeans, and the proposal had a picture of him as a teenager with regalia, because he grew up in a little town called Malin, Oregon and . . . danced with the Klamath Tribe.”

Don Stastny told the story of how he became involved with the people of Warm Springs and why he thought he was selected to design the museum:

My relationship with the Warm Springs people goes back to going to a Boy Scout Jamboree in 1957 at Valley Forge, and all the Oregon Boy Scouts got on a train in Portland, and we had a chartered train that went to Valley Forge and back. . . . On our way up the Columbia Gorge we stopped at The Dalles and picked up the troop from Warm Springs. So all the way across the nation when we’d stop, the boys would put on their regalia and they’d dance. It was on that trip that they taught me how to dance. So when I got back I made my own regalia and danced for a while. So when we were interviewed for the project, the last slide that we

showed was me in my regalia dancing, and I think that sealed the deal. It was a bigger thing than just showing the right slide; it was showing the ability to listen and work with the people as far as what they wanted to achieve.33

Victor Atiyeh stated that, “I was mightily impressed, and of course, the [rest] of the Board was as well, with Don Stastny. The architects that we narrowed it down to were all qualified architects . . . but Don Stastny had a really good feel for the Native Americans. . . . It was something you didn’t have to train him for. So he was chosen.”34 Beulah Tsumpti explained that Stastny and Burke were hired “per their design and bids. . . . [They] seemed to be more knowledgeable about tribes and the designs especially. They knew what we were looking for; they understood what we were looking for. Their designs they brought back were acceptable.” Stastny and Burke brought samples and images and Tribal members were really happy with them. So MOIHS officially hired them and “then they came and set up shop here, started working with the Tribal members right away. . . . And they got along. They had fantastic personalities, and that’s kind of important, working with the Tribe.”35

5.2 Communication between Tribal Clients and Designers

Effective communication between Tribal member clients and their non-Indigenous designers was absolutely critical. Yet designers were sometimes challenged by cultural differences. As Alice Parman experienced, “whenever you’re working with a Native group . . . it’s international diplomacy. So there are protocols that must be strictly observed.”36 Designers needed to understand what

35 Tsumpti, interview.
36 Parman, interview.
was important to Tribal members, but Tribal members needed to trust designers before they were ready to talk. To allow time to establish trust and communicate about what was important to see in the museum, the architecture team conducted an informal design workshop at Warm Springs. Storytelling proved to be a significant method of communication; architects learned to listen to stories and to use storytelling to communicate design ideas. Building consensus and receiving approvals were essential processes, yet given the number of groups that designers interacted with, they were often time consuming.

5.2.1 Key People

The core architecture team included Donald Stastny and Bryan Burke, principals of Stastny and Burke Architecture; Christopher Boothby, project architect; Jeff Tathwell, interior architect; and Carol Mayer-Reed, landscape architect and principal of Mayer-Reed. These were the people who participated in the design workshop and stayed with the project for the duration. The core exhibit design folks were Craig Kerger, exhibit designer and principal of Formations Inc., and Alice Parman, exhibit planner and writer.

After the one-week workshop, most meetings about architectural design were with the MOIHS Board and staff. The architecture team also met with Elders. As the project progressed, a Building Committee was formed:

They consisted of different staff people from different departments that would be working with the museum. Somebody from the construction, the utility department, a person that works with water around here. Ed Manion . . . used to be head of the utilities department, so he knew a lot about water resources, electricity. . . . And then local contractors . . . offered to be on the committee too. Then there are a couple actually from the Society Board. So . . . they’re the ones who worked with the contractors and exhibit designer and the architects.  

37 Tsumpti, interview.
Exhibit designers were in contact with all of the people mentioned above, but because they were telling the Tribes’ stories through the exhibits, they spent more time with Tribal members and were engaged with many more people. The curator, Elizabeth Tewee, “was the one who really orchestrated the content development.” She assembled focus groups of people who self-identified as primarily Paiute, Wasco, or Warm Springs. Initially Tewee was the liaison between exhibit designers and the Tribes, but when she left, Roberta Kirk took her place,

I was involved a lot with all of the different contractors that were building/making the displays, the videos and putting the story lines together. . . . We worked with Formations and we went back and forth with the Culture and Heritage Committee and we brought all of our plans to them, the different exhibit designs, the different story lines and we would run everything by them and say, “Does this meet your approval? Is this correct?” And they would make changes and make corrections.

The Culture and Heritage Committee recommended Elders for different topics and Kirk “was the do-it-all person; I was driving them here and there and bringing them to the recordings and setting up appointments for everyone that had to be recorded.”

According to the exhibit designers, contributions from certain Tribal members or their representatives were key to the success of the project. Alice Parman described specific roles that a few people played, “Delbert Frank was quite . . . the idea guy . . . He had really thought long and hard about the messages that the museum should deliver.” Jim Noteboom, the Tribal lawyer, “had such a deep understanding of the complexities of some of the history . . . certain points of sensitivity that if you didn’t use those words or if you worded it in

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38 Parman, interview.
40 Ibid.
a certain way you would make everybody happy, but if you didn’t you might cause some ruckus. So basically he was like a diplomat in helping me as the writer.”41

As the lead exhibit designer, Craig Kerger was in close contact with Board members. He noted that “it was mostly Board members who would birddog key people. . . . They would give you everything they knew and were smart enough to say, ‘Okay, this is a great question; we want you to talk to so-and-so.’ So they would delegate answers, and then follow up to make sure that it was correct within the Tribe.” Kerger worked closely with the Three Sisters, “three very sweet women [who] really had a huge impact on what we wound up doing.” Toward the end of the process Kerger communicated with the Culture and Heritage Department for historic photographs and final editing and review.42

5.2.2 Building Trust

Tribal members wanted the opportunity to influence the design of the museum and exhibits, but when designers came to listen to them, they were not ready to speak immediately because they needed to trust people before they were ready to share knowledge. As Delvis Heath recalled, “It was the people’s demand, ‘If we’re going to build it, we want it our way. . . .’ We try to listen to the people as much as we can.” So the architects went to meet with the Elders.

First time a lot of them didn’t want to share anything. . . . It took them one, two, three, four times maybe before they finally start getting their trust and they start opening up and explaining, trying to tell them what they were really looking for. . . . It didn’t take them overnight; it took them awhile. . . . They thought it would be just a couple days of going and talking to the people . . . [but] you’ve got to gain their trust first before you can do anything. . . . They’re not going to directly come out and start telling you

41 Parman, interview.
42 Kerger, interview.
anything; it takes a while with a lot of our old people before you can really get them out to explain, and talking about ways they were brought up.  

Jeff Tathwell, the interior architect on the project, grew up in the town of Madras, fifteen miles from Warm Springs, and went to high school with Tribal members. He observed that, "You have to listen to them and listen to their stories and ask them questions. And once they trust you, then they tend to open up. But they have to trust you first, because they don't know you, and they're not going to open up their lives to you if they don't know you and they don't trust you."  

Although she built rapport with Elders through their mutual regard for native plants, landscape architect Carol Mayer-Reed found communication challenging at times.  

Sometimes they were really free in talking about certain things, and sometimes they weren't. . . . Perhaps it's because there were three Tribes and they never necessarily wanted to speak for all three, "Well, I'm a Warm Springs and I won't speak for the Wasco and Paiute. . . ." And sometimes they'd speak among themselves in their languages with us at the table. We felt excluded from some of the conversations but didn't fully understand why.  

Alice Parman was very cautious when she began the project; she relied on her liaison, Elizabeth Tewee, for cultural guidance. As she explained, "It seemed like it took a long time. . . . It was just unfamiliar territory for both of us. . . . I go to the reservation, and I, oh man, I'm walking on eggshells. I'm just taking cues; I'm keeping my mouth shut. Then gradually people start to warm up when they see that . . . you're not there to tell them what to do. You're there to find out what they want us to do."  

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44 Jeff Tathwell, interview with author, October 8, 2010.  
45 Carol Mayer-Reed, interview with author, July 28, 2010.  
46 Parman, interview
Craig Kerger explained that, “We weren’t immediately embraced.” For six months he met with Tribal members, asked questions and made presentations of the exhibit design, but received no feedback. And then the Museum Board, executive director, and exhibit designer went to Disneyland together to meet with an Imagineer whom the director thought would be helpful. Craig Kerger related, “That night we all rode rides. . . . I was with the various chiefs . . . and when we got back from that trip they go, ‘Okay, we’re ready to tell you. . . .’ So we stayed up all night long and I just wrote. I didn’t ask any questions and they just said, ‘This is the story you’re going to tell.’” For Kerger this was a pivotal moment that changed the communication dynamics completely. But to get there required great patience.

You’ve just got to hang around until they’re ready to either accept you or tell you what they want to tell you. . . . We just stuck with it and once that was done, that’s when they started saying, “Okay, now we need to have you talk to this person about this particular project or event.” So now they were getting us deeper into the inner chamber of the people who knew those stories intimately. And that’s where the three sisters became a major voice. . . . So they would sing us a song and then they would tell us about that song, and it was basically everything we needed to know. It was really a magical thing, this whole process, because once we were in, we were in, and they would tell us anything we wanted to ask, and we also understood that . . . if there was some dirt somewhere, they didn’t want to go there.

5.2.3 Design Workshop

When Stastny and Burke interviewed to design the museum, their proposal included a “one week on-site workshop.” The MOIHS Board “asked them to come out and meet with our people, and interview our people, and have our people have input to what they wanted to see in the building. And so we had

47 Kerger, interview
48 Ibid.
49 Stastny and Burke, Stastny and Burke interview proposal, 1989, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
community meetings and shared with our community what they were doing.”

The architects scheduled formal meetings with the MOIHS Board, Tribal Council, the MOIHS Building Committee, and representatives from the Planning Department. But radio announcements and posted flyers invited all Tribal members to meet with the architects and “let them know how they wanted their museum to be built.”

Donald Stastny explained the intent and results of the workshop,

We really wanted to set a studio up on the reservation and . . . do an open workshop. . . . We met with the Board, we met with different people from the community, and we met with the Elders. And the intent of that was to come out of that week with some sort of concept that we could then take away and start to evolve. Prior to that and through the interview we had already developed a couple of ideas and concepts that we had used both in the interview and then we also used as part of our starting point when we went out on the reservation.

The architects set up a temporary design studio, including drafting boards and tables, in the Housing Department conference room at Warm Springs.

Christopher Boothby, the project architect, recalled that Tribal members were unfamiliar with reading drawings and that “most of the interaction was verbal; 99% of it was just verbal: us posing questions and being told what was important.” Boothby recalled the workshop.

When no Tribal members were there to talk to, we did schematic design and charretted and cycled through various schemes. We came back with a scheme that is actually somewhat reflective of what was built. . . . Lots of changes occurred, but some of the basic moves were pretty well established that week. . . . Tribal members would trickle in, and one or two of us might stay at the table working, listening, but mostly we would

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50 Clements.
51 Beulah Calica to MOIHS Board of Directors, et al., 11 September 1989, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
52 Kirk, interview.
53 Stastny, interview, October 9, 2010.
54 Boothby, interview.
gravitate to joining them. . . . During that week, also, Don and Bryan and Carol . . . did go interview some elders, two or three women.55

The landscape architect emphasized that she and others did a lot of research prior to the workshop "to learn more about the backgrounds of the people that we were going to be working with and the cultural traditions of the tribes." Once there,

We didn’t structure meetings so much. There was a freedom for the Tribal members to drop in at any time. So we’d just be working and we’d let them know we were going to be there, and if they want to stop by and talk to us, that was great. . . . We did a lot of drawings; we just had mountains of materials that we were working with. We were developing models, any form of communication that would help bridge the gap in terms of what they were prepared to see and what we were able to express. We wanted to make sure they understood what we were thinking and we wanted to know what they were thinking, so it was a really interesting exchange.56

For Carol Mayer-Reed, spending a week at Warm Springs was very important, not only for her to visit the site repeatedly at different times of day, but to have the opportunity to interact with Tribal members, especially Elders. She found herself “very much connected to the Elders” through their shared interest in native plants. The Elders felt it was really important for children to know native plants and how they were used traditionally. So together they developed a multilingual plant list and Mayer-Reed emphasized native plants in the landscape design.57

Jeff Tathwell observed that the design workshop helped the design team understand what Tribal members wanted in their museum and changed the design process.

Before then, we were just taking broad ideas. They were good ideas but they weren’t necessarily the right ideas. By meeting with the Tribal Council and Tribal members, it actually helped put us back on track with

55 Ibid.
56 Mayer-Reed, interview.
57 Ibid.
what the Tribe wanted in a museum versus our interpretation of what the Tribe wanted to see... We realized that what they thought and they wanted was different from how we approached a traditional architectural project.58

Donald Stastny recalled that, “One of the smartest things we did was set up the studio, because it enabled people to come by anytime and talk to us. When they first started talking to us . . . they would tell us stories at times, and it was through those stories, I think, that we were able to eventually understand what they were looking for.”59

Many enduring design concepts and elements came out of the workshop. These included the importance of water, the landscape, basalt and other material selections, the teepee, longhouse, dance bustle, drum, and huckleberry basket designs on the exterior.60

5.2.4 Storytelling

All of the designers found storytelling to be a key mode of communication with Tribal members. Exhibit planner Alice Parman found that so little had been written about Warm Springs, she needed to collect historical information by listening to Tribal members; that meant listening to stories by Elders.61

Landscape architect Carol Mayer-Reed was sensitive to the importance of storytelling to Tribal members. She listened to their stories and the stories became the foundation for the landscape design. After doing research on remnants of an orchard, she had a story to give back to Tribal members. When asked an unexpected question by the building inspector, she demonstrated that

58 Tathwell, interview.
59 Stastny, interview, October 9, 2010.
60 Tsumpti, interview; Heath, interview.
61 Parman, interview.
she too could tell stories. A key concept for the landscape design was the creation of storytelling places on the site.

Mayer-Reed discovered that “some of the Elders really had some great . . . ‘wisdom pearls.’ . . . It could be a phrase or it could be an acknowledgement of something. Or it could be a long story to answer a question that you had. You couldn’t figure out how they were going to get to the point of what the question was about until the very last sentence and they’d reveal something just brilliant.”62 The stories had a profound impact on the landscape design that Mayer-Reed developed. As she recounted,

I was asking one of the Elders, “Is there a standout kind of plant that could be a signature for the museum?” And she said, “Oh, I don’t know,” and she started telling me this story about their life in the Columbia Gorge and how there’d been this signing of the historic treaty under this big oak tree. I said, “Oh, okay, so the oaks would be an important plant to have here.” And she said, “Yes, I think we should have oaks.” I said, “Well that’s great. . . . We could go get a tree spade and get this really big oak and have it as the centerpiece for the museum.” Then she just looked at me and said, “I think we should plant an acorn. . . .” To her it was the purity, the act of planting a seed as opposed to tree-spacing a whole tree. It spoke volumes to me in terms of what she understood as a timeframe. It’s not immediate, it doesn’t have to be there for me, but it will be there for other generations.63

Mayer-Reed observed the remnants of an orchard on the edge of the site whose trees appeared to be at least a century old. She asked the Elders about the orchard, but they said, “Well, we don’t really know much about those trees.” So Mayer-Reed researched and called and asked around. She learned that, “There was a woman named Wauliba who had been one of the early people that came to the reservation. There was this program from the Bureau of Indian Affairs that was trying to get them to do more agriculture rather than hunting and gathering native foods. Wauliba decided that she could grow trees. . . . But she

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62 Mayer-Reed, interview.
63 Ibid.
ended up using the apples as a way to trade fruit for hunted and gathered foods.”
So after Mayer-Reed did her research, she told the Elders the story and they were delighted to hear a new story that they could share with others.64

Toward the beginning of the design workshop, the architects became aware of cultural differences that required them to change their mode of communication. Jeff Tathwell recounted that,

We just started to realize at that point that how we were talking and how they were talking . . . we were just really different. So, basically after that first meeting we regrouped and said . . . “What do we have to change to understand what they’re trying to tell us and how do we express ourselves so they can understand what we’re trying to do for them?” . . . A lot of it is just storytelling, and you listen to them and you listen to their stories and you try to incorporate their stories back into the building, because that building is housing their stories. That was pretty powerful once we sat down and understood that.65

The designers were required to listen patiently if they wanted answers to their questions. “One of us might pose a question and then half an hour later we would find out what it was that the story we were being told had to do with the question we’d asked. It’s the style of narrative response that is just a story and eventually you get to see, Okay, I guess I see why that was relevant to what was being inquired about.”66

Donald Stastny not only used storytelling to present the design, but he designed the building to tell a story.

When I would make a presentation . . . I made a point of speaking about it not in architectural terms but in how it would be experienced. So, when I would sit there and go through the plans, I would explain what the experience was of moving from one thing to the other. Of going up the creek, of coming to the stone drum, of looking for the entry, of coming into the cottonwood grove, the lobby, and basically walk them through in an

64 Ibid.
65 Tathwell, interview.
66 Boothby, interview.
experiential way. . . . We try to have the building tell a story, and even as you portray the building talk about the building as telling a story.\textsuperscript{67}

5.2.5 Building Consensus and Approval

Five weeks after the on-site design workshop, the architects presented drawings and a model of the final architectural design concept from which construction drawings would be made. The presentation was made to the MOIHS Board and “a wide variety of Tribal administrators” at the Tribal Administration Building. “Because the quorum was not present and because the final decision on the museum site had not been made it was not possible to give approval for the drawings.” The architects warned that it was important to receive approval as soon as possible, because a delay in producing the construction drawings could increase bid prices if the building were bid during the summer. Tribal Council approved the site four days later, absent Board members were polled, and the conceptual architectural design was approved in less than a week.\textsuperscript{68}

For exhibit designers, approval required more time because there were so many supervisory groups. Alice Parman remembered one meeting when Craig Kerger presented to Tribal Council and “they just didn’t like it.” This was a challenge because they were toward the end of the design process, in concept design with a detailed floor plan. The design had been presented before, but as Parman explained, “Different people get it at different times. So even though you think you’ve got everything pinned down and cleared . . . you just have to back up.” Kerger and Parman reflected on the feedback they heard and realized that “they haven’t really quarreled with any of the pieces, they just don’t like the way

\textsuperscript{67} Stastny, interview, October 9, 2010.
\textsuperscript{68} “Board Approves Museum Design;” MOIHS minutes, 27 October 1989, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
it’s put together.” So the designers rethought the organization, moved elements around, presented it, and Tribal Council approved the design.69

Alice Parman described another approval meeting where the three chiefs, the Board, and others reviewed sixty pages of text that would be used in the exhibits.

We went through the text page by page. And I was the facilitator, so, “Page one . . . Any comments on page one?” And you’d wait sometimes for three or four minutes and no one would say anything. So then I’d look around and I’d say, “Well, shall we go on to page two?” and then, snap! Someone would have a comment. So it took all day. . . . A lot of discussion, a lot of changing of stuff, tweaking, basically, but it was so important.70

As the contractors noted, decision-making is always more complicated when there are multiple groups. There are three tribes—the Warm Springs, the Wasco, and the Paiutes—and three Indigenous languages. It took the Tribes several months to decide what text would be inscribed on the granite above the entrance door. The final word was “Twanat,” an Ichishkiin Language word of the Warm Springs Tribe meaning “following the traditions of our ancestors.”71

5.3 Key Design Issues and Sources of Inspiration

Although architects considered the larger category of Indigenous American architecture, they sought to design a museum specific to the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs. Storytelling was very important as well as the relation to the natural world, especially water, native plants, and native materials.
5.3.1 Indigenous Architecture

Donald Stastny spoke at length about what Indigenous architecture should be. As the principal who focused on broader conceptual design issues, his thoughts formed the conceptual foundation for the architectural design of the museum.

Stastny talked about what not to do. “You don’t build the world’s largest Hogan or take a domestic . . . thing and make it larger” and you don’t just apply “red wash,” painted symbols on the outside of a building. It is not “imposing your ideas into the project, but understanding what their values are and how those should be interpreted in this structure.”

For architects, “It really is a philosophic shift from doing architecture that might look good in the current issue of Progressive Architecture but has a shelf life of a couple years, as opposed to something that has a shelf life for generations.” Stastny explained that, “It really is this essence of principles about what makes Native architecture.” These principles include:

- Simple precepts like materials from Mother Earth, real materials and not fake materials . . .
- This idea of the craft of the building or seeing the way things are made; buildings that are part of the land or rise out of the land; the idea of progression and ceremony of how you use the building is a lot like life. It shouldn’t be where you walk in and you understand everything. There should be exploration and there should be dead ends and there should be flows. . . .
- How light renders a building whether it’s on the outside rendering the wall or whether it’s on the inside, and how that light impacts and complements the architecture. It’s those kinds of principles that make Native architecture as opposed to whether it looks like a teepee or an igloo.

Stastny emphasized the craft of a building and compared the process to making a moccasin, “where you take the animal and you pray over the animal, and then you tan the hide with the brains of the animal and you cut out the moccasin in a certain way and then you assemble it in a certain way with a certain amount of

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72 Stastny, interview, June 15, 2010; October 9, 2010; March 18, 2011.
73 Stastny, interview, June 15, 2010; October 15, 2010.
ceremony and then you put a symbolization on it, which might be beads. . . . This kind of craft of making something should show in the building.”

Chris Boothby, the project architect, thought about these issues too, but his concern focused on the dilemma of reconciling Indigenous thinking and Indigenous technologies with a mainstream architectural perspective and mainstream construction standards and practices.

The irony . . . that white folks were creating this for the tribes. . . . There was just this whole conversation about tribal building technologies, tribal traditions, versus, obviously this was going to be built with using western, white man technologies because it had to work with the plus or minus 5% humidity, those kind of things. We were building a western building. How were we going to transcend that and make it evocative of the tribal experience and the tribal traditions?

5.3.2 Representing the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs

Although the architects considered the broader category of Indigenous American architectures, their intent was to create a museum that was specific to the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs and that represented all three Tribes. During the design process, it was important to have the distinct identity of the Wasco, Warm Springs, and Paiute “because we are three distinct tribes and we all have different traditions, ceremonies, and we all had different dwellings, so that’s why it was really, really important to include all three tribes. . . . They met with the elders from each tribe and they helped the designers about what to put in, traditionally, culturally, that reflects that certain tribe.”

The architects understood that somehow they needed to represent each Tribe and simultaneously represent the confederation of the three tribes. Tribal
members had suggested that the forms of the tipi and longhouse were important. So those forms, along with a form representing the travois that Paiutes had dragged behind their horses, were used as roof forms. The concept, which came out of meetings with Elders, was to arrange the building masses with different roof forms as if they were an encampment of traditional buildings by the creek.77

Through meeting with Elders, the architects learned how important water was, and water became an important element in the design. “We were invited to go to an Elders’ lunch while we were there. . . . What we did notice is that they started their meal with a drink of water and a prayer and they ended the meal with a prayer and drink of water. So that was really where we got the inspiration or the idea that water should be the first thing that you see going into the museum and the last thing you see when you leave.”78

Water and native materials are important in both the landscape and building design. The landscape design was also inspired by native plants and storytelling. When Carol Myer-Reed learned that Tribal members “didn’t have a strong connection to the land, that particular piece of land,” she realized that she needed to “interpolate from offsite what else we could borrow from their past and what was meaningful to them and bring it to this site.” Through conversations with elders, she found a common interest in using native plants. That became a foundation for the design. Another conceptual foundation for the landscape design was storytelling.

I was looking to create places for stories that could be told since they have such a rich traditional of oral history. So these were meant to respond to comments that the elders were making about the lack of connectivity with children, the intergenerational gap that they were starting to experience. . . . They could take school groups and sit in these

77 Stastny, interview, June 15, 2010; March 18, 2011.
78 Stastny, interview, October 9, 2010.
different places that we designed and different stories could be told. So if it’s a story about fish, it’s told next to the water, if it’s a story about a campfire, it could be told at the fire location, or a story about the history of the treaty it could be told at the Treaty Oak Place.79

5.3.3 Relation to the Natural World

A primary source of inspiration for the building was the landscape. “We spoke a lot about doing a building that represented the culture that we were dealing with. A building that was very much a part of the land, that grew out of the land. . . . The land and the forms of the land and the coloration of the land were really instrumental in thinking about the material choices and what we wanted to put in the building.”80 The basalt cliffs were “very clearly . . . the inspiration for the building. Just taking that site, looking around you, having the landforms rising up behind you with these bands of stone at the top of the rim.”81

The landscape inspired the color palette for the whole design. The interior architect “went out in the hills here in the landscape and took pictures, and he developed a color palette that was off of the landscape. . . . This richness formed the basis for all, literally all, material decisions and all color decisions all the way through the project.” The design emphasizes native materials such as Oregon ash and juniper, used in the lobby, and basalt, built into circular walls after Tribal laborers and masons harvested it from a cliff face visible from the museum.82

It was important to establish a connection to the natural world from spaces within the museum.

We wanted the light to come in, so you had a sense on the inside of the museum about what was going on on the outside because the rhythms of

79 Mayer-Reed, interview.
80 Stastny, interview, October 9, 2010; March 18, 2011.
82 Stastny, interview, June 15, 2010; March 18, 2011.
the day, the rhythms of the seasons should be something that is a part of the life of the museum. It shouldn’t be just looking out a window, but it should be how the overall effect is. . . . The use of light whether it’s on the exterior of the building or the interior of the building is an important part of wayfinding and understanding the building.  

5.4 Designing the Museum

The design process, developing from an established program, was unusually collaborative in that the landscape architect and engineers were part of the design team from the outset. The design benefited from interdisciplinary collaboration, complimentary approaches of the two principal architects, and diverse strengths of their employees. The building design was initiated by a parti that was considered, reconsidered, revised, transformed, and tested through multiple sketches and study models.  

The museum was conceived as a processional sequence of indoor and outdoor spaces throughout which materiality and craft were considered carefully. Design continued throughout the working drawings and construction processes to a greater extent than on most building projects.

5.4.1 The Building Program

The architect that MOIHS hired in 1987 developed a detailed, 25-page building program, listing all required interior and exterior spaces and describing functions and attributes of each space and its relationships to other spaces. This program

allocates a total net interior area of 22,800 square feet and a total gross interior area of 30,330 square feet.\footnote{Warm Springs Museum - Program Outline, 1987, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.}

Three weeks after MOIHS hired Stastny and Burke in 1989, Bryan Burke wrote the museum director that their efforts had “focused on testing the building program and site development against the project budget.” Burke attached a project budget analysis showing how the project budget of $3,500,000 would be distributed to cover costs of site development, building construction, owner costs, exhibits, and design fees. He also included a building program similar to the previous architect’s program, but smaller, 13,100 net and 17,030 gross square feet. It appears that Stastny and Burke calculated that $3,500,000 was inadequate to build a museum at the size envisioned originally, so they shrank the building to fit the budget. At the design workshop, Stastny and Burke told the Tribes that the $3.5 million was inadequate for a building of the size envisioned; the Tribes responded by raising the budget by a million dollars immediately.\footnote{Bryan Burke to Duane King, 7 September 1989, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR; Project Budget Analysis, 1989; Draft Program Outline Warm Springs Museum, 1 September 1989, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR; Christopher Boothby, personal communication, 16 April 2012.}

The draft program from which Stastny and Burke began the contract drawings is for a slightly larger building organized into five clusters of spaces:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cluster</th>
<th>Net Area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lobby, gift shop, public circulation, restrooms</td>
<td>2620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permanent and temporary exhibits galleries</td>
<td>9000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multi-use rooms, library, archives, conf., recording studio</td>
<td>2300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collections storage and work areas</td>
<td>2100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative offices</td>
<td>1200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>17,220</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gross Interior Area (Net x 1.3 for structure, walls, etc.) 22,386 sq. ft.\footnote{Draft Program Outline Warm Springs Museum, 26 September 1989, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.}
Most of the programmed spaces in the museum reinforce the cultural identity and heritage of the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs or provide support to those spaces that do. The collections storage area stores the material heritage of the Tribes securely. The library and archive store photographs and texts that document history of the three Tribes. The permanent exhibits gallery is a place that tells stories of the Tribes to Tribal members and others. The temporary exhibits gallery is a place where Tribal members of all ages can exhibit their art, thus encouraging people to learn and continue practicing traditional ways of making. Tribal members can sell their work in the gift shop. Gathering spaces, such as the lobby, multi-use rooms, and outdoor spaces allow for a variety of activities such as classes, meetings for the canoe group, dances, and receptions celebrating Tribal artists.

An area analysis of in-progress working drawings at the beginning of 1990 shows a building that is slightly larger again, 20,189 net and 24,391 gross square feet. Most areas were similar to the earlier program, but the changing exhibits gallery and the lobby and public circulation had expanded. After this point, architects made minor reconfigurations in response to client needs, but the overall size of the building changed little.

5.4.2 Designers’ Roles and Approaches

Design processes for the museum were more collaborative than usual.

Rather than going through and doing the architecture and then having the landscape people come in afterwards, we brought everybody in together, so the design flowed as a whole. Landscape was just as important as architecture. We had engineering that was just as important as architecture, we had mechanical and lighting and that was just as

88 Area Analysis: Construction Documents, 1990, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
important. So that there wasn’t one trade or one discipline that dictated over the others. They all flowed together.\textsuperscript{89}

According to the interior designer, ideas from the landscape architect, Carol Mayer-Reed, informed the design of the museum, inside and out.

Carol was a very inspirational person \textit{[who]} . . . brought things into the process that we hadn’t thought about before. It got us to think about transitions. How to transition from the parking lot into the building? How to transition from, say, the longhouse wing, which was more of the community wing, how to transition from outside into there? How do you transition from the building to the stream, and from the building to the meadow?\textsuperscript{90}

Carol Mayer-Reed recalled that, “it was one of the most successful collaborations that I’ve ever worked on. . . . I just think we helped marry that building and landscape. It was a very good collaboration. We wouldn’t always agree on everything. Not always, but a lot of the times we did.”\textsuperscript{91}

Not only were there differences of design thinking between the landscape architect and the architects, but the two principals, Donald Stastny and Bryan Burke, thought about architecture very differently and used different media to develop and communicate their design ideas. Stastny is “an experiential architect” who “worked at a very large conceptual level.” He “had the most influence on generating the plan and the massing study models.” Stastny sketched with a fat pen and didn’t even have a drafting board. According to Stastny, “Bryan Burke’s forte was his ability to think through the detail.” Burke was described by the project architect as “a constructivist . . . the detail-oriented, rationalist architect.” He oversaw detailing as the project moved into construction drawings. Unlike Stastny, Burke drafted precisely, in great detail.\textsuperscript{92}

\textsuperscript{89} Tathwell, interview.
\textsuperscript{90} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{91} Mayer-Reed, interview.
\textsuperscript{92} Boothby, interview; Posner, interview; Stastny, interview, June 15, 2010.
Christopher Boothby, the project architect, described himself sitting “somewhere in the middle of those sensibilities. I had the craftsman’s tactile . . . sense . . . having worked with tools.” Boothby described using his skills and thinking about craft as “trying to extrapolate from the making of things in the traditional, tribal way to [contemporary] technologies we were working with” at the museum. According to Stastny, Boothby was assigned to work on the museum because he was a craftsman and builder and craft was an important component of the museum design.93

Boothby related that during design, “a lot of what went on was [at] my drafting board, me sitting, and one of them on each shoulder [Stastny and Burke] just sketching, pointing, and talking. A lot of it happened there and a lot of it happened in their office where they had their two desks pushed together.” Stastny recalled that, “There were a number of times there would be an idea hatched in my very rough sketch and Bryan would take that and redraw it into another sketch and hand it down to Chris or others who would be a part of that. There were a lot of times we were developing details, it might originate down with Chris, and then would be passed back up to us to look at. So it was very much a flow of information back and forth.”94

Other designers contributed in various ways. Jeff Tathwell, an interior architect, developed the color palette. He developed the interior elevations and worked closely with Burke in developing the complex interior details. John Holmes designed a sculptural plaster wall that evoked basalt columns; he also detailed the exterior metal longhouse. Dustin Posner developed the lobby in section including the tree structures and calculating angles of the complex

93 Boothby, interview; Donald Stastny, interview with author, March 18, 2011.
94 Boothby, interview; Stastny, interview, October 9, 2010
connections to the laminated wood beams above. Stastny stressed that the intent was that his office was structured as a studio, “an atelier approach to it, and everybody could contribute to a project” and that “just about everybody in the office had their finger in this at one time.”

5.4.3 Site Design

For landscape architect Carol Mayer-Reed, an important initial activity was walking the site “at different times of day [to] understand how the light moved and what the vegetation felt like and smelled like and the qualities of the creek.” When walking with Tribal members, Mayer-Reed observed that, “They had such a comfort with [the natural environment]. . . . I do remember walking through, it was a field that was cultivated . . . and there were snakes in there. And we were having these reactions to the snakes and they weren’t really that concerned with them at all.” Mayer-Reed observed that Tribal members appeared to have a special understanding of not only plants and animals, but the native stone too. Mayer-Reed visited the site repeatedly with the aim of connecting to the site as much as she could, and envisioning how she could design the site, not only for Tribal member visitors, but how she could use the site to help non-Indigenous visitors understand the Warm Springs community.

Siting the building generated considerable discussion between the landscape architect and architects. The site is long and narrow, bordered by Highway 26 along the north and Shitike Creek along the south (see fig. 5.1). At the west end is a big meadow and on the east end is a cottonwood grove.

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95 Boothby, interview; Posner, interview; Tathwell, interview. Stastny, interview, June 15, 2010; October 9, 2010; March 18, 2011.
96 Mayer-Reed, interview.
heated discussion ensued about whether to put the building in the highly visible meadow, in the secluded cottonwood grove, or right between the two. Carol Mayer-Reed related that,

The architects had shown the building . . . next to the trees and had shown a diagrammatic parking lot out in the meadow and they were preserving the cottonwoods. And I said, “You know, when you come to the museum from the town of Warm Springs down the hill, I just don’t want to see the parking lot as the foreground for the building. . . .” I took the drawing off the wall and I was like, “No! We’ve got to move the building; we’re putting it here!” And I just was really adamant about it. I put it on the edge of the woods and I put the parking in the trees. . . . I said, “We want the meadow as the foreground: we want the meadow as the place that they can have events.” I said, “I just don’t want to see that parking lot as the foreground for your building.”

Carol Mayer-Reed explains an important concept of the site design, the creation of outdoor storytelling places (see fig. 5.2).

The places are where you could take people on the site where they could display artifacts or tell stories. . . . The story places evolved around themes. There was one called Fire Place. There was one called the Treaty Oak Place which we developed with a tree—we did end up buying a tree after all because I just couldn’t figure out how we were going to nurture an acorn. . . . But we did plant a small sapling and grew it into a tree. And then there was the Creek Place where we developed a connection with the Shitike Creek there, and then the Orchard Place.

Another important part of the landscape design was the use of native plants. Given the historic importance of plants—for food, baskets, housing, and clothing—Mayer-Reed aimed for “a good representation for as many species of native plants, or especially important ones to their survival of their culture and their livelihood.” An objective was “to have a tour of the site that they could take children and walk different parts of the site and have these different plants on site for them. So we took some [plants] that would typically grow in mountains and we took some that would typically grow by streams or more in the high desert.

97 Tathwell, interview.
98 Mayer-Reed, interview.
99 Ibid.
environment. I tried to adapt as many of those plants to that particular site as we could.  

Contradicting Mayer-Reed’s concept of a native landscape, Tribal members “were real adamant about wanting a green lawn, especially out in front. And [she] said, ‘That’s just not native, it just looks very forced to me.’ They felt that as a calling card to other cultures, if it looked weedy or unkempt or dry it just would be off-putting to people.” Consequently an irrigated lawn was planted around the building.

Mayer-Reed designed other outdoor spaces that will be described below in conjunction with the building, as the indoor and outdoor spaces were conceived as elements integrated into a single processional sequence.

5.4.4 Initial Building Design

The on-site design workshop provided an opportunity for many intense design sessions among the design team and in partnership with Tribal members. Although verbal communication was important, especially with Tribal members, drawing was too. Stastny emphasized that, “The act of drawing and sketching was the method of communication of how we thought about things, how we discussed things between us and how we communicated with the client.” Explaining his design process, Stastny revealed that, “I always look for a basic framework or concept or the idealized diagram. . . . I feel if you can discover that diagram of how a building or a city or a place operates, that the resiliency of that

100 Ibid.
101 Ibid.
diagram will be able to have a lasting impact that’s fundamental to the success of whatever you’re designing.”

During the on-site design workshop, the design team developed a scheme with two rectangular pieces, the administration and museum wings, on either side of a spine-like lobby. “It was a series of columns as a frame off of which the other components hung. . . . Processional and linear. It went from outdoor exterior columns and then gradually became building.” After returning from Warm Springs, the architects began to depart from the Cartesian grid by rotating the administrative wing.

This can be seen in an early design drawing in which the parti for the building can be discerned (see fig. 5.3). The building is oriented to the cardinal directions and the lobby is an east/west linear element against which other spaces are organized. The permanent gallery is parallel to and immediately north of the lobby. The changing exhibits gallery is at the west end of the lobby, on axis. The much smaller administration wing is south of the lobby and splayed at approximately 45 degrees. The drawing shows two variations, “A,” in which the parking and entrance are to the west and “B,” in which the parking and entrance are to the east. Scheme B was adopted and developed.

In a later design development, Stastny put the “drum,” a circular forecourt enclosed by a battered basalt wall, at the east entrance, to tie the administration wing to the museum wing. According to the project architect, the drum was

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102 Stastny, interview, 2011.
103 Boothby, interview.
104 Stastny, interview, June 15, 2010.
106 Stastny, interview, 2011.
“Don’s brainchild . . . from his experience dancing and hearing the drums.” On the west, Stastny added a faceted glass wall to negotiate the different angles of the administrative and museum wings that embraced an exterior dance plaza. The temporary exhibit space was rotated slightly to open up the dance plaza.

The museum was conceived as a processional sequence of spaces: Visitors begin outside; enter the drum; pass through a small, low, transitional space; and enter a tall, expansive, daylit lobby. Transitional spaces also reorient visitors as they pass from the lobby into exhibit spaces; they negotiate change in direction and light level and provide the compression and expansion that Stastny sought in the processional experience of the museum.

The design continued to evolve. “It was not an initial sketch in that the final solution equals the initial diagram. It was a long studied and a pushed and a pulled and a tweaked and very much an evolutionary design process.” People made “a lot of little cardboard models, little study models, very quick, conceptual stuff, and moving that through design.” Jeff Tathwell described the design process as “much more organic and much more intuitive. . . . It was, ‘How do you feel about this?’ or ‘How does this feel?’ and in typical design you never use the word ‘feel.’ And in this one it was all about what flowed and what felt right and what worked together.”

5.4.5 Design Development and Materiality

The museum was designed as a processional sequence of spaces. Consequently, this section is organized sequentially as people might experience

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107 Boothby, interview.
109 Posner, interview.
110 Tathwell, interview.
public spaces of the museum from the moment of arrival in the forested parking lot, to the entrance drum, into the lobby, the changing exhibit, and out into the dance plaza on the west side.

*East exterior:* As people approach the museum from the parking lot on the east end of the site, they see an expanse of patterned brick walls, multiple roof forms protruding above the brick, a basalt structure in the center, and water flowing from within the basalt structure (see fig. 5.4). The dominant image is the patterning in the brick walls. Donald Stastny explained why brick was selected as the primary exterior material.

It was Mother Earth. Its materials, its clay, it comes from Mother Earth. We went back and we did check it because there were so many bad feelings about some of the original red brick buildings that were . . . boarding schools. . . . And they said, no, it would be okay to use. We also needed something that would give us this texture and ability to do these patterning. . . . We found these . . . purple black, blue, maroon bricks.\(^{111}\)

The brick is from Klamath Falls, made with local clays from the high desert area. Because the bricks were made the old kiln-fired way, the color of the bricks is variegated. Diagonal patterns are created with two colors of brick, a lighter buff and a dark red with a metallic sheen (see fig. 5.5). The architects gave various explanations for the brick pattern. One person said that the idea for the brick pattern was inspired by the art museum at University of Oregon. Another said the pattern was meant to be a basket pattern whereas the third said, “The brick pattern doesn’t come from anything tribal. It’s not one of their basket designs; it’s not something else that they had. . . . The thing was not to be literal with the imagery that we were using.” Whatever the design intentions, many Tribal members interpret the pattern as a Klickitat huckleberry basket pattern whereas

\(^{111}\) Stastny, interview, June 15, 2010.
others see salmon fishing nets. In both cases Tribal members see the building as culturally relevant for them.\textsuperscript{112}

\textbf{Entry:} The basalt drum and stream by the entry were designed to be culturally relevant too. Stastny explained how they developed,

We realized that the water should be an integral part of the experience, the first thing you see and the last thing you see as you come . . . and leave the museum. Originally we were thinking, “Okay, how can we make the creek do that?” Then there were some conflicting issues as far as entry to the museum about directionality as the creek was actually to the south of the building. We wanted the east entry, to be traditional, responding to the first light of day. That’s when we came up with the other course—with the stream coming out of the drum approach.\textsuperscript{113}

The requirement to elevate the building five feet above the floodplain enhanced the entry sequence. “It gave it a little more presence and it gave us the ability to approach on an upslope from the parking lot, which causes you to walk more slowly [because you are walking up]. Gave us the ability to spill the water toward the visitor that’s coming. . . . When you’re walking upstream . . . you’re seeing much more, you’re just taking it slower. It’s a little bit more of a procession to navigate up.”\textsuperscript{114}

One of the most meaningful materials at the museum is native basalt, collected from a slope visible from the museum. Carol Mayer-Reed was able to select specific rocks to use in the stream and as sitting rocks throughout the site. Masons selected basalt from the same area to build the drum wall and a larger circular wall that circumscribes the building along the north, shielding it from highway traffic noise.

The entry sequence was choreographed,

\textsuperscript{112} Boothby, interview; Jerry Polk, interview with author, July 21, 2010. Tathwell, interview; Stastny, interview, June 15, 2010.
\textsuperscript{113} Stastny, interview, 2011.
\textsuperscript{114} Mayer-Reed, interview.
The idea behind the stone drum out there was . . . it would take you out of the outside world, so it forms an acoustical barrier. But it is an outside room with the sky as the ceiling. So you come from that space into this [entry vestibule] and this idea of progression or ceremony or moving through the building starts with the open sky and then this, on purpose, brings you down very low . . . so that you are compressed down in here and then the light just mysteriously comes down from above.115

Above the front door in the basalt drum is a thirty-foot-long band of black granite inscribed with an Ichishkiin word. Donald Stastny recalled that he envisioned that a museum "should have something like a Carnegie library that said “Museum” across it. . . . So we asked the Elders, the people on the Board, to come up with an Indigenous word for museum. And they went away and thought about it and they came back and said, ‘We don’t have anything like that, because we don’t keep our stuff; we bury it or we give it away.’ So they came up with Twanat, a Sahaptin [Ichishkiin] word.”116 The executive director, who knew that there are three tribes and three Indigenous languages, asked, “Well, what about the other Tribes?” And Delbert Frank, who was Warm Springs, was Chairman of the Board and just said, “No, the Board has decided that’s what they want up there.”117

The entrance doors, opaque and very heavy, are custom made. Conventional inch and three-quarter thick hollow metal doors are on heavy-duty pivot hinges in the floor. Chris Boothby explains how they were made, “We layered up on that door with plywood and then the bronze strips that made all the edging. On the inside you’ve got the ash paneling, on the outside you’ve got the Milestone cementitious coating which was a layered process. They layered, ground back, layered. They used pigments like you’d use in paint to color the

116 Ibid.
The heavy bronze hardware began with standard handles, with a milled disc and huge custom bronze handles in the shape of dance bustles attached on the exterior.119

**Lobby:** After passing through the small, low vestibule, one enters into the large, tall, barrel-vaulted lobby, flooded by daylight. Initially, the architects envisioned that the stream on the outside “would actually come into the building.”120 And we realized that we really wouldn’t be able to do that because of the humidity . . . and the health department issues of chlorine.” So then they thought about how to continue the stream metaphorically but in a way that “didn’t look like Disneyland.” The solution was to use slate tiles in different colors (see fig. 5.7). “We started with 12x12s and cut them in quarters and then used those to make a smaller scale at the edges . . . so that there was a texture difference as well as a pattern difference.”121

As water enters the lobby metaphorically in slate tile, trees in the form of columns inhabit the lobby too (see fig. 5.6). Tathwell explains that “the trees came about from the idea of creating some rhythm in the building, but also the idea of canopy and enclosure. So what happens is you enter into the building along the stream, you’ve got that circular enclosure to help guide you in and say welcome, and then you come into our forest.”122 Each of four “trees,” whose “trunks” are two-foot-diameter lathe-turned fir peeler logs, has eight log “branches” that rise up to the underside of glulam beams supporting the barrel

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118 Boothby, interview.
119 Stastny, interview, June 15, 2010. The bustle motif came from Stastny who had learned to dance after watching Warm Springs boys dance en route to a Boy Scout Jamboree.
120 In a design drawing, Scheme B shows a water feature that begins near the east entrance, passes through the lobby, and flows back outside to join the creek (see fig. 5.3).
121 Stastny, interview, 2011.
122 Tathwell, interview.
vault roof. The idea for the “trees” originated with a sketch by Stastny. Boothby
worked with Stastny’s son, Josh, to build study models to explore the trees and
their branches (see fig. 5.9). Dustin Posner drew large-scale cross-sections to
figure out the complex geometry of the tree structure and the detailing of the
steel connecting the branches to trunks and the curved glulam beams above
(see fig. 5.8). The “trees” dominate the lobby spatially.

In the initial lobby design, two rows of columns supported the roof and the
entrance to the changing exhibits gallery was axial. Chris Boothby and Bryan
Burke refined the lobby design by removing a row of columns and making the
lobby asymmetrical. After that, Boothby tipped the south edge of the roof up to
allow a wide band of clerestory lighting. Below the clerestory windows is a
glass shelving partition that allows intervisibility and light transmission between
the lobby and the gift shop.

The other lobby walls are covered with Oregon Ash paneling framed
within half-round juniper flitches (see fig. 5.11). At the joints are bronze
medallions “to indicate the wrapping, or the traditional way of building things, of
twine and tying things together.” When asked to design a donor board, the
architects came up with the idea of a beaded hide. They hired Tribal members to
tan an elk hide and bead the donors’ names onto the hide. The hide is mounted
onto a frame as if it were in the process of being tanned. The frame is made of
bronze, in the shape of willow branches or vines (see fig. 5.10). In both the
wall paneling and the donor board, the celebration of Indigenous craft is an
important concept.

123 Boothby, interview; Posner, interview; Stastny, interview, 2011
124 Boothby, interview.
125 Stastny, interview, 2011.
Changing Exhibits Gallery: From the west end of the lobby, visitors pass through a low, dark vestibule to enter the spacious, daylit changing exhibits gallery (see figs. 5.12-5.14). While designing the space, the architects did not know exactly how the space might be used. They knew there would be exhibits, but they didn’t know what the exhibits would be, so they provided perimeter wall spaces for flat work as well as a larger space in the center “that might be used for sculpture or installations.” They thought the gallery might be used for functions other than exhibits, so they also “wanted it to be a place where the gallery itself could stand alone if there wasn’t anything in there. . . . We wanted this to have an identity of its own.”

The space does indeed have its own identity. In its center, a steep, pyramidal roof rises from massive, wood columns to forty feet above the floor. Along each face of the pyramid is a two-foot-wide strip of Kalwall panels illuminating the center of the gallery. On the floor below the pyramid, a circle of slate is set into the carpeted floor. This is the space that is the metaphorical teepee within the project concept of a streamside encampment.

The changing exhibits gallery is very finely detailed and the various elements such as lighting and mechanical systems are well integrated. Many wood elements, such as fir peeler logs, ash paneling, glue laminated beams, and tongue-and-groove decking, serve as structural elements and finishes in this gallery. Centered on the west wall is a small window allowing an axial view out to the Treaty Oak, but to go out to the west visitors must first return to the lobby.

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127 Ibid.
128 Kalwall is a technical system of insulated translucent panels. See http://www.kalwall.com/about.htm
129 Stastny credited the fine detailing to Bryan Burke and others.
Dance Plaza: From the southwest corner of the lobby, visitors can exit the building into a space envisioned as a gathering or ceremonial space for dances and other activities. The east edge of the dance plaza is defined by a faceted glass wall. Stastny explained that some of the Tribal Elders say you’re not supposed to see your reflection, so he angled the glass upward. Instead of reflecting people “it then began to telegraph the sky and the clouds.” The architects realized that the west-facing glass could be subject to heat gain, so they designed a trellis shading device and developed intricate metal structures in the form of dance bustles to support the trellis (see fig. 5.15).130

Part of the north perimeter of this space is defined by the exterior wall of the changing exhibits gallery. This is a very unusual wall. It had been specified to be a solid wall of dark red brick to contrast with the patterned walls elsewhere, but after Stastny and Burke saw clinker brick on an old building in San Francisco, they wondered how they might add texture to the wall without just repeating the pattern. “And Bryan was out on the site one day with the mason and he had this idea, ‘What if we use some of the basalt pieces?’ And the mason was really into this building. He says, ‘Yeah, let’s try that.’ So they . . . laid up a section using the basalt in the same pattern and scale as the other [brick walls]. And it worked so well they just kept on going (see fig. 5.16).”131

From the dance plaza is a series of semicircular, grass-covered benches terracing down five feet to the level of the surrounding area, forming an amphitheater facing to the west. From this area, visitors can look west and see cottonwoods along the creek, the Treaty Oak in the foreground, and the Apple Tree Place at the far west end of the meadow. They can also see a steel

130 Stastny, interview, June 15, 2010.
131 Stastny, interview, 2011.
stanchion, a steel ring supported by a pair of steel columns set in basalt-covered concrete bases (see fig. 5.17).

**Stanchions:** A similar stanchion marks each of the cardinal directions around the museum.\(^{132}\) Stastny explained that “somehow we had to plant this museum in the landscape so it wasn’t just an object in itself. The stanchions were a way to extend the building into the landscape.”\(^{133}\) Originally they were designed to be equidistant from the building, but Mayer-Reed explained that “sometimes I can relax geometry to make it work with the site, and so putting one across the creek instead of in the creek was a way of dealing with these cardinal elements but not having to be a slave to the geometry. . . . When it comes to the natural landscape, it has its own form of geometry.”\(^{134}\)

Although the response of Tribal members to the architecture of the museum was overwhelmingly positive, many Tribal members questioned the concept of the stanchions. Delvis Heath explained that,

> The circles around there were not our idea. They’d got it from other Indians, somewhere. I don’t know where. “Well, Indians, you guys have got a circle of life; that’s why we’re putting that up.” And then Delbert Frank was the one who said, “Who put those big circles around there? We don’t have circles. . . .” But there is some truth to that because our drum is made round, like the world, and it’s the heartbeat of our people, and the songs that come out of there is a law that we live by. So it has a lot of truth if you really want to go back and put it closer to meaning something to our people. So I didn’t argue with them.\(^{135}\)

Carol Mayer-Reed appreciated the stanchions not only as a tie between the museum and the surrounding landscape, but because the circles serve as frames to highlight elements in the landscape.

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\(^{132}\) The stanchions are shown prominently on an early design drawing (see fig. 5.3).
\(^{133}\) Stastny, interview, 2011.
\(^{134}\) Mayer-Reed, interview.
\(^{135}\) Heath, interview.
Those [stanchions] were really important to the architects. And I’m still not convinced how important those were to the Tribe or whether they were born out of a symbol that they believe was essential or not. . . . But the fact that they wanted to take something architecturally and pull it away from the building in those four directions, I thought was an interesting notion. . . . What I really began to love about them . . . they would frame some element. . . . If you’d look at the one across the creek, you’d catch a view of the butte or the ridgeline of the landform above. And it would almost be like you were looking at a circular painting.”

5.4.6 Contract Documents

At the end of October 1989, the architects and landscape architect presented drawings, a model, and color studies of the conceptual design of the museum to the MOIHS Board and “a wide variety of Tribal administrators.” Within a few days the Board gave approval for Stastny and Burke and Mayer-Reed to begin construction documents with the aim of completing them within four months.137

In my professional experience in the 1980s, contract documents for architectural projects typically included a large set of large drawings, up to 36” x 48”, and an 8 ½” x 11” book of written specifications. In the contract documents for the museum, all of the architectural details were in an 8 ½” x 11” project manual rather than on large drawing sheets. Stastny explained the advantages of putting the details in the project manual.

If we have to refine a detail . . . it can go on the 8 ½ by 11 format in a ring binder, and can be a supplement slid right behind the other detail. So there’s a record going through that allows you to make small modifications and changes without having to go back and reference some sheet or make the detail changes in the sheet. So even as your as-builts on the end then, what you have is the project manual which has the record of what those things are, and you have 8 ½ by 11 decisions as opposed to 24 by 36 decisions, or printing issues. . . . And you could fax it back and forth.138

136 Mayer-Reed, interview.
138 Stastny, interview, October 9, 2010.
Although some architectural firms were transitioning to computer aided design in the 1980s, the Museum At Warm Springs was all done by hand. The large drawings were ink on mylar using “pin-bar,” a system where different layers of drawings were drawn on different sheets of mylar; multiple sheets were combined and aligned with metal pins for printing (see fig. 5.18). Drawing titles were printed on adhesive-backed transparent film. Details in the project manual were “all done on 8 ½ x 11, 1/8 inch fadeout grid, mostly freehand (see fig. 6.11-6.16). Lay a few lines out with the parallel rule and then just sketching in.”

The working drawings show some evidence of the iterative process of designing the museum. In looking at the floor plan, Boothby noted that, “The design continued throughout . . . more on this than usual. . . . You can see that this drawing was really worked over a lot. There were parts of the mylar that were so smooth that you had to . . . [use] abrasive powder to get enough tooth there to draw again.” Tathwell, who developed and drew many of the details, recalled that “there wasn’t ever really a point in the process where we said, ‘We’re done with design.’ Design happened throughout the entire process, and if we decided that we needed to change something, we changed it, rather than saying, ‘Oh no, we can’t because it’s already been designed.’ It’s like, ‘Wait a second, we need to look at this and we need to change it. It has to change.’ And that doesn’t happen very often in projects today.”

Tathwell saw the process of freehand details as being “more interesting and creative” and “more organic and a little bit more free flowing” than hardline details. He thought the process facilitated design refinements especially as he

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139 Boothby, interview.
140 Ibid.
141 Tathwell, interview.
and Burke detailed the lobby, “figuring out exactly how this strapping is going on these half logs, and how the panel is going to be inserted back into that and how it relates to the rest of the building.” In reflecting on the final design, Tathwell concluded, “that’s the process that really helped the museum to the level where it is. . . . Rather than just rushing it through, you went through and edited your details and you thought about it and the relationships, and that’s why things flowed.”¹⁴²

5.4.7 Presentation Drawings and Model

In addition to working drawings, Stastny and Burke created presentation drawings and a presentation model (see figs. 5.19-5.20). The model was a very precise, white, museum board model built by Stastny’s son Josh. Although the model was built predominantly for external fundraising, it was an effective tool to communicate the design to the MOIHS Board and the larger Tribal community. A photograph of the model was published in Spilyay Tymoo as construction began.¹⁴³

During construction, Burke instructed a staff architect, Lou Gagnon, to create a presentation drawing that would be a gift to the Tribes. The evocative drawing includes a section/elevation through public spaces—the drum, lobby, and changing exhibits gallery. Beneath the section/elevation is a partial plan of the same spaces; in the moody drawing, the building appears to be embedded in the earth. (see fig. 5.21). The drawing was used for fundraising and reprinted in fundraising booklets. Multiple copies were printed as posters, framed, and given

¹⁴² Ibid.
as gifts to important donors. Gagnon did another similar drawing showing the complete plan (see fig. 5.22).144

5.5 Strategic Actions

What strategic actions led to the final design of the museum?

5.5.1 Selected and Prepared the Right Site

The MOIHS Board spent a great deal of time and money considering various building sites, but in 1987 they wisely developed criteria, found a site that met the criteria, and stuck to their decision despite opposition. As the site was in a flood plain they prudently hired two engineering firms, including one that is nationally known, to assess the site. They followed engineering recommendations to add fill to raise the base of the building and stabilize the bank of Shitike Creek.

5.5.2 Selected and Supported the Right Design Team

The MOIHS Board hired several architects, but when realizing that the architects did not meet their needs, continued looking until finding a firm that was a good match for their project. This is an indication that not all architects are prepared to put their egos aside and follow an architectural process that deviates from a standard practice and allows a reciprocal collaboration where Tribal members share cultural knowledge with designers and designers share design knowledge with Tribal members. Not only did MOIHS need to hire the right people, but it was critical that Tribal members throughout the community were willing to open up

144 Stastny, interview, 2011.
and engage with designers, educate them about their history, and communicate what they wished to see in their museum.

5.5.3 Interdisciplinary Design Team Worked Collaboratively

The interdisciplinary design team included engineers, a landscape architect, and an interior architect who worked collaboratively with architects from the outset of the project. Interdisciplinary collaboration led to a design in which exterior and interior spaces are interwoven to a greater degree than in most projects. Given the focus on the natural world, I think it was essential that the landscape architect was part of the team from the start.

5.5.4 Designers and Tribal Members Worked Collaboratively

Designers were willing to share control of the design with Tribal members and allow activities to be guided by Indigenous ways of doing things. When I asked Donald Stastny about the biggest challenges of designing The Museum At Warm Springs, he replied, “Being humbled to not impose ideas that weren’t appropriate. . . . To understand the importance of this particular project to people now and future generations. I think a lot of it is understanding that it’s not about you, it’s about them. Kind of hard for an architect to do. . . . Humility is not a part of our core structure.” Designers were prepared to take in cultural knowledge that tribal members shared with them as they shared their knowledge about design with Tribal members.

Stastny and Burke signed a standard American Institute of Architects (AIA) contract with MOIHS and the Tribes, agreeing to complete architectural

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145 Stastny, interview, October 9, 2010
work in the standard phases. Yet this form does not acknowledge that in this Indigenous community the processes were bound to be different. The form discusses the architectural deliverables but says little about client interaction that was so important in Warm Springs.

5.5.5 Privileged Indigenous Communication

The design team was challenged by different styles of communication, yet they sought to understand and be understood, so they adapted their styles of communication. After recognizing the primacy of storytelling they began to tell stories themselves and they became better listeners who aimed to learn what was meaningful to the Warm Springs community. Stastny and Burke wisely scheduled the on-site design workshop which proved to be an extraordinary opportunity for communication between tribal members and designers. It allowed time for Tribal members to begin to trust designers enough to open up. It allowed time for designers to become accustomed to storytelling and adapt their styles of communication. And it allowed time for designers to experience the site and surrounding landscape.

5.5.6 “Listened” to the Landscape

The landscape architect learned about the landscape through all of her senses, but she also learned by talking to elders—by listening to their stories and learning the importance of native plants—and by doing research on the remnants of an orchard. Storytelling and the use of native plants were conceptual foundations for the landscape design. From the on-site design workshop, architects and landscape architects learned that water was very important to Tribal members
and that Tribal members wished to see natural materials such as native basalt. The landscape was the inspiration for the building design in form, materiality and color.

5.5.7 Conclusion

Tribal members and architects developed a design concept for the building, a creekside encampment of building elements representing each of the three Tribes. The museum was conceived as a processional sequence of exterior and interior spaces. Returning to their offices after the design workshop in Warm Springs, designers developed these initial design ideas through drawings and working models.

Materiality and craft were emphasized in the design, and experimentation and innovation in materiality continued through the construction documents phase and into construction. Designers’ willingness to continually reconsider design decisions led to a highly refined and innovative design, especially in the use of materials and their detailing. All of the designers I spoke with saw The Museum At Warm Springs as a very special project for which they aimed to do their very best. Several staff architects at Stastny and Burke say that the hours expended on the project greatly exceeded the fee. This suggests that principal architects felt a high level of commitment to the museum that had nothing to do with making money.
Figure 5.1. Site analysis. Courtesy of Stastny Brun Architects from the Stastny and Burke project archives.

Figure 5.2. Orchard Place. Courtesy of Stastny Brun Architects from the Stastny and Burke project archives.
Figure 5.3. Schemes A and B. Courtesy of Stastny Brun Architects from the Stastny and Burke project archives.
Figure 5.4. Museum entrance. Courtesy of Stastny Brun Architects from the Stastny and Burke project archives.

Figure 5.5. Patterned brick. Courtesy of Stastny Brun Architects from the Stastny and Burke project archives.
Figure 5.6. “Trees” in lobby. Courtesy of Stastny Brun Architects from the Stastny and Burke project archives.

Figure 5.7. Slate tile “stream” in lobby. Courtesy of Stastny Brun Architects from the Stastny and Burke project archives.
Figure 5.8. Dustin Posner and his section drawing of lobby. Photo by author.

Figure 5.9. Study model of “trees” in lobby. Courtesy of Stastny Brun Architects from the Stastny and Burke project archives.
Figure 5.10. Ken Smith with donor board. Photo by author.

Figure 5.11. Transitional space from lobby to permanent exhibit. Courtesy of Stastny Brun Architects from the Stastny and Burke project archives.
Figure 5.12. Allan Houser exhibit in changing exhibits gallery (1993). Courtesy of Stastny Brun Architects from the Stastny and Burke project archives.
Figure 5.13. Pyramidal ceiling of changing exhibits gallery under construction. Courtesy of Stastny Brun Architects from the Stastny and Burke project archives.

Figure 5.14. “Baskets Tell a Story” exhibit in changing exhibits gallery (2010). Photo by author.
Figure 5.15. Dance plaza with basalt, dance-bustle trellis, and landscape. Courtesy of Stastny Brun Architects from the Stastny and Burke project archives.

Figure 5.16. Changing exhibits gallery, dance plaza, and administration wing. Photo by author.
Figure 5.17. Canoe construction, west stanchion, and landscape. Photo by author.
Figure 5.18. Working drawing floor plan. Courtesy of Stastny Brun Architects from the Stastny and Burke project archives.
Figure 5.19. East elevation. Courtesy of Stastny Brun Architects from the Stastny and Burke project archives.

Figure 5.20. Presentation model built by Josh Stastny. Courtesy of Stastny Brun Architects from the Stastny and Burke project archives.
Figure 5.21. Section/elevation and floor plan drawn by staff architect Lou Gagnon. Courtesy of Stastny Brun Architects from the Stastny and Burke project archives.
Figure 5.22. Floor plan drawn by staff architect Lou Gagnon. Courtesy of Stastny Brun Architects from the Stastny and Burke project archives.
Chapter 6

BUILDING THE MUSEUM

6.1 Construction Bidding

At the August 1989 MOIHS Board meeting, Ed Manion, Tribal Public Utilities Manager, suggested that although the Tribes would eventually own the building, the Board could act as the "owner" during the construction of the museum. Manion also suggested that the Tribes act as the general contractor on the project. Although a decision was not finalized, it was recommended that "if the Tribes were to act as a general contractor, it would be better to select them as early as possible so they can participate in construction decisions made between the Board and the architects."\(^1\) March 1990 MOIHS Board meeting minutes note that construction bidding would occur in mid-April. Manion stated that "we will need about fifteen days to prepare for bids." The plan was that the Tribes would bid for subcontract work and "all subcontractors will have to come from the Tribal organization."\(^2\)

The architectural design team finished the contract documents and the Tribal construction company submitted a bid, but the bid was significantly higher than cost estimates anticipated. According to the project architect, "They didn’t have a lot of established subcontractor relationships for bigger projects, so they didn’t get good numbers from the subs they put it out to. . . . After that bid process, we went through an extensive VE [value engineering] exercise with the guys that worked on putting that package together [Tribal construction company and subcontractors], which was a really good process for us. Then the Council

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\(^1\) MOIHS minutes, 4 August 1989, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
\(^2\) MOIHS minutes, 16 March 1990, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
pulled the plug on it.” Apparently, some Tribal members thought that their Tribal construction company did not have the experience needed to construct a building as complex as the museum.³

Christopher Boothby explained, “They decided to recycle the drawings for budget reasons and then put it out to bid to a select bid list . . . with five general contractors bidding the project in a conventional manner. We had . . . about eight, nine months that we recycled the drawings at that point. So, pretty much everything got redrawn and a lot more detail added to the project.”⁴ A comparison between construction drawings from spring 1990 and those within the 1991 contract document bid set reveals that architects refined the design considerably (see figs. 6.1-6.4).

The MOIHS Building Committee interviewed five general contractors on February 13, 1991, and invited three to attend a pre-bid conference and submit a bid.⁵ The three contractors submitted bids by the deadline of March 28. The lowest bid, $3,683,000 from SM Andersen, was accepted. The CEO of SM Andersen, Steve Andersen, however, realized that his company had made a mistake in the bid; they forgot to include the cost of their own labor—$351,000. Andersen wrote the Board about the mistake, met with the Board, and showed them the paperwork and calculations and how the mistake was made. Ed Manion checked SM Andersen’s references and all were positive. Even with the labor costs added, Andersen’s bid was lower than the other two. Delvis Heath was in favor of hiring SM Andersen with the labor costs added back in because he felt

³ Christopher Boothby, interview with author, July 26, 2010; Christopher Boothby, personal communication, April 16, 2012.
⁴ Ibid.
that Andersen “could give us the kind of building we want.” Delbert Frank warned that “if we cut him, he just might cut the labor on our local boys.”6 Board member Victor Atiyeh recalls that Andersen communicated to Tribal Council “that he would be willing to absorb half of it if the Tribe would absorb the other half. . . . The Tribe was generous. They didn’t even hesitate. ‘No, you made a mistake; it was a legitimate mistake. We’ll just absorb the whole thing.”7

Ed Manion, Delbert Frank, and Steve Andersen signed the construction contract on April 26, 1991 (see figs. 6.5-6.6). Official groundbreaking ceremonies were held on May 7 (see fig. 6.7) and construction was expected to be completed by March 1992. The contract included $105,792 for Tribal member sub-contractors and another $76,000 for Tribal labor.8 SM Andersen was selected as the general contractor because the company had the lowest bid, they had twenty years of experience of working on the High Desert Museum nearby, and Steve Andersen was committed to hiring as many Tribal members as he could.9

6.2 Tribal Labor

Tribal member employment was, and is, a huge concern for the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs (see fig. 6.8). It was a frequent topic of conversation at weekly site coordination meetings. August 1991 minutes note that the “owners would like to see greater participation. General contractor is doing a good job with Tribal employment [but] several subs not employing Tribal members.”

6 MOIHS minutes, 20 April 1991, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
9 Andersen, interview; Atiyeh, interview; Ed Manion, interview with author, July 22, 2010; Beulah Tsumpti, interview with author, July 8, 2010. Christopher Boothby pointed out that Andersen had established relationships with subcontractors in eastern Oregon. Boothby, personal communication, April 16, 2012.
Electrical and plumbing contractors were looking for personnel and SM Andersen wanted to hire another carpenter. The next month Margie Kalama of the CTWS Employment Services attended a weekly meeting, spoke about available Tribal member employees, distributed new lists, and exhorted contractors and subcontractors to hire tribal members,

Tribal members . . . need to be employed on this project. Funds for the project originated from these people, who should be working on this project. ALL SUBCONTRACTORS – SEEK INDIAN EMPLOYMENT. Applications and lists of names are available at SM Andersen Company’s jobsite office. Notify Margie E. Kalama at CTWS Employment Services if any problems are encountered during hiring. . . . Don’t stop trying.

Two weeks later, meeting minutes note that "several subcontractors have hired Tribal members recently."

Ed Manion explained that a high level of skill was required to build a building like the museum and few Tribal members had those skills.

If they did, then they were employed and they were not here; they were someplace else. But a lot of the Tribal members that wanted to work here or could work here and should have worked here probably didn’t have those skills, and so they ended up being the labor. . . . There’s a great desire from the Tribe, and each one of the directors and each one of the managers—whether it’s the hydro project or this museum or education, wherever it is throughout the Tribe—there is a desire by the managers to have Tribal members employed.

The construction meeting minutes do suggest that employment opportunities were available for people with the needed skills. For example, they state that SM Andersen “could still use some experienced carpenters [and that] something
needs to be done to get Indian personnel with electrical experience into the Apprenticeship Program."{15

Ed Manion thought that SM Andersen was hired because the company “could motivate and help the Tribal members.” Manion explained that although SM Andersen is a union contractor, there was an agreement that Tribal members could work on this project without joining the union. “But they would like to see them be in a training program so that we could have them entering through the same gate coming to work as the union people.”{16 Andersen recalled his efforts to employ Tribal members,

We asked our subs to use Tribal labor also. And it was challenging. We had a hard time . . . but we used as many as we could. . . . Some of our major subs . . . tried to use Tribal labor but they were unrecognizable. Even for their apprentices program, they were unrecognizable by the unions or by the State of Oregon. So they could not use them. So we dealt with that and I think as far as I know they appreciated it. Because we did our very best."{17

August 1991 minutes explain that state requirements would not allow a Tribal electrical apprentice or Tribal plumbing apprentice to be hired because apprentice regulations are different. The Tribes requested a copy of the letter stating reasons for denial. The state had previously waived these requirements for the Confederated Tribes."{18 A month later, minutes state that “owners are currently working on requirements for plumbing and electrical contractors to hire Tribal members. SM Andersen requests that all subcontractors seek tribal

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{15 Mortensen, SM Andersen Weekly Site Coordination Meeting Minutes, 17 September 1991.
{16 Manion, interview.
{17 Andersen, interview.
{18 Don Mortensen, SM Andersen Weekly Site Coordination Meeting Minutes, 27 August 1991, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
member employment: This is a Tribal building and should be built with the help of Tribal member personnel participation.”

General Council meeting minutes, construction coordination meeting minutes, and monthly construction reports indicate that SM Andersen employed between four and eight Tribal laborers for the duration of the construction and that subcontractors hired Tribal members too. A total of $450,000 was returned to the community in hiring Tribal labor and subcontractors.

Jerry Polk was one of the Tribal member laborers whom SM Andersen employed to help build the museum. Polk recounted that he was one of the most experienced laborers, so the job superintendent put him in charge of the different laborers. He had the responsibility in the morning to “open up the job shack and get all the tools ready . . . and when the job was all over for the day [he] would go and pick up all the tools and put them back in the job shack.” Polk did a lot of framing and concrete pouring, but he took on a “tall order” that others were reluctant to do. He went to the peak of the roof to help position and secure the huge glulam beams.

I built, I think it was five or six scaffolds high. I was tied to the walls to go up to that highest peak on the main exhibit. . . . The big beams came from the corner, from each corner of the building, up to that peak. . . . I was up there and I had to have the big bolts and the hammer and all that stuff. When the crane operator got the big beam down there, to set in place, I’d put the bolts through there. Secure it down.

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19 Don Mortensen, SM Andersen Weekly Site Coordination Meeting Minutes, 24 September 1991, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
21 MAWS minutes, 16 April 1993, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
23 Ibid.
Delvis Health advocated hiring Tribal members to procure materials,

    We wanted to hire our people. . . . We have everything on this land that
    you can build out of . . . . Use that. That way you can hire our people, and
    they know where the rocks are, they know where the lumber is, they know
    where the trees are that you need. . . . We need the young people to
    work. . . . Too many young people get in trouble; we need more jobs. . . .
    So that is one way of getting our people to help at the museum, to get
    them jobs to work; they’re not expert in carpentry or masonry, . . . but they
    know where the material is, and you can . . . hire them.24

6.3 Procuring Basalt

A Tribal member escorted Bryan Burke, Christopher Boothby, and Carol Mayer-Reed around the reservation for a few days to find a good source for basalt.25

The masonry subcontractor, Kelly’s Masonry, hired several Tribal members as laborers to help harvest basalt from a slope below the crest of a steep hillside to the north of the museum (see fig. 6.9). Basalt was used in the tall “drum” wall, a wall encircling the building to the north, the water feature near the entrance, and as feature stones in various locations (see figs. 6.10-6.13).

    Kelly Ceniga, the mason, and his employees selected uniform stones that
    would be easiest to use in building the walls.26 “Kelly had two or three one-ton,
    four-wheel-drive trucks with wood flatbeds on them and a small forklift, and they
    took pallets and sheep fencing cages, and they hand-picked, just by tossing them
    into the pallet, the rocks.”27 Don Mortensen, Project Coordinator for SM Andersen, noted that the masons and laborers probably picked up “several hundred tons of rocks . . . all by hand. Just due to the terrain and the steepness
    of the ground, you really couldn’t use equipment. . . . So it was all harvested by

25 Christopher Boothby, personal communication, April 16, 2012.
26 Andersen, interview; Dick Nicoll, interview with author, July 26, 2010.
27 Boothby, interview.
hand and brought back down, unloaded by forklifts and eventually put in place. So that was quite a challenge for them.\textsuperscript{28} Because the masons hand-picked each piece of stone, there was no waste; they did not have to pay to haul away extra stone, and they were able to keep their bid lower.\textsuperscript{29}

From what she said, it appears that Carol Mayer-Reed connected with the landscape, was enchanted by the local basalt, and thrilled to work with Tribal members and masons willing to help her procure specific stones to build the vision that she had for the museum's landscape design. As Mayer-Reed recounted,

> When we'd stand out on the site we could see beautiful stone just from being out there in the canyon. . . . So we asked them, “Could there be some sources for stone?” And they said, “Oh, absolutely. There’s no problem with that. . . .” So they drove us around to the most incredible places on the reservation. They said, “Do you like this stone? Do you like that stone? How about this? How about that?” And it was such a treat. . . . It wasn’t like we had to go through some quarry that will only bring the stone in a certain way. They just seemed like anything was possible. . . . So we ended up using this stone from the canyon that you can actually see from the site. It was just the talus that had come down off these tall cliffs; it was beautiful basalt. It’s called bronze basalt; that’s what we call it. And I’m sure they have another more poetic name for it. . . . Some of them were more boulder-y, but most of it was this columnar bronze basalt.\textsuperscript{30}

Chris Boothby recounted that he and Mayer-Reed selected and tagged specific stones for the water feature and feature stones.\textsuperscript{31} Landscape contractor Jolly Miller brought stones down to the site where they were labeled with chalk and inventoried. Mayer-Reed located the stones specifically in a plan diagram

\textsuperscript{28} Don Mortensen, interview with author, July 26, 2010.
\textsuperscript{29} Boothby, personal communication.
\textsuperscript{30} Carol Mayer-Reed, interview with author, July 28, 2010.
\textsuperscript{31} Boothby, interview; Don Mortensen, SM Andersen Weekly Site Coordination Meeting Minutes, 30 July 1991, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
with individual stones identified by number. Mayer-Reed communicated that, “Being able to source that stone locally like that and have it appear as if it had tumbled onto the site from the mountainside gave us a good feeling about it.”

Mayer-Reed had an interesting experience with a Tribal laborer who had been hired to set stone at the entrance water feature.

The laborer hadn’t talked to me before and he looked up and he said, “What is this stone for? What does it mean?” And I said, “Well, it’s a way for us to connect the building to the site and using water as a fluid material; we think it’s a beautiful texture. And we think the sound will be calming for the visitors who enter, and it’ll just be really nice. . . . What do you think?” And he said, “Oh, I thought it was about the Tribal members. . . . There’re these vertical stones which are like the elders and they’re like the Council, and they direct the other stones that are around them. . . . The flat stones are the members that have passed on and the water is soothing their souls. . . .” He read something into that that was so beautiful and poetic and it just sort of bothered me that I hadn’t come up with such an eloquent answer. He’d spent a lot of time thinking about it while he was building it. His mindset was so incredible. . . . I felt humbled by him.

6.4 Building on the Reservation

When I asked Steve Andersen and his employees, Dick Nicoll and Don Mortensen, how construction of the museum differed from construction projects not on a reservation, they recalled a few special conditions regarding permitting, services, and Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA).

The first thing that Andersen mentioned was that, “when we did sign the contract we went right down the street and they gave us a building permit. Usually you have to wait for a building permit but since it was a federal project or a tribal project we got the building permit right then.” Andersen also noted that

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32 Bryan Burke, Stastny and Burke Field Report, 23 September 1991, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
33 Mayer-Reed, interview.
34 Ibid.
“it’s one of the few projects that during construction we never fenced and we
never lost any material.”35

The museum site did not have domestic water or sewer lines during
construction.36 Mortensen explained that they “built the entire building off of one
little garden hose. It’s a masonry building with all the rock work. . . . We’d just fill
up barrels to do the masonry with. Barrels of water. Essentially that’s what we
did. Built it off of one garden hose.”37 The lack of domestic water was problematic
as building systems were completed because the plumbing, heating, and fire
protection systems could not be tested. Most worrisome was the lack of fire
protection.38

Because the museum was on a tribal reservation, federal OSHA had
jurisdiction rather than state OSHA. SM Andersen had not dealt with federal
OSHA before so they did not know what to expect. They found that not only did
federal OSHA have bigger fines, but they were “a bit of a challenge and difficult
to get along with.” Part of the issue was that Tribal laborers were unaccustomed
to complying with safety regulations.39 OSHA requirements were discussed at a
weekly coordination meeting shortly after an OSHA inspector visited the site.40
Disturbingly, federal OSHA “wanted to make it a point to tell the tribe they could

35 Andersen, interview.
36 MOIHS minutes, June 7, 1991, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
37 Mortensen, interview.
38 SM Andersen Project Status Report: MOIHS, 24 March 1992, MAWS, Warm Springs,
OR; SM Andersen Project Status Report: MOIHS, 24 April 1992, MAWS, Warm Springs,
OR; Don Mortensen, SM Andersen Contractor/Owner/Architect Weekly Meeting Minutes,
7 April 1992, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR; Dick Nicoll, SM Andersen
Contractor/Owner/Architect Weekly Meeting Minutes, 25 February 1992, MAWS, Warm
Springs, OR.
40 SM Andersen Project Status Report: MOIHS, 23 September 1991, MAWS, Warm
Springs, OR; Mortensen, SM Andersen Weekly Site Coordination Meeting Minutes, 24
September 1991; Don Mortensen, SM Andersen Weekly Site Coordination Meeting
Minutes, 29 October 1991, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
come on tribal land. It seems like that was probably one of the biggest issues with them. Not so much there to check up on us and the job, just to let the tribe know that they had the jurisdiction to come on their land.” It was a tribal sovereignty issue.41

Ed Manion explained that for contractors to submit competitive bids, get insurance, and build on the reservation, it is necessary to get waiver of sovereign immunity for each construction project.

Any litigation . . . that should take place would have to happen in the court here. The insurance companies and the contractors would not even consider working if that would be the case. Because something happens if I’m working here and building the museum and the tribe didn’t like what I was doing, it’d end up being in court . . . here. And the Council hires the judges and appoints the judges and it’s their court and who do you think is going to win this case? So the insurance company said, “We’re not going to insure you; we won’t do that. . . .” So that’s when we started doing waiver of sovereign immunity by project. . . . Once the sovereign immunity goes into the municipal courts, the case is heard there. The Council goes along with that. That’s a big issue with them, and they really, really, restudy that and think about it. . . . And they should and I understand that. But to get competitive bids and get contractors in, that’s what it’s going to take. . . . So that was always a big issue.”42

6.5 Construction Administration

During construction, a job meeting was held every Tuesday morning, run by Ed Manion who served as the owner’s representative. Participants included Chris Boothby and/or Bryan Burke representing Stasny and Burke; Carol Mayer-Reed; Jack Mortensen, Superintendent, and Dick Nicoll, Project Manager, from SM Andersen; Ramasurdyal PremSingh, the Tribes’ building inspector; and various subcontractors.43

41 Andersen, Nicoll, and Mortensen, interview.
42 Manion, interview.
43 Andersen, Nicoll, and Mortensen, interview; Boothby, interview; Manion, interview.
In the museum project, design continued throughout construction. As Stastny explained, “That isn’t changing the documents as much as it is interpreting the documents . . . and correcting for certain site conditions going through.” Stastny and Burke had budgeted to have an architect on the site every week during construction “because we felt it was a necessity to, not necessarily monitor, but make sure that things were going together the right way and if they weren’t, corrections could be made . . . without having to impact the overall construction schedule.”

Typically Chris Boothby was on the job for an entire day each week; sometimes Bryan Burke came instead or together with Boothby.

It turned out to be very important to have an architect on the site frequently. Dick Nicoll and Don Mortensen explained that “with the detail book there’s still a lot of information that needed to be interpreted and conveyed.”

Their details consisted of a book of hand drawn details, not necessarily to scale, but well-sketched by an architect, so there’re always some inherent issues that can come up with things that aren’t perfectly figured out all the way. . . . Their book of details, a couple inches thick, was all hand drafted, sketched, not drafted details. That was a little challenge to put those to the actual floor plan prints and make things work out.

Staff architect Dustin Posner explained that architectural fees do not always allow for contract documents to be fully detailed. At Stastny and Burke, “a lot of fee got utilized on big picture design and because Don would like to push and tweak design—he’d keep pushing and keep pushing. The amount of time to do the drawings and fee to really detail it usually were more limited. . . . You’d love

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44 Donald Stastny, interview with author, October 9, 2010.
45 Boothby, interview; Nicoll, interview.
46 Mortensen and Nicoll, interview.
47 Mortensen, interview.
to have a more comprehensive set of drawings, but time and fees don’t necessarily make it so.”

Consequently, a lot of detailing occurred during the construction process. “Hey, we don’t have a detail for this; we need a sketch,’ and that wouldn’t be necessarily in the documents. . . . There was a lot of trust . . . that Don and the staff would always step up the plate to see that the information that the contractor needed would be provided.” And in some cases construction decisions would not be in a drawing, but communicated directly to a contractor or subcontractor.

“There’s a certain amount of arm-waving that would have gone on in that building. The vocabulary of how some of the brickwork or stonework was laid out probably was Chris or Don or Bryan being out in the field and just arm-waving with the masons on some of that stuff.”

Posner explained that, because a lot of the detailing occurred through Construction Administration (CA),

“You’re really dependent on the person doing the CA, and Chris was a terrific person for that project. He understood the building well, he had the history of involvement, he had good design sensibility, and the ability to interpret Don’s and Bryan’s desires. . . . He clearly could carry the project through on the day-to-day decision making and stay consistent with the intent. . . . And Bryan Burke was very involved all the way through.”

Boothby was quite helpful in solving problems on site. Don Mortensen noted that “he was a real pleasure to work with. A lot of times contractors and architects will butt heads and things. There was very little of that on this job.” Dick Nicoll indicated that Boothby’s construction experience meant that he understood “some of the issues and problems and difficulties that have to be overcome so

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49 Ibid.
50 Ibid.
51 Mortensen, interview.
Boothby recalled that, “We had . . . an unusually good relationship with the general contractor and most of the subs. . . . We had a project manager . . . in Andersen’s office who was very good [Dick Nicoll]. And I had really good rapport with him.” From what Boothby said, he developed a good relationship with the onsite superintendent, Jack Mortensen.

Jack had many years of experience . . . and really knew construction inside and out. Jack would be working on mock-up drawings to satisfy himself that everything was going to work. I would get a call from him first thing in the morning and he’d been up ’til one or two and then gotten up again at five. . . . Jack was incredibly devoted to the project, meticulous, very cranky guy. . . . I said, “You have way more years of experience in this business than I do, so when you see something that’s bogus that we’ve got in our drawings, I want to know about it and I want to collaborate with you on how we make it right.” So, we got into a very collaborative kind of relationship. . . . So it was a really great relationship. Cranky old guy. Very prideful. But he served us well, very well.”

The only contractor that Boothby had issues with was the landscape contractor, “the one nightmare subcontractor. . . . He had his crew drive his ditch witch through cottonwood roots. We had a whole boilerplate in the spec about protecting the site. He just totally blew it off. . . . There was some litigation.”

Carol Mayer-Reed also came out to the site to oversee the landscaping. She had an interesting experience with the building inspector.

“One day I was out there by myself . . . and the tribal inspector started walking toward me. . . . I thought “Oh, gosh, I hope there isn’t some problem on the job. . . .” Finally he walks up to me, and he asked, “What kind of bird are you?” And I said, “What?” And he said, “Well, I just want to know what kind of bird you feel like you are.” And I said, “Well, I haven’t really thought of that question before. Can you maybe give me a little bit more information about the question or tell me more about what you’re thinking?” He said, “Well, you draw these plans and you have the ability

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52 Nicoll, interview.
53 Boothby, interview.
54 Ibid.
to see from great height.” And I said, “Well, I hadn’t quite thought about it that way, but yeah, I work in plan view a lot.” He said, “Well, do you feel like you’re a hawk or an eagle? You have good perspective.” And I said, “Well, I don’t really feel like that.” And he said, “Well, how do you feel?” I said, “Well, I kind of feel more like, maybe a great blue heron.” “Well, why is that?” I said, “Well, I’m probably not tall enough to be a great blue heron; maybe a green heron or smaller type of heron, but I stand in water up to my waist sometimes and I can’t see my feet. And I have these muddy things going on around me that I don’t quite understand. And when I see something I go for it; I’m a good fisherman that way.”

6.6 Challenges

6.6.1 Time Required for Tribal Member Consensus

When I asked contractors about challenges in building the museum, they said, “We like challenges,” and they never mentioned technical challenges. They did mention the lack of domestic water, dealing with federal OSHA, coordinating many different subcontractors, and the complexity of decision making when a client is represented by multiple individuals and groups.

They don’t always agree on everything so we had some problems during construction. Not really problems because we just kept going. . . . The [stanchions] which sit north, south, east and west . . . on those pedestals. . . . forty feet in the air. . . . Not all tribes believe that the circles truly are how things are. . . . We never really stopped. You just kind of slowed down a little bit because I don’t think there was a problem until all the bases were poured and the . . . galvanized steel was on site. And then I think somebody saw it and there was a problem.

Chief Delvis Heath pointed out that like the circles in the stanchions, “Our drum is made round, like the world, and it’s the heartbeat of our people.” After the MOIHS Board discussed the stanchions and approved them by vote “as being

55 Mayer-Reed, interview.
56 Andersen, Nicoll, and Mortensen, interview.
57 Heath, interview.
important architectural elements for the site,” contractors were able to continue erecting them (see fig. 6.19).  

Tribal members needed time to select a word to represent their museum, so this affected the timing of cutting and installing the incised granite panels over the entrance. The granite panels could not be cut until this decision was made, because the granite band was divided into equal sized panels, one per letter. And the basalt drum wall was built up against the granite, so the drum wall could only be completed after the granite was up. After the MOIHS Board chose the word *Twanat*, the panels were cut, incised, and installed (see figs. 6.11 and 6.18).  

6.6.2 Minor Technical Challenges

As in any construction project, a few issues arose while building the museum. When the granite panels over the entrance were first installed, the finish and cut edges were uneven, installation was not secure, and one piece of stone was cracked. Edges were recut, the cracked piece replaced, and the panels were reinstalled.  

The landscape architect envisioned a pattern of aggregate in the concrete paving “to be a unique feature of the exterior spaces at the museum . . . that
would carry the ambience of the water feature into the entry walkways and west plaza.”

Her intention was to continue water metaphorically, but the quality of the concrete workmanship was poor and “the artistry we were looking for is lost.” Ultimately, the defective paving was removed and replaced.

Meeting minutes suggest that assembling the tree-like columns in the lobby was a challenge (see figs. 6.14-6.17). Each column is a lathe-turned peeler log, two feet in diameter, with a steel cap connecting eight “branches” that attach with knife blade connectors to asymmetrical curved glulam joists above. The initial assembly was unacceptable, but contractors reconnected the branches to the satisfaction of architects within a few weeks. Given the complex geometry and unconventional construction, records suggest that contractors completed the “trees” in a relatively short period of time.

### 6.6.3 Landscaping

The landscape architect sought to preserve as much of the existing vegetation as possible including trees in the parking area and trees and understory plants in protected zones identified on the plans. A field report notes that, “Irrigation trenching is unnecessarily damaging existing tree roots... Areas identified on drawings as protected zones are being used for parking areas, driveways, and have stored construction debris and waste.”

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61 “Carol Mayer-Reed to Bryan Burke, 11 December 1991,” MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
62 Ibid. See also Mayer/Reed Construction Observation Memo, 3 December 1991, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
63 Boothby, Stastny and Burke Field Report, 1 October 1991; Burke, Stastny and Burke Field Report, 8 October 1991.
65 Even before the design team was hired, Mayer-Reed stated that preservation of the trees was an important design objective. Stastny and Burke, Stastny and Burke interview proposal, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
wrote a detailed letter outlining damage to tree roots and trunks, concerns with aesthetics and safety, and the responsibility of the contractor to remove and replace damaged trees. Eventually damaged trees were removed.

Mayer-Reed had specified native plants important to Tribal members after speaking with elders. Yet the landscape contractor claimed that it was difficult to obtain plants as specified. In some cases he substituted different species. In others he substituted smaller plants or bare root plants instead of plants in nursery containers. Three months after the museum was substantially complete, the landscape was still unfinished. Trees and shrubs planted by the landscape contractor “had died at a greater than acceptable rate” and meadow grasses and wildflowers had not established themselves. Consequently, $30,000 was withheld “as retainage against satisfactory completion.” The landscape contractor responsible for irrigation and planting was an anomaly on this project; the other contractors were skilled craftsmen dedicated to doing their very best work in creating the museum.

6.7 Craft

The emphasis on craft began with the architects. Donald Stastny saw craft as being important to people at Warm Springs. “This idea . . . of craft, of making something the same way you might think about a moccasin, . . . if you’re able to

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67 Carol Mayer-Reed to Bryan Burke, 17 October 1991, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
70 Donald Stastny and Bryan Burke to MAWS Board of Directors, August 17, 1992, MAWS, Warm Springs, OR.
incorporate in the building the same kind of thinking about understanding how it’s made, how the pieces come together, it is tremendously important to them.”\textsuperscript{71}

Architects chose materials with great care. A contractor noted, “They were trying to build a really substantial building. All the walls are veneer plaster instead of drywall. . . . I think that was a big part of the architect and the owner trying to build something that would be there a long time. Lot of hard woods, little bit of everything as far as heavy timbers. . . . It’s a very well built building.”\textsuperscript{72}

The design and detailing demanded a high level of craft. Architects sought artisan craftspeople whose workmanship could realize their vision of the museum.\textsuperscript{73} Craftsmen sometimes inspired architects to design something they would not have thought of otherwise. “A lot of the detail of things didn’t evolve until into the construction process. The serrated wall . . . by the souvenir shop . . . was actually developed during construction. . . . The coloration in things like the dome area back in the administration area . . . really came because we had the plaster guy that had this patented plaster system that he was applying.”\textsuperscript{74} The Milestone pigmented cementitious coating was created in layers, “layered, ground back, layered. . . it was beautiful.”\textsuperscript{75}

Another craftsman was the blacksmith at Fire Mountain Forge who created all of the bronze elements in the building. He created the bronze pulls in the form of dance bustles on the entrance doors, the frame for the donor board, rosettes at the joints of juniper half-rounds in the lobby, bronze angles, and bronze screeds. He had a special finish, Dirty 30, made of crankcase oil. “The

\textsuperscript{71} Stastny, interview, October 9, 2010
\textsuperscript{72} Mortensen, interview.
\textsuperscript{73} Boothby noted, “Bringing artisans in as designated subcontractors, that kind of thing doesn’t happen that much.” Boothby, interview.
\textsuperscript{74} Stastny, interview, October 9, 2010.
\textsuperscript{75} Boothby, interview.
bronze is heated and the crankcase oil is applied and rubbed, so it’s one way to get to an oil-rubbed bronze finish.\textsuperscript{76}

The project architect spoke highly of builders, especially Jack Mortensen, the job superintendent; Fred Shearer, the plasterer; and Kelly Ceniga, the mason.\textsuperscript{77}

Little did we know what a fantastic mason we were going to have, . . . Kelly Ceniga, . . . incredible pride. . . . Most masons work with strings to get their vertical line of the corner. He actually had a stainless steel, probably a 4x4 or 6x6 angle that he propped and clamped . . . top and bottom to this structure. . . . That’s how they established their corners, that’s what they ran their horizontal strings off of. And, just his willingness to do this meticulous work. It was stipulated in the specifications that the rock was to come from that site I described. None of the other bidders stuck to that.\textsuperscript{78}

Donald Stastny also spoke very highly of the mason and other subcontractors. I think it is significant that he called them \textit{craftsmen}. “We worked with the masons to get this stacked idea without being able to see the mortar. They did a phenomenal job. In fact everybody, all the craftsmen here were terrific.”\textsuperscript{79} Craig Kerger, who oversaw construction in the permanent exhibit, spoke ecstatically about making the museum.

The board was phenomenal in trusting every consultant there, and I think that as a result they really did get a job that was built by people who just loved the project. It wasn’t a dollar thing; it was a love thing that everyone wanted to do their very best work ever that they could possibly do so it wouldn’t disappoint the Tribes or others involved who kept pushing each other. The people were so wonderful. . . . It was a good team, and clearly, right down to the people who were building the building, the Tribal members. I mean, it was made by angels. They all put their heart and soul into everything that they did, because it just felt like such a right project at the time for them, The Museum At Warm Springs.\textsuperscript{80}

\textsuperscript{76} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{77} Christopher Boothby, personal communication, April 16, 2012.
\textsuperscript{78} Boothby, interview.
\textsuperscript{79} Stastny, interview.
\textsuperscript{80} Craig Kerger, interview with author, July 28, 2010.
6.8 Conclusion

6.8.1 Strategic Actions

What strategic actions did contractors, designers, Tribal members, and others do that led to the final built form of the museum?

Selected and supported the right general contractor: After the Tribes bid the job and the numbers came in high, someone within the Tribes had the wisdom to acknowledge that the Tribes did not have the construction experience or subcontractor relationships at that time to build a building as complex as the museum. Although Tribal members desired to do things for themselves and build expertise within the community, they wisely hired from outside when they needed to do so to achieve their goals.

Despite SM Andersen’s mistake in bidding, the Confederated Tribes hired SM Andersen and did so at the full amount. Because SM Andersen was contracted to build the museum at a price that allowed them to pay their people and still make a profit, SM Andersen did not have pressure to cut corners. In fact, SM Andersen was beholden to the Tribes, aimed to build the building to the highest standard possible with available labor and materials, and has been paying back to the museum ever since.

Architects and contractors worked collaboratively: Either the project architect or principal architect visited and spent a whole day at the construction site every week. This allowed for frequent monitoring to make sure the building was being built as envisioned and for the project architect to build rapport with contractors. Contractors worked collaboratively with architects to solve problems as they arose; this was facilitated, in part, by the construction experience of the
project architect. Contractors and architects established a working relationship far more productive than most in which I have participated or observed. The number of issues on this project was fewer than on most. The project architect attributes this to the bidding process—select bid with approved contractors—and the level of engagement of architects in terms of construction administration.81

*Design continued throughout construction:* Architects continued to refine the design throughout the construction phase. In many cases, this was inspired and facilitated by craftsmen and opportunities on site. For example, the decision to stud a brick wall with pieces of basalt never would have occurred if the materials had not been onsite, if the mason had not been a skilled craftsman, and if the architect had not been thinking creatively.

*High level of craft:* The landscape architect and architects were clear about their expectations for a high level of craft. In the few instances when the quality did not meet their expectations, they requested that work be redone. The general contractor and most subcontractors had the skills and dedication to maintain a high level of craft in their work. The masonry work is outstanding. Also notable are the plaster, bronze work, and Milestone finish.

**6.8.2 Privileging People of Warm Springs and Their Traditions**

How were Tribal members and their traditions privileged through the building processes?

*Tribal members participated in building the museum:* The Confederated Tribes sought Tribal member employment aggressively and included tribal labor in the construction contract with SM Andersen. Ed Manion, as the owner’s

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81 Christopher Boothby, personal communication, April 16, 2012.
representative overseeing construction, understood the importance of tribal member employment and continued to push for it and facilitate it. Margie Kalama, CTWS Employment Services, attended weekly construction coordination meetings and urged subcontractors to hire Tribal members. The general contractor hired as many Tribal member laborers as possible and subcontractors (some of whom were tribal) hired tribal members too. A total of $450,000 was paid out to Tribal laborers and subcontractors.

*Construction paused to allow time for Tribal member consensus:* During construction, two issues arose that required time for Tribal members to consider, deliberate, and make a decision. Some Tribal members questioned the relevance of the stanchions marking the cardinal directions. Even though the concrete bases were poured, the stanchions fabricated, and equipment rented, the stanchions were erected only after the MOIHS Board had time to meet and vote to go ahead and erect the stanchions. Another issue was the question of which word to inscribe in stone over the entrance. This decision took months. Although the architect envisioned the word “museum” in one of the tribal languages, these languages have no word for museum. And there are three languages. The granite panels could only be cut and incised after the decision was made. The basalt wall abutting the granite could only be completed after the granite was installed. While waiting for decisions to be made, the general contractor had to think creatively and revise the construction sequence to work around the items they were not yet authorized to complete.
6.8.3 Pride

Virtually everyone I spoke to who was involved in making the museum communicated pride in their contribution. Carol Mayer-Reed explained that,

The Warm Springs Museum was one of the pivotal projects for me in terms of my own professional development, because there was such an exchange that I began to expect that when I went into other projects. I can’t say that every architect that I ever worked with welcomed that expectation that I had. . . . Because the project was a successful design example of how collaborative a project could be, it got a lot of recognition. It won some awards. A lot of people really admired it—I felt proud that I had had such a strong hand in it.”82

Donald Stastny noted that “the people who built this, they loved being here, the contractors. . . . They were so proud of what they built. I mean, everyone that worked on it felt a really strong pride of ownership about this thing.”83 Stastny told a story.

We had an electrician who finished his work and they couldn’t get him to leave. He kept asking the job foreman, “Is there something else I can do, even in the other trades?” And he literally stayed, I believe it was two to three weeks after he’d finished his work, just kind of doing things that you wouldn’t expect an electrician to do, just to continue to be a part of the building. . . . It was obvious that there was a great deal of pride from all the workers in what they’d built.84

Tribal member Jerry Polk reminisced, “I wished I could have gone around and taken up a picture collection of all the jobs I’d done, and brought them to the museum so people could see what I had done in my construction working days. . . . Building this building here, I didn’t know it was going to be such a big event, a big building. I’m proud.”85

Chris Boothby told a story illustrating a prevalent attitude toward the museum.

82 Mayer-Reed, interview.
84 Stastny interview, October 9, 2010.
85 Polk, interview.
There was a sprinkler guy, the fire sprinklers pipe fitter, and one day when I was on site I wandered in to the permanent exhibit hall, and he was up on a high lift, working way up, and he came down. . . . He said, “I don’t know what it is, but there’s something special about this place. . . .” It felt like he had almost a spiritual connection with the site or the building or something. I think he was just picking up . . . that everybody involved was very devoted to the product. It was wonderful to see the degree to which artisans, given an opportunity to excel, will do so, as compared to the conventional work where they’re backed into the corner, they’re trying to make a buck, and they’re squeezed, and half-assed becomes acceptable.86

86 Boothby, interview.
Figure 6.1. Partial plan of lobby and vestibules May 11, 1990. Note refinement of vestibules leading into the permanent exhibits and changing exhibits gallery between 1990 and 1991. Courtesy of Stastny Brun Architects from the Stastny and Burke project archives.

Figure 6.2. Partial plan of lobby and vestibules April 15, 1991. Courtesy of Stastny Brun Architects from the Stastny and Burke project archives.
Figure 6.3. *Above*, Longitudinal section January 16, 1990.
Figure 6.4. *Below*, Longitudinal section April 15, 1991.
Courtesy of Stastny Brun Architects from the Stastny and Burke project archives.

Figure 6.6. Dick Nicoll, Steve Andersen, and Don Mortensen at the Andersen office in 2010. Photo by author.
Figure 6.7. Groundbreaking in May 1991. Reproduced by permission from "Tribal Culture, History to be Reflected in New Museum." Spilyay Tymoo, May 17, 1991.
Figure 6.8. Tribal members employed by SM Andersen to build the museum. Reproduced by permission from "The SM Andersen Crew Includes Wayne Saunders, Tommie Kalama, Henry O'Rourke and Jerry Polk." Spilyay Tymoo, Nov 15, 1991.
Figure 6.9. Basalt cliff from which stones were taken. Photo by author.

Figure 6.10. Water feature with basalt stones in foreground and basalt drum behind. Courtesy of Stastny Brun Architects from the Stastny and Burke project archives.
Fig. 6.11. Above left, Beam and stone veneer at entry (E24)
Fig. 6.12. Above right, Entry drum wall section at building (F25)
Fig. 6.13. Below, Site wall section (F2)
Fig. 6.14. Above, Top of lobby column in elevation (E35)
Fig. 6.15. Center, Top of lobby column in plan (E35)
Fig. 6.16. Below, Base of lobby column (E34)
Figure 6.17. “Trees” in lobby under construction. Courtesy of Stastny Brun Architects from the Stastny and Burke project archives.
Figure 6.18. Entry drum with beam to support stone sign with curved glulams over lobby behind. Courtesy of Stastny Brun Architects from the Stastny and Burke project archives.

Figure 6.19. East stanchion with building under construction. Courtesy of Stastny Brun Architects from the Stastny and Burke project archives.
Chapter 7

CONCLUSION

7.1 Summary

The focus of this study has been to understand the critical activities that Tribal members, designers, contractors, and others did to create a tribal museum whose architecture represents and serves the associated Indigenous community. The study also considered how people did things so as to honor Indigenous traditions.

The dissertation began by considering that Indigenous peoples still experience effects of colonization and Indigenous scholars argue that decolonization processes are needed. As mainstream Western museums have roots as colonial institutions, and inappropriate displays of Indigenous people persist, many Indigenous communities have established their own museums. I examined Indigenous strategies that tribal museums employ and argue that architecture can be an Indigenous strategy by privileging Indigenous traditions through design processes, accommodating Indigenous activities, and projecting Indigenous identities through architectural expression.

An examination of literature on Indigenous architectures in North America revealed that few architectural scholars conduct research on Indigenous architectures or write about them critically. Few schools of architecture teach about Indigenous architectures or prepare students to work with Indigenous communities. Building on tribal reservations is often challenging due to special administrative procedures, status of land ownership, and lack of services. Because few Indigenous people practice architecture, most Indigenous
communities hire design professionals from outside. How do these outsider architects develop meaningful architecture that represents an Indigenous community?

After visiting twenty-four tribal museums and cultural centers, I selected The Museum At Warm Springs on the Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation of Oregon as the object of this inquiry. The 1993 Museum At Warm Springs is one of only a few tribal museums celebrated both for its architecture and its role as a tribal museum with outstanding exhibits and one of the largest collections of tribal artifacts owned by an Indigenous community.

To learn about the various activities required to create the museum, I interviewed twenty-four people including Tribal members, designers, contractors, and others. I augmented interviews with tribal newspaper articles, Tribal Council resolutions and minutes, board meeting minutes, correspondence, and construction reports. I also examined visual materials such as design drawings, working drawings, model photos, and construction photos. To gain a better understanding of the context of the museum and its respective community, I participated in and observed a few events in Warm Springs such as the annual powwow, a museum fundraiser, a tribal member art show, and a retirement luncheon.

Finally, I wrote a fine-grained narrative of activities that led to the creation of the museum. “Envisioning the Museum” chronicles activities that Tribal members and others did to position themselves to develop a museum. They built a collection of Tribal heirlooms, created and supported a museum society, and hired staff for the society including an executive director who was able to raise funds to build a museum. “Designing the Museum” examines activities that Tribal
Communication between tribal members and designers, a close reading of the site and surrounding landscape, interdisciplinary collaboration, and an iterative design process that continued into construction all contributed to the final design. “Building the Museum” considers processes related to constructing the museum. These included bidding, Tribal member participation in the labor force, special conditions of building on a reservation, challenges, an emphasis on craft, and pride in work completed.

7.2 Research Results

This section considers the three primary questions that this investigation addressed. For more detail, see conclusions in Chapters Four, Five, and Six.

7.2.1 Pre-Design Strategies

What strategic actions did Tribal members and their advocates do to get to the point that they were ready to design and build a museum? The Confederated Tribes built an outstanding collection of Tribal artifacts, one of the best collections owned by an Indigenous community. Tribal Council established MOIHS as a semi-autonomous non-profit, headed by its own Board, and has supported it financially for decades. Tribal Council hired staff for MOIHS including an exemplary executive director able to lead the society and gain the Tribal support and external funding needed to build a museum. These were the key activities, yet many people—Tribal members and others—contributed on many levels, for decades.
7.2.2 Design and Construction Strategies

What strategic actions led to the final design of the museum? After nearly twenty years of considering sites, the MOIHS Board found a viable site that met their criteria, hired engineers to assess the site, and followed engineers’ recommendations to add fill and stabilize the site. After hiring and dismissing two architectural firms that did not meet their needs, the MOIHS Board persevered in seeking an architectural design team willing to work collaboratively. The Tribes and MOIHS Board wisely hired a general contractor with subcontractor relationships and experience needed to build a building as complex as the museum. The decisions to go outside of the Tribes, to hire this particular general contractor, and the price paid, were considered very carefully.

Collaboration proved to be key to the success of this project. An on-site design workshop was a critical activity that allowed time for Tribal members and designers to develop trust, communicate, and work collaboratively. Architects and a landscape architect shared their design knowledge with Tribal members. Tribal members throughout the community were willing to spend time with designers, educate them about their history and community, and communicate what they wanted to see in the museum. The workshop allowed time for designers to adapt their style of communication, begin to recognize the primacy of storytelling, tell stories themselves, and become better listeners who aimed to learn what was meaningful to the Warm Springs community.

Through their interactions with Tribal members, designers learned the importance of the natural world to Tribal members. Designers experienced the site and surrounding landscape through all of their senses and allowed the landscape to inspire the design.
Interdisciplinary collaboration led to a design in which exterior and interior spaces are interwoven to a greater degree than in most projects. The interdisciplinary design team included engineers, a landscape architect, and an interior architect who worked collaboratively with architects from the outset of the project.

Architects worked iteratively, refining the design through drawings and study models. They continued to refine the design throughout the construction phase, in some cases inspired by craftsmen onsite. Contractors worked collaboratively with architects to solve problems as they arose; this was facilitated, in part, by the construction experience of the project architect. The general contractor and most subcontractors had the skills and dedication to maintain the high level of craft that the design and detailing demanded.

7.2.3 Privileging Warm Springs People and their Traditions

How were people and traditions of the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs privileged throughout processes of making the museum? The Confederated Tribes collected and preserved the material heritage of the Tribes and all of the knowledge that went along with each object collected.

Elders were respected and involved throughout. Elders served on the Accessions Committee and had the important responsibility of selecting heirlooms to buy for the museum collection. Elders participated in design discussions with architects and the landscape architect. They were consulted in decisions regarding the exhibits and they were recorded for the videos shown in the permanent exhibits. They played key roles in ceremonies.
Tribal members throughout the community had multiple opportunities to become involved with the museum. All Tribal members were invited to participate in the design workshop. The museum collection was exhibited at Kah-Nee-Ta and at the Longhouse for tribal members to see. Tribal members voted on the $2.5 million referendum for museum construction. Tribal members participated in building the museum.

Ceremonies marked milestones in creating the museum. These included the Site Blessing and Cornerstone Laying Ceremony, Groundbreaking Ceremony, and Grand Opening. Each of these included traditional activities such as prayers, songs, dances, and feasts.

Indigenous modes of decision making were privileged throughout design and construction. Construction processes paused to allow Tribal decision-making processes to occur.

Indigenous communication through storytelling reigned throughout discussions about the museum design. Storytelling informed the landscape design, with its four “places” designed for storytelling. Storytelling also informed the building design. The museum is a processional sequence of spaces that tells a story.

The MOIHS Board chose a site next to Shitike Creek, despite risk of flooding, because water is extraordinarily important to tribal members. Designers learned the importance of water and incorporated water both literally and metaphorically. Native plants, important to Elders, were used throughout the landscape design. From the on-site design workshop, architects and landscape architects learned that Tribal members wished to see natural materials such as native basalt. The landscape was the inspiration for the building design in form
and materiality and was the basis of its color palette. Architects sought to design a building that represented the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs and they did this by using forms, materials, and colors from the landscape along with forms alluding to traditional buildings.

7.3 Architecture as an Indigenous Strategy

In Chapter Two, I argued that architecture has the potential to be an Indigenous strategy in tribal museums. Architecture can privilege Indigenous people and their traditions during design processes. Architectural spaces can accommodate Indigenous activities. And architecture can constitute and represent Indigenous identities.

7.3.1 Privileging Indigenous Traditions during Design Processes

This study examined the processes that led to the creation of a tribal museum including design and construction as well as activities that people did to position themselves to design and build the museum. The study then identified strategic actions that led to creation of the museum as built. It also identified how Indigenous people and their traditions were privileged through the processes of making a tribal museum.

After having examined the processes, I will now consider briefly how the architecture of The Museum At Warm Springs accommodates Indigenous activities and how it represents identities of members of the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs.
7.3.2 Accommodating Indigenous Activities

How does the museum accommodate Indigenous activities? The building site, with its shady parking lot, large meadow, and creek can accommodate a variety of outdoor activities such as canoe building or ceremonial gatherings. Within the meadow and along the creek are storytelling places where young Tribal members can gather and learn about their history. The Dance Plaza is used for dancing and other activities.

Most of the interior spaces in the museum reinforce the cultural identity and heritage of the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs or provide support to those spaces that do. The collections storage area houses the material heritage of the Tribes securely. The library and archive store photographs and texts that document history of the three Tribes. The permanent exhibits gallery is a place that tells stories of the Tribes to Tribal members and others.

The temporary exhibits gallery is the location of the annual Tribal member art show and the youth art show, opportunities for Tribal members to exhibit and receive recognition for their art, thus encouraging people to learn and continue practicing traditional ways of making such as beading and making baskets. The gift shop is a place that Tribal members can sell their creations.

The large classroom is a place where Tribal members can learn traditional skills such weaving a basket or dip net. The classroom host meetings of the Warm Springs youth who participate in the annual intertribal Northwest Coast Canoe Journey. The lobby accommodates many activities such as dance performances and receptions celebrating Tribal artists.
7.3.3 Representing Indigenous Identity

How does the museum’s design represent The Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs? Architects sought to represent the three tribes individually and as a confederation. The design concept was an encampment of traditional buildings along the creek. Three roof forms represent traditional elements from the three Tribes. The articulated longhouse form casts shadows through a linear skylight into the illuminated administration wing. The opaque travois form roofs the permanent exhibit. The tipi form, over the changing gallery, provides a daylit vertical space for installations. Exterior brick walls are in a diagonal pattern that appears to be an abstraction of Klickitat basket patterns.

Relation to the natural world, especially water, is important for tribal members. A water feature is within a cylindrical entrance forecourt known as the drum. Water is continued metaphorically in concrete paving surrounding the building and into the lobby in a pattern of slate on the floor. Native basalt, harvested from a hillcrest to the north of the museum, is used in the water feature, the circular wall enclosing the drum space, a larger wall circumscribing the building, and as feature rocks throughout the site. Native plants were key elements within the landscape design. The cottonwood grove, into which parking was inserted, was preserved as much as possible, and trees brought into the lobby metaphorically in the form of tree-like columns.

7.4 Final Thoughts

This dissertation demonstrates that Tribal members and their traditions were privileged during processes of creating The Museum At Warm Springs. The brief analysis above demonstrates that the museum’s spaces accommodate
Indigenous activities and its architecture represents the Confederated Tribes. The Museum At Warm Springs is a tribal museum where architecture has been harnessed to reinforce the cultural identity of its community, the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs.

The dissertation asked, “What strategic actions led to the final design of the museum?” and “How were Tribal members and their traditions privileged during design processes?” Answers to these questions are similar in that it was absolutely necessary to privilege Warm Springs people and their traditions to arrive at the final museum design that was built. It would not have been possible to achieve a building of the same quality if Tribal members and their traditions were not privileged. The museum was a result of collaboration that could only have happened with Tribal member participation and designers’ willingness to listen and learn from Tribal members.

One of the points that this dissertation emphasizes is the importance of the client and of the architect’s interaction with the client. Although architectural histories do emphasize the client (or the patron), accounts of contemporary architecture more often celebrate the genius of the architect. Architectural scholarship and education could stress the importance of architect/client relations and provide a more realistic and balanced view of architectural processes.

**7.5 Significance**

This dissertation demonstrates how a Tribal community collaborated with a design team from outside the community to design a Tribal museum that represents and serves the community and is cherished by tribal members even
twenty years after it was built. How and to whom might this dissertation be meaningful?

1. This history of the creation of the museum documents and celebrates the accomplishments of all of the people who played a role in bringing the museum to life.

2. As one example of strategies and processes that an Indigenous community used in working with design professionals, this study can help inform leaders in other Indigenous communities about how they might work with designers to create architectures that can help empower their communities.

3. This research provides information that can help practicing architects to understand how they might serve Indigenous communities more effectively.

4. As one of only a few studies on recent Indigenous architecture in North America, the dissertation contributes to the limited scholarship on Indigenous architecture and has the potential to inform and broaden architectural discourse and pedagogy.

5. The scholarship of tribal museums does not focus on architecture. In telling the story of designing and constructing the museum, this research begins to address that lacuna.

7.6 Future Research

This history of processes of envisioning, designing, and building The Museum At Warm Springs suggests several avenues of future research. Two additional
studies on The Museum At Warm Springs come to mind. The processes of designing and making the exhibits could be examined in depth. Given that the museum has been open for nearly two decades, it would be interesting to examine its role in the Warm Springs community over the last twenty years.

The larger built environment of the Warm Springs Reservation could be examined. This might include the nineteenth century Simnasho Presbyterian Church, early twentieth century BIA buildings, and late twentieth century buildings such as the 1972 Kah-Nee-Ta Lodge, designed by Wolff, Zimmer, Gunsul, Frasca, and Ritter along with Pietro Belluschi.

Principal architect Donald Stastny designed four other buildings for Indigenous communities that have been built. Processes of designing these could be compared with The Museum At Warm Springs. Tribal museums designed by another architect, perhaps Johnpaul Jones, could be examined to see how he approaches design. Architecture of other tribal museums within North America could be analyzed and compared. How might they differ in Canada or Mexico? Indigenous architectures in the Americas might be compared to the architecture of tribal museums and cultural centers in places such as Australia.

As pointed out in Chapter Two, few scholars of architecture have conducted critical research or written about architecture built by or for Indigenous peoples in the United States, hence much work remains to be done. Recent architecture could be studied by type, for example, health care facilities, schools, housing, or administrative buildings. Processes related to development on reservations, such as building support and securing funding, could be studied. Biographies could be written on successful Indigenous architects. What did they
do that led to their success? The few locations where architectural education includes Indigenous architectures could be showcased and recommendations made to other schools. How can architectural programs encourage aspiring Indigenous architects? How can they prepare students to work in Indigenous communities?

These are just a few of the many research projects yet to be done regarding The Museum At Warm Springs, tribal museums, and Indigenous architectures.
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APPENDIX A

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD EXEMPTION
To: Theodore Jojola

From: Mark Roosa, Chair Soc Beh IRB

Date: 05/10/2010

Committee Action: Exemption Granted

IRB Action Date: 05/10/2010

IRB Protocol #: 1005005130

Study Title: Toward Tribal Architecture: Designing a Museum in a Native American Community

The above-referenced protocol is considered exempt after review by the Institutional Review Board pursuant to Federal regulations, 45 CFR Part 46.101(b)(2).

This part of the federal regulations requires that the information be recorded by investigators in such a manner that subjects cannot be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects. It is necessary that the information obtained not be such that if disclosed outside the research, it could reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability, or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation.

You should retain a copy of this letter for your records.
March 2, 2012

Mr. Dave McMechan, Editor
Spilyay Tymoo (Coyote News)
P. P. Box 870
Warm Springs, OR 97761

Dear Dave:

I am a PhD Candidate at Arizona State University writing a dissertation on the creation of The Museum At Warm Springs. (I am also a professor at University of Idaho.) As I mentioned, I scanned about 90 Spilyay Tymoo articles from 1980 to 1993 on The Museum At Warm Springs. I would like to use about a dozen photos from those articles in my dissertation.

ASU requires that I receive written permission for images in my dissertation. This request is for permission to include the images in the dissertation for educational (i.e., non-commercial) purposes. The dissertation will be at the ASU library and available through UMI/ProQuest providing university libraries and academic researchers with digital access to dissertations.

If you are able to grant permission to use these images please sign and return.

Thank you so much for allowing me to use the photos!

Sincerely,

Anne Marshall
PhD Candidate ASU/Professor U of Idaho

David McMechan

3-2-12

(signature) (date)
March 2, 2012

Mr. Donald J. Stastry, FAIA, FAICP
2309 SW 1st Avenue, #1145
Portland, OR 97201

Dear Don:

As you know, I am a PhD Candidate at Arizona State University writing a dissertation on the creation of The Museum At Warm Springs. You generously lent me several binders of slides from which I scanned 214. Last year you gave me verbal permission to use the images in my dissertation with the following statement "courtesy of Stasnty Brun Architects from the Stasnty and Burke project archives."

I would like to use the following images:

**Drawings:**
- Site analysis
- Site plan
- Scheme A and Scheme B
- Landscape rendering
- Samples from working drawings
- Sample details from project manual
- Louis Gagnon section/part plan
- Louis Gagnon plan

**Models:**
- Detail model of lobby with "trees"
- Presentation model

**Photos:**
- Material samples (approx. 2)
- Building under construction (approx. 5)
- Finished building (approx. 10)
- Landscape (approx. 3)

ASU requires that I receive written permission for images in my dissertation. This request is for permission to include the images in the dissertation for educational (i.e., non-commercial) purposes. The dissertation will be at the ASU library and available through UMI/ProQuest providing university libraries and academic researchers with digital access to dissertations.

If you are able to grant permission to use these images please sign and return.

Thank you so much!

Sincerely,

Anne Marshall
PhD Candidate ASU/Professor U of Idaho

[Signature] 03.04.12