STORIES OF THE RIVER, STORIES OF THE PEOPLE: MEMORY ON THE KLAMATH RIVER BASIN

MUSEUM EXHIBIT AND ORAL HISTORY AT THE CSUS ANTHROPOLOGY MUSEUM

A Project

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in

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By

Brittani Raquel Orona

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Brittani Raquel Orona

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Patrick Ettinger, Ph.D.

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Department of History

Abstract

of

STORIES OF THE RIVER, STORIES OF THE PEOPLE MEMORY ON THE KLAMATH RIVER BASIN MUSEUM EXHIBIT AND ORAL HISTORY AT THE CSUS ANTHROPOLOGY MUSEUM

by

Brittani Raquel Orona

This project explores the creation of an exhibit on water-rights issues in the Klamath River Basin from the viewpoint of the Hupa, Karuk, and Yurok people. The project relied on oral histories of the Hupa, Karuk, and Yurok specifically on the traditional importance of the Klamath River Basin to native people and the modern activism that accompanied removal of PacifiCorp dams. Using oral history techniques as well as methods of museum interpretation the project educated the CSUS campus and the wider community on water rights issues in Northern California. The project documents the cultural significance of the Klamath River Basin to the tribes of Northwestern California as well as tribal activism to protect that cultural heritage.

_____, Committee Chair Patrick Ettinger, Ph.D.

Date

PREFACE

"Stories of the River, Stories of the People: Memory on the Klamath River Basin" developed as a multi-media travelling exhibition in the fall of 2012. The project focuses on California Indian issues in museums and a lack of representation. The project shares authority with the tribes and works to the benefit of indigenous people. I am a member of the Hoopa Valley Tribe and am well aware of the lack of indigenous representation in public history.

In September 2012, I received an email from my advisor Dr. Lee Simpson about a possible thesis project involving the One World Initiative at California State University, Sacramento. The One World Initiative is a campus-wide initiative engaging the student body in global issues and problems. One World includes speaker series, panels, exhibitions, and other activities for the academic year. The inaugural year 2012-2013 featured the theme "Global Perspectives on Water." The One World Initiative focused on different water rights struggles around the world. Dr. Simpson was an academic advisor for the project and suggested to Dr. Terri Castaneda Anthropology professor and head of the California State University, Sacramento (CSUS) Anthropology Museum, that I curate an exhibit for the One World Initiatives' theme of water rights. After meeting with Dr. Simpson and Dr. Castaneda, I decided to curate an exhibit about the struggles of the Klamath River Basin and the activism of the Hupa, Yurok, and Karuk people to remove four dams creating cultural and environmental harm to the river systems.

Initially, the exhibit was set to open in March 2013 but due to substantial work involved the opening was pushed back to October 3, 2013 to coincide with the California

Indian Conference at CSUS. The extended deadline allowed me to add more context, more material, and consult with more individuals than originally planned. The exhibit included artwork from Northern California artists Lyn Risling, Brittany Britton, Annilea Hillman, and Julian Lang, an oral history video of eight different Native activists, photographs, objects, and basketry. I also trained a group of fifteen docents to interpret the history of the Klamath River Basin. While not initially conceived as a travelling exhibit, "Stories of the River" garnered enough interest to travel to outside museums and cultural centers. "Stories of the River" became a much bigger exhibit than originally expected. Since it closed at CSUS in December 2013, the exhibit travelled to the Maidu Museum and Historic Site in Roseville, maintains a web presence, and spawned a variety of speaker series, including a plenary session at the California Indian Conference. "Stories of the River" involved the tribal community stakeholders, and more than anything else, the exhibit demonstrated the importance of the rivers from indigenous perspectives.

This thesis will relay the process of creating a museum exhibit in collaboration with tribal communities. It provides a case study of the process of working with ethnic communities, particularly California Indian tribes, and provides a background into the many facets of consultation with tribal groups in museums. The thesis is separated into three chapters: Chapter I: "This is our home, this is our land:" Indigenous Activism in High Country and on the Klamath River Basin; Chapter II: "Shared Authority, Memory Production, and Epistemological Practices in Tribal Museums and Exhibitions"; and Chapter III: :Methodology." Two appendices to the thesis document the exhibit. The first chapter, "This is our home, this is our land:" Indigenous Activism in High Country and the Klamath River Basin, details the history of California Indian activism on the Klamath River Basin. The section briefly describes the culture and tradition of three tribes (Hupa, Yurok, and Karuk) and then delves into a brief history of the termination era and how it detrimentally affected tribal communities in Northwestern California. The chapter ends with a discussion of California Indian activism through two case studies, the *Lyng v. Northwest Indian Cemetery Protective Association* lawsuit (1988) and the Klamath River dam removal efforts of the early millennium to the present. Overall, the chapter relays the influences of Native activism against federal Indian policy and how it impacted indigenous cultural and land use activism in Northwestern California.

The second chapter, "Shared Authority, Memory Production, and Epistemological Practices in Tribal Museums and Exhibitions," is a literature review of scholarship related to indigenous representation in museum exhibitions. The chapter also addresses the issue of memory production, with particular attention on how memory affects communities with traumatic histories. The chapter is separated into three sections: Shared Authority in Indigenous Exhibits, Memory Production in Tribal Exhibitions, and Epistemological Practices in Museums. The purpose of the chapter is to demonstrate how theories related to shared authority, memory production, and epistemological practices informed the development of my exhibit, "Stories of the River, Stories of the People: Memory on the Klamath River Basin." The final chapter, "Methodology," describes the process by which I created the exhibit. The chapter includes a timeline of the exhibit, "Stories of the River, Stories of the People," exhibit background, the process of acquiring materials, presentations related to the exhibit, and oral history research. The chapter compares and contrasts the original exhibit proposal, developed in the public history graduate level class, Museum Studies, to the final exhibit that was installed in October 2013 at the CSUS Anthropology Museum.

The Appendix includes two sections: Appendix A: Photographs of Exhibit and Appendix B: Forms and Procedures. Appendix A includes photographs of the exhibit as it appeared at the CSUS Anthropology Museum. These photographs include wall displays, panels, objects, signage, video display, and photographs of the Klamath River activists. Appendix B includes some of the forms associated with the exhibit such as oral history questions, permission requests, object loan paperwork, docent packet, and opening and closing procedures.

DEDICATION

In memory of Tonia Laraine Marshall

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people deserve acknowledgement for their help with this project. I am indebted to my friends, family, colleagues, and participants without whom I would have never completed this exhibit. I would like to acknowledge the tireless efforts of the Klamath River Justice Coalition, who continue to dedicate their lives to the health of the Klamath River tributary, and will continue until the rivers are again thriving. Leaf Hillman, Molli White, Craig Tucker, Annilea Hillman, Hayley Hutt, Cutcha Risling Baldy, Byron Nelson Jr., and Mahlon Marshall Jr. all deserve recognition for taking time out of their schedules to speak to me on camera about the history and life of the Klamath River Basin. I am eternally grateful to Annilea Hillman, Lyn Risling, Brittany Britton, and Julian Lang, four of the most inspiring artists I have ever met, for their willingness to loan their art for the exhibit. All of the participants brought this project to life and I will always be grateful for their help, their kindness, and their trust.

Dr. Terri Castaneda, Director of the CSUS Anthropology Museum, took a chance and gave me the freedom to use the museum to create this multi-media exhibit. She offered valuable advice, understanding, and help with the installation of the exhibit. I am grateful to Dr. Lee Simpson, who since before I started the Public History Program, has guided me and mentored me through the "field." Dr. Patrick Ettinger and Dr. Christopher Castaneda both deserve recognition. I have been fortunate to be encouraged by both throughout my academic career. They have been patient with my questions and anxieties about the public history field. Dr. Castaneda encouraged me to continue with my schooling at the doctoral level and had the confidence in me to act as his adjunct for 2013-2014. I am also grateful to Dr. Ettinger for his wiliness to listen as I expressed my anxieties about the project and acted as a calming center through it all. Dr. Annette Reed guided me through the California Indian Conference (CIC) and for that she has my heartfelt gratitude. I humbly thank all the professors who have acted as both mentors and friends during these last few years.

The docents who staffed the exhibit, went to different trainings, and dedicated themselves to the history and issues of the Klamath River Basin have my gratitude. I am grateful to Samuel Skow, Hayley Williams, Gloria Brown, Matthew Walker, Margaret Jensen, and Allan Jason Sarmiento for taking time out of their busy lives to interpret the history of the basin for visitors. I am also grateful to Tristan Evans, Erin Bostwick, Sigrid Benson, Valerie Garcia, Amy Long, Michael McNeil, and everyone else who expressed interest in helping with this project.

My family deserves recognition for their support through my master's program. My father, Michael Castillo Orona, taught me the meaning of hard work and perseverance. My grandfather Mahlon Irving Marshall Jr. inspired this project. His dedication to the Native American community, and his years as a Native American educator, inspired and continues to inspire me to interpret the history of our people. I am forever grateful to all my aunts, uncles, cousins and extended family, who often drive me crazy but keep me sane as well. I would not be who I am without them. My four brothers: Michael Vincent Mahlon, Ryan Shane, Jesse Kai, and Mateo Christian have been a constant source of joy. I am extremely proud to call them my protectors. Ann Elizabeth Roberts is my best friend, my "betch," and the funniest person I know. I am lucky to have her in my life. I would like to thank in no particular order: Kaitlyn Crain, Kira Dodd, Jordan Catalano, Mark Murphy, Heather Lavezzo Downey, Debbie Hollinsworth, Lisa Prince, Ty Smith, Helen Kawelo, Linda Blue, Ignacio Alonso-Sanchez, Liz Phillips, Lauren Sieg, Joseph McDole, Alicia Castaneda, Jason Baker, Ethan Tratner, Christie Dentry. I would also like to thank the staff of the following institutions for their support: California Office of Historic Preservation, California State Indian Museum, Maidu Museum and Historic Site, UC Davis Special Collections and University Archives, California State Archives, and the National Museum of the American Indian.

Samuel Henry Sellers acted as both graphic designer for the project as well as my main source of comfort, joy, and love. Michael Vincent Mahlon Orona is my oldest brother, best friend, and the most important person in my life. He drove me to the interviews in Hoopa, Orleans, and Weitchpec, edited the oral histories, and acted as the driving force to complete the exhibit, all without complaint or expectation. Words cannot describe how grateful I am to Samuel and Michael or how lucky I am to have them in my life. Finally, this project is dedicated to the memory of my mother, Tonia Laraine Marshall. I will love and miss her for the rest of my life.

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Chapter 1

"THIS IS OUR HOME, THIS IS OUR LAND," INDIGENOUS ACTIVISM IN HIGH COUNTRY AND THE KLAMATH RIVER BASIN

"It is a well-known fact that if you destroy the Native sacred site, the Native religion and culture will soon follow."

-David Risling, Yurok/Karuk, UC Davis Professor of Native American Studies¹

Introduction

The American Indian Movement (AIM) of the 1960s and the notions of Red Power captured the essence of Native American struggles after the eras of forced assimilation, allotment, and termination. The legacy of AIM and the Red Power movement stretched across the nation, inspired, and continues to inspire, generations of Native activists. California has a rich history of Indian resistance that is overlooked; from the Spanish Missions to the Gold Rush to Klamath River Basin activism, California Indians have long resisted those who tried to colonize them. California Indians have not vanished but have waged their battles to modern times through grassroots activism and resistance to the dominant culture.²

During the 1980s and 2000s, the Hupa, Yurok, and Karuk tribes used methods of activism influenced by the American Indian Movement to protect natural and cultural

¹ "David Risling Deposition on the "GO" Road" Box 32, Folder 34, D-334, David Risling Papers, University of California, Davis

² See: Daniel M. Cobb and Loretta Fowler, *Beyond Red Power: American Indian Politics and Activism* since 1900 (Albuquerque, New Mexico: School for Advanced Research, 2006), Paul Chaat Smith, *Like a Hurricane: The Indian Movement from Alcatraz to Wounded Knee* (New York: The New Press, 1997), Peter Matthiessen, *In the Spirit of Crazy Horse* (New York: Penguin Books, 1992), and Laura Waterman Wittstock, *We Are Still Here: A Photographic History of the American Indian Movement* (St. Paul: Borealis Books, 2013)

resources in land they held sacred, in particular High Country and the Klamath River Basin. Through these efforts, the tribes of the Northwest Coast actively resisted, and continue to resist, what they view as the negligent practices of private businesses and government agencies responsible for environmental stewardship of their traditional territories.

The Culture, Tradition, and Importance of High Country

Traditional life for the tribes of Northwestern California changed drastically after Europeans invaded the territories of the Hupa, Yurok, Karuk, and Tolowa people in 1828. After the discovery of gold in 1848, and the beginning of the California Gold Rush in 1849, white miners and settlers populated California traditional territories in mass. The tribes of the North coast, along with most California Indian tribes, faced genocide, forced assimilation, and the attempted destruction of their culture. Attempts to remove and disenfranchise California Indians represented the attempt by the U.S. and California state governments to remove the presence and memory of traditional practices on the land.³ Despite the attempted destruction of their culture and connection to their land, the tribes maintained traditional knowledge by sharing practices in secret and passing that knowledge to the younger generation.

Before whites populated the lands of the Hupa, Yurok, Tolowa, and Karuk, culture was complex and influenced by ceremonial, political, and familial ties. Tribal

³ Cutcha Risling Baldy, "Why We Gather: Traditional Gathering in Native Northwest California and the Future of Bio-Cultural Sovereignty," *Ecologicial Processes*, 2013 2:17,

http://www.ecologicalprocesses.com/content/2/1/17 Accessed on August 28th, 2014

territories were fluid and roughly marked by natural boundaries. The Hupa are located in a valley on the Upper Trinity River and closely related to the South Fork Hupas who reside on the Lower Trinity River. The Karuk live along the Salmon and Upper Klamath Rivers near the modern day towns of Somesbar and Orleans, CA. The Yurok live in an area delineated by the mouth of the Klamath River where it reaches the Pacific Ocean, and the junction of the Trinity and Klamath Rivers near Weitchpec, CA. Along with geographic differences, three language families delineate differences among the tribes.⁴ The tribes of the Northwest Coast, the Hupa, Yurok, Karuk, and Tolowa people spoke the Hokan (Karuk), Athapaskan (Hupa/Tolowa), and Yurok (Algonquin) dialects; forms of languages that are as dissimilar from each other as English is to Mandarin.⁵ The difference in language created a distinct cultural divide between the groups that is evident in the modern era despite similarities in traditional culture. Close relations, often found with intermarriage and familial ties, marked the intertwining of the tribes in the past and in the modern era. Tribal members of each group choose a tribe to "belong" to despite mixed heritage. Since tribal members ally themselves with the official tribal governments they are members of, there is a distinct understanding of "belonging" within the different communities.

Despite linguistic differences, traditional cultures of the three tribes are intensely similar. All tribes perform the sacred ceremonies of the World Renewal Dances, which include the White Deerskin Dance and the Jump Dance. Tribal elders, such as Karuk

⁴ Jack Norton, *Genocide in California: When Our Worlds Cried* (Indian Historian Press, 1979)

⁵ Byron Nelson, *Our Home Forever: The Hupa Indians of Northern California* (Hoopa: Hupa Tribe, 1994) 24

artist and activist Julian Lang, refer to the Hupa, Yurok, Karuk, and Tolowa as the "fix the earth people," those who were chosen by the spirit people to remake the world and to bring good fortune to the communities for the coming year.⁶ Inherent in this is the notion of "High Country," the sacred section of forest where medicine men and women go to gain power from the spirit people to better doctor and perform the World Renewal Dances. High Country is sacred land that is tied to the culture and traditions of the Hupa, Yurok, Karuk, and Tolowa people.

High Country is located in what is currently known as the Smith River National Recreation Area, part of the Six Rivers National Forest in Northwestern California in Humboldt and Siskiyou counties. High Country is an area to which a doctor trainee, usually a young woman, goes alone to gain the spiritual and physical endurance needed to become a doctor. Without this training, the trainee would not be strong enough to endure all the challenges she would face as a doctor. The doctors of the North Coast tribes were expected to not only heal the individual sick but also heal the community through the World Renewal Dances and other ceremonies. The doctor trainee would be "called," usually through a dream, to begin training in High Country. He or she would then travel to High Country, without looking anyone in the eye, and would dance and sing atop rock "altars."⁷ Fully trained doctors would go to High Country to prepare for healing services as well as ceremonies. The doctor would fast and acquire medicine that

⁶ Julian Lang. "On the Front Lines- Remembering Lyng v. Northwest Indian Cemetery Protective Association" Lecture, Lyng V. Northwest Cemetery Indian Protective Association-25 Years Later. Davis, CA. November 8th, 2013

⁷ Amy Bowers and Kristin Carpenter. "Challenging the Narrative of Conquest: *The Story of Lyng V. Northwest Cemetery Indian Protective Association.*" In Carole Goldberg, Kevin K. Washburn, Philip P. Frickey, eds., *INDIAN LAW STORIES.* (Foundation Press, 2011), 496

was both physical and metaphysical. Similar to the training process, the doctor would sweat, sing, and dance to communicate messages from the spirit beings to the world around them.⁸

The arrival of whites in this tribal territory appeared to decimate tribal culture. Yet for tribal members of Northwestern California, cultural traditions including jewelry making, basket weaving, and ceremonial dances, did not disappear but were merely forced "underground." Native people of Northwestern California contended with miners, the U.S. military, settlers, and businessmen all vying for territory that contained valuable natural resources. The conflicts between whites and Indians led to the suppression of the "old ways" of indigenous culture. Julian Lang (Karuk) writes in the preface for *To the American Indian: Reminiscences of a Yurok Woman* by Lucy Thompson of the destructive influence of the whites.

From 1849 until 1900 attacks against the Yuroks and Karuk people by the miners and settlers had disrupted the World Renewal ceremonies many times. After 1900, Indian ceremonies were being outlawed in some cases, and even when not outlawed were strongly discouraged. By 1916, some of the younger generation and non-Indians complicated furtherance of the dances by attending ceremonies as if they were social events like the white man dances, which were very popular at the time. The ceremonial leaders were growing more intolerant of the decline in belief, with some village leaders abandoning dances altogether.⁹

The disruption of the world through colonization changed the way that the Native people of Northwestern California interacted with it. As white encroachment continued in the years following 1828 tribal members were forced to assimilate to white ways by adopting western forms of dress, work, and religion. To outsiders, tribal members

⁸ Bowers/Carpenter, "Challenging the Narrative of Conquest," 496

⁹ Lucy Thompson, *To the American Indian: Reminiscences of a Yurok Woman*. (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1991) xxv

appeared to assimilate to western culture. But members of the Hupa, Yurok, Karuk, Tolowa, and Wiyot tribes actively resisted assimilation by continuing traditional practices such as the World Renewal ceremonies away from Anglo knowledge. Josephine Peters remarked, "After the whites came in here, they tried to rule all of use-tell us what to do, and take things away from us, like weaving baskets. When we saw somebody coming we'd hide it; just grab everything up, and throw it behind a chair, or some other place, and cover it up with a towel."¹⁰ Basketry, regalia, and ceremony continued in spite of the U.S. government's efforts at assimilation. Yet despite the efforts of tribal members to continue traditional practices, certain ceremonies, such as the Fish Dam Ceremony have not been performed since colonization in the area.¹¹

Thomas Buckley writing for the United States Forest Service indicated that by the 1920's and the 1930's only one Yurok sweathouse was used at "Johnson's" ranch and "praver seats," or the seats of power that doctors used to gain medicine, were destroyed by the early 1930's.¹² The devastating effects of colonization through the attempted eradication of traditional culture forced High Country religion underground. Believers of High Country religion continued to practice their religion through regalia making, gathering of medicine and participation in dances but they had to do so away from white colonizers who forced tribal members to assimilate into Anglo culture. Buckley notes that "despite the discouragement of medicine makers, which became increasingly

¹⁰ Beverly Ortiz and Josephine Peters. *After the First Full Moon in April: A Sourcebook of Herbal Medicine from a California Indian Elder*. (Walnut Creek, Left Coast Press, 2010), 51 ¹¹ Thompson, *To the American Indian*, xxvi

¹² Thomas Buckley, The "High Country": A Summary of New Data Relating to the Significance of Certain Properties in the Belief Systems of Northwestern California Indians, (Eureka, California: United States Forest Service, 1976) 5

pervasive during the first half of this century, and the subsequent loss of oral and physical components of the esoteric tradition, medicine practices did not die out entirely nor did the importance of high country as both a physical location and as a symbolic focus for indigenous groups especially the Yurok, Karuk, and, perhaps Tolowa."¹³

Without High Country, the survival of the Hupa, Yurok, Tolowa, and Karuk culture is at risk.¹⁴ Ceremony is collective, whether from the tribes of the Klamath River Basin or elsewhere. Ceremonies are passed down orally from doctor to doctor and interpreted to the wider community.¹⁵ Not anyone in the tribe can be a doctor; doctors are born into high-status, regalia holding families. The method of "remembering" and passing traditions to new generations of doctors and cultural bearers is essential to survival for the tribal community. Doctors come from the High Country to interpret the World Renewal Ceremonies for the rest of the community, gain power to conduct medicine, remake the world, and heal the sick. Without doctors and High Country, the culture is lost.

Included in the World Renewal ceremonies is the Boat Dance, performed on the water to ensure that the rivers maintain health, continue to flow, and provide salmon, eel, and trout to the Hupa, Yurok, and Karuk. Every ceremony, from the Jump Dance to the Boat Dance, was located on or near water. To the Karuk, Hupa, and Yurok people, the river is not merely a river; it rather represents a living being, subject to its own will, and

¹³ Buckley, *The High Country*, 6

¹⁴ "David Risling Deposition on the "GO" Road," Box 32, Folder 34, D-334, David Risling Papers, University of California, Davis

¹⁵ Nelson, Our Home Forever, 4

the tribes continue to depend upon it for spiritual and physical health.

The continuation of dances, and the adherence to a collective intertribal dance schedule, represents the collective experience between the three tribes. Despite the separation, in name, language, and basic geographic locations, the Hupa, Tolowa, Yurok, and Karuk people maintain a collective memory in the shared cultural landscape and tradition of High Country and the Klamath River Basin by performing ceremonies that stretch across the generations in the same locations at the same time of year. These ceremonies are passed down from generation to generation, doctor to doctor, and family to family.

Ceremonies and traditional stories are often linked to water, from the Klamath River Basin, the Pacific Ocean, or smaller bodies, such as lakes and ponds. For example, the Yuroks tell the story of an Inland Whale stuck in Fish Lake near Weitchpec, a Yurok village. That same story tells of the people going upstream to watch ceremonial dances performed along the rivers. The importance of ceremony continues to the present, and stories such as "The Inland Whale," and "The Shells' Boat Dance into the Ocean," relay the cultural importance of the rivers from the past to modern times. These stories are passed down to younger generations who will become stewards of the environmental and cultural world around them.¹⁶ Ceremonies such as the World Renewal Dance, which encompasses the White Deerskin, Jump, and Boat Dances, follow a path that takes dancers and viewers from dance site to dance site, often along the water's edge. The Klamath River Basin is an important link between the culture and livelihood of the

¹⁶ Robert T. Scott and A.L. Kroeber, *Yurok Narratives*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1942), 224

Karuk, Hupa, and Yurok people through ceremony, tradition, and physical nourishment. The cultural and physical importance of the Klamath River, along with protection of the natural world, is of the utmost importance to the three tribes of the basin. When these resources were threatened in the 1980's and early 2000's because of government interference, private misconduct, and negligent practices, the tribes of the North Coast formed two intertribal coalitions, Northwest Indian Cemetery Protective Association and the Klamath Justice Coalition, to defend their lands. These two coalitions were influenced by developments in federal Indian policy, especially the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 and the self-determination era, as well as the American Indian Movement (AIM) of the 1960s and 1970s. The tribes of Northern California used methods of activism found in the earlier American Indian Movement (AIM) to protect the cultural and natural resources their lives depended on.

Federal Indian Policy and the Rise of the American Indian Movement

The tribes of Northern California did not escape the policies of the federal government despite their remoteness and seeming inaccessibility to the outside world. They, like all tribes of the North American continent, were detrimentally affected by European colonization. Tribes of the North Coast resisted through activism the efforts of the outside world to change their tradition and cultural practices. The effects and influences of both federal Indian policy and the American Indian Movement of the 1960s helped to guide activism on the Klamath River Basin.

In 1952, the Bureau of Indian Affairs enacted the Voluntary Relocation Program

to encourage Native peoples to move off the reservation and into urban communities. The termination and relocation era of federal Indian policy marked the attempts by the U.S. government to terminate federal obligations to tribes. The termination of tribal status through House Concurrent Resolution 108 in 1953, and Public Law 280 led to several relocation programs that pushed Indians off reservations and into urban centers.¹⁷ With the passage of Public Law 280 in 1953, which empowered states such as California, Minnesota, Nebraska, Oregon, and Wisconsin to extend state legal and civil jurisdiction over Indian reservations, the termination and relocation era marked the end of the "trust" relationship between the U.S. and tribal nations. The proponents of the termination and relocation policies believed that the reservation system prevented Native peoples from fully enjoying their rights as U.S. citizens. For Native Americans, termination meant, "tribes lost all federal recognition, their status as wards of the federal government and all other federal aid, benefits, and legal responsibilities. Tribally held lands lost their reservation status were taken out of trust and were subjected to local taxes."¹⁸

But Indians did not merely succumb to relocation. Indeed, the termination and relocation era marks a period of staunch political activism by intertribal coalitions. In 1952, Alaska Native, Mississippi Choctaws, and Lumbees challenged the Voluntary Relocation Program by refusing to leave their traditional land.¹⁹ In 1958, the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) as well as other organizations attempted to halt

¹⁷ "Termination Era 1950s, Public Law 280," Federal Indian Law for Alaska Tribes-TM112 Course Materials, UAF Interior Aleutians Campus, http://tm112.community.uaf.edu/unit-2/termination-era-1950spublic-law-280/ Accessed on August 28th, 2014

¹⁸ Patrick Haynal, "Termination and Tribal Survival: The Klamath Tribes of Oregon," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 101, No. 3 (Fall, 2000), 274 ¹⁹ Daniel M. Cobb and Loretta Fowler, *Beyond Red Power: American Indian Politics and Activism since*

^{1900, (}Albuquerque, New Mexico: School for Advanced Research, 2006) xv

forced termination. They also attempted to persuade the U.S. government to administer tribal consent before formally ending trust relationships. In Oregon, a coalition of the Modoc, Yahooskin Paiute, and the Klamath experienced a vast liquidation of their lands and economic base as a result of termination. In California, termination meant the liquidation of forty-one California Indian rancherias under the California Rancheria Termination Act. The rancherias turned into communal land distributed amongst tribal members of various rancherias. By the end of the termination and relocation era, Native Americans across the nation were ready for a new era: self-determination and the right to function as sovereign nations away from United States control.²⁰

In the 1960's, the civil rights movement's demands for the rights of African American citizens swept the nation and influenced other minorities and women to advocate for rights. The American Indian Movement, rather than seeking equal rights under the law, however, advocated separation between the U.S. government and tribal nations. Native Americans demanded inclusion in federal institutions that developed programs that directly involved them, but also demanded cultural separation between themselves and the United States. After the termination era, Native activism focused on self-determination as a policy. In the United States, Indian activism reached a fever pitch. Dissatisfied with the state of life on and off the reservation, life that was riddled with disease, poverty, and death, young Native Americans espoused change. When dissatisfied with discussions at the American Indian Chicago Conference in 1961, young militants left and formed the National Youth Council in Santa Fe. They demanded "self-

²⁰ Cobb, Beyond Red Power, xv

determination," the ability to make their own choices without the interference of "federal administrators and bureaucrats." ²¹

They also adopted some of the protest methods of the civil rights movement. In 1964, a small group of Sioux Indians moved onto Alcatraz Island and claimed the right to settle it under the terms of the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868.²² They were immediately removed from the island. They took their case to federal court where they eventually lost. While this occupation only lasted four days, this inspired another group of Native activists, under the name Indians of all Nations (IAN), to again occupy the island in 1969. This inter-tribal group demanded title to the island to build a cultural center. This cultural center would represent the beliefs and languages of reservation groups. The group comprised of almost three hundred people from fifty nations and led by militants, claimed Alcatraz by "right of discovery." They established a school, a local government, a newspaper, and a "Bureau of Caucasian Affairs."²³ The occupation of Alcatraz, often viewed as the beginning of the Red Power or American Indian Movement that lasted until the late 1970's, ended in June of 1971 when the daughter of Richard Oakes, one of the leaders of the occupation, died after falling down the prison stairs. The occupation of Alcatraz failed to establish a cultural center, but that failure galvanized various attempts of occupation by indigenous groups of other federal trust land.

The influences of the Alcatraz Island occupation on later activism of California Indians are twofold. First, the Alcatraz Island occupation began a series of movements by

²¹ Roger L. Nichols, American Indians in U.S. History, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003),195

²² Nichols, American Indians in U.S. History, 197

²³ Nichols, American Indians in U.S. History, 198

indigenous people to actively engage in the process of self-determination. This meant Native peoples, whether inter-tribal organizations or Native nations, began protesting, occupying sites, and staging fish-ins to further their causes. The IAN and their effort to fight for Native American rights through pan-Indian ideals influenced several intertribal coalitions, including the Northwester Indian Cemetery Protective Association (NICPA) to further policies of self-determination. This grassroots style activism directly influenced Klamath River Basin activism, when the Klamath Justice Coalition staged protests in Scotland, Nebraska, California, and Oregon. Secondly, the media intensive efforts by the activists of the Indians of All Nations (IAN) influenced other organizations like the Northwest Indian Cemetery Protective Association (NICPA) and the Klamath Justice Coalition to use media, print, television, exhibition, video, and oral history to further their goals. The Indians of All Nations (IAN) and the occupation of Alcatraz gained almost daily television coverage based on their activism efforts.²⁴

An interesting aspect of the Alcatraz Island occupation was the IAN's claim to the land. The Indians of All Nations (IAN) were not demanding title for the Ohlone people, the Native inhabitants of the San Francisco Bay area, but were rather claiming the island through inter-tribal ownership or, in the case of the Sioux, the Fort Laramie Treaty. By largely leaving out California Indian inhabitants, some of whom had the traditional right to the occupied land, the American Indian Movement began as a cause separate from California Indian interests.

One of the most famous intertribal coalitions, the Federated Indians of California

²⁴ Nichols, American Indians in U.S. History, 198

(FIC), led by Marie Potts, formed in 1946 in response to the Indian Claims Commission Act of the same year. The group remained active in fighting for land claim cases for California Indians until the mid-1970s.²⁵ California Indians, like many other Indian nations, were inspired by both AIM and California Indian coalitions such as the FIC to further their own efforts of self-determination and to reclaim the natural resources that rightfully belonged to them through media intensive efforts and grassroots campaigns.

Native American Activism in Northern California

High Country activism, and the effort to save the area from the construction of a United States Forest Service Road (USFS) connecting the towns of Gasquet and Orleans, began in earnest during the height of the Red Power movement. The High Country region lies within the Six Rivers National Forest (SFNF). During the Gerald Ford administration, the USFS determined the need to build a timber road in the middle of this sacred land in order to clear 733 million feet of timber harvested primarily through clearcutting. There had been, since 1930, various logging roads built in the SFNF, and the sixmile stretch of land between the nearest connecting road cut across the area known as High Country. The road is known as the Gasquet-Orleans or G-O road.²⁶

In 1970, an organization called the Northwest Cemetery Indian Protection Association (NICPA) formed as a means to protect "Indian graves, cemeteries, burial

²⁵ Center for Sacramento History, [Sacramento Ethnic Community Survey (1983-1985): Native Americans, Federated Indians of California]

²⁶ Walter R. Echo-Hawk, *In the Courts of the Conqueror: The 10 Worst Indian Law Cases Ever Decided* (Golden, Colorado: Fulcrum Publishing, 2010) 337, 338.

grounds, and ceremonial sites."²⁷ They received funding from the federal government in 1973 through the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act and through this were able to open an office in Mckinleyville and hire staff. Between 1973 and 1977, the NICPA consulted on a variety of archaeological projects in conjunction with government agencies in San Diego, San Luis Obispo, Marin, Tehama, Mendocino, San Jose, and Ukiah.²⁸ By 1976, the NICPA began lobbying the State of California to create the California Native American Heritage Commission (CNAHC), an executive office that would oversee and respond to the need for Native American repatriation and cultural resources management in the state. The CNAHC was created under the first administration of Governor Jerry Brown. The first chairperson of the CNAHC was Milton Marks, who also served as the chairperson of the NICPA. By 1981, the NICPA lobbied for the return of human remains from California State Parks, protested the desecration of Ohlone burials, and worked to stabilize sites at Tsahpekw, Stone Lagoon in Humboldt County.²⁹ The NICPA, because of its involvement in several cultural and natural resources cases, were the primary litigants in the G-O Road federal court cases.

The NICPA was comprised of sixty-five members of the Tolowa, Yurok, Karuk, and Hupa tribes. Supporting parties included various environmental groups such as the Sierra Club, Wilderness Society, California Trout, Siskiyou Mountains Resources Council, Redwood Region Audubon Society, North-coast Environmental Center, and the

²⁷ Tony Platt, "We Fought For Things That Were Right: The Role of NICPA in the Struggle to Stop Grave Looting and Protect Native Cultural Rights." Lecture. Lyng V. Northwest Cemetery Indian Protective Assoication-25 Years Later, Davis, CA, November 8th, 2013

²⁸ Tony Platt, "We Fought For Things That Were Right," Lecture
²⁹ Tony Platt, "We Fought For Things That Were Right," Lecture

State of California, through the Resources Agency and the Native American Heritage Commission, who also opposed the Forest Service plan.³⁰ By 1983, Native American activists started fundraising efforts such as yard sales, banquets, and bake sales, as well as the dissemination of information to church groups, local organizations, and businesses. On February 26, 1983, the "Committee to Stop the G-O Road" organized a strategy planning conference in Eureka, California to support the G-O Road plaintiffs as they testified in front of federal district court to stop the road. On March 14, 1983, the day of the hearing, the committee also organized efforts to caravan to San Francisco and stage a resistance rally in front of the federal building.³¹

As opposition to the road grew among the tribes of the North Coast, the USFS commissioned an independent study to document the religious significance of the area. In October 1976, the USFS announced its Blue Creek Forest Management plan, which included a USFS commissioned Environmental Impact Statement titled "Final Environmental Statement: Eight Mile and Blue Creek Units."³² Almost immediately, the tribes involved, along with the Sierra Club, filed an administrative appeal that expressed concern over the construction of the road. In the petition, they noted, "Indian people are outraged by, and bitterly opposed to, the planned road construction, clear-cutting of timber and other related development activities in our sacred religious areas. Our strong opposition is expressed because such development would unlawfully deprive us of our

³⁰ Echo-Hawk, *In the Courts of the Conqueror*, 339; Bowers/Carpenter, "Challenging the Narrative of Conquest," 508

³¹ "NO-GO" Road Summary Petition Statement." Box 32, Folder 35, D-334, David Risling Papers, University of California, Davis

³² "NO-GO" Road Summary Petition Statement: Committee to Stop the GO Road." Box 32, Folder 35, D-334, David Risling Papers, University of California, Davis

continued ability and freedom to practice our religion."³³ The tribes began organizing from within by forming coalitions and using media to protest the G-O road. They designed t-shirts with the slogan, "NO-GO on the G-O Road," and advocated for their way of life through local media and protests.³⁴

The USFS, in response to the backlash against the EIR, commissioned a second report by Dr. Dorothea Theodoratus. This 423-page report, completed in April of 1979, is known as the Theodartus Report. In it, Dr. Theodoratus found the entire area in question to be of religious and cultural significance to the Tolowa, Yurok, and Karuk people. The report noted that any of the available suggested routes by the USFS "would cause serious and irreparable damage to the sacred areas which are an integral and necessary part of the belief systems and lifeway of Northwest California Indian peoples."³⁵ Theodoratus recommended that construction of the road not move forward.

The USFS commenced construction of the road, however, and chose a path through the forest that would entail the least amount of damage to High Country. Yet tribes remained dissatisfied with any damage to their sacred land and eager to find legal means to halt road construction. Road construction was slated to begin in the summer of 1982 and the Indians, having failed in negotiations with the USFS, filed a lawsuit in federal district court to halt construction of the road.³⁶ The Indian plaintiffs represented by NICPA included Jimmie Jones, Sam Jones, Lowana Brantner, and Christopher Peters.

³³ "NO-GO" Road Summary Petition Statement," Box 32, Folder 35, D-334, David Risling Papers, University of California, Davis

 ³⁴ Bowers/Carpenter, "Challenging the Narrative of Conquest," 505
 ³⁵ Bowers/Carpenter, "Challenging the Narrative of Conquest," 505

³⁶ Echo-Hawk, In the Courts of the Conqueror, 339

Initially, Judge Stanley A. Weigel, who presided over the case in San Francisco, denied the motion for a temporary restraining order to stop the project but he scheduled an evidentiary trial six weeks later.³⁷ The plaintiffs at the evidentiary trial made an impassioned plea to Judge Weigel. The tribes spoke of High Country as a "church that could not be moved or disturbed in any way."³⁸ Elders spoke of the High Country as an area where doctors "Talk to the trees and rocks, whatever is out there. Our people talk in their language to them and it if's all logged off and all bald there, they can't meditate at all."³⁹

Convinced by these arguments, Judge Weigel handed down his decision affirming Native American religious rights, but the USFS appealed to the Supreme Court. Weigel had found that construction of the road would interfere with the free exercise of religious rights because the area of contention was of central importance to the religion of the tribes and that the construction of a logging road would be "utterly inconsistent with the Indians' religious practices."⁴⁰ In addition to violating the government's responsibility to protect indigenous usage of natural resources, the Northern District Court of California also found that the construction of the road would be in violation of the National Environmental Policy Act, the Wilderness Acts, the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, and the Administrative Procedures Act.⁴¹ While the case was on appeal, the California Ninth Circuit Court affirmed the decision and Congress passed the California Wilderness

³⁷ Echo-Hawk, In the Courts of the Conqueror, 340

³⁸ Chris Peters, Trial Transcript (Joint Appendix 258)

³⁹ Echo-Hawk, In the Courts of the Conqueror, 341

⁴⁰ Echo-Hawk, In the Courts of the Conqueror, 345

⁴¹ Cutcha Risling Baldy, "Why We Gather," 217

Act protecting most of the area, aside from a twelve hundred foot wide corridor, from USFS encroachment.

The North Coast activists demonstrated the importance of High Country through efforts of peaceful activism and media campaigns. The victory was short-lived. In brief, the *Lyng v Northwest Cemetery Indian Protective Association* case argued on November 30, 1987, decided April 19, 1988, and along with the NICPA, the State of California, nature organizations, individual Indians argued that construction of the road would violate the Indians' rights under the Free Exercise Clause of the First Amendment and certain federal statutes.⁴²

Despite the pleas of the Indian plaintiffs, the majority opinion favored the USFS in the *Lyng v. Northwest Cemetery Indian Protective Association* case. In the majority opinion, written by Justice Sandra Day O' Connor, the Supreme Court determined that the construction of the G-O Road, and consequently, federal land management on federal land, could not determinably effect a person's religious practices as a matter of law.⁴³ The court also declared that there could be no burden placed on religious practices unless the federal government is forcing a person to violate his or her religion or punishing a person for practicing his or her religion. The USFS was not forcing the tribes to violate their religion, according to the majority opinion, even if the construction of the road "virtually destroyed the Indian's ability to practice their religion."⁴⁴

⁴² Lyng V. Northwest Indian Cemetery Protective Association (1988), Legal Information Institute: Open Access to Law Since 1992- Cornell University Law School,

http://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/485/439 Accessed on August 27th, 2014 ⁴³ Echo-Hawk, *In the Courts of the Conqueror*, 346

⁴⁴ Echo-Hawk, In the Courts of the Conqueror, 347

Much of the activism leading up to the *Lyng* case focused on the religious aspects of High Country. The argument from the tribes was that the G-O road was tramping on Native American religious rights. The tribes focused their attention on the exercise of the First Amendment arguing that the construction of the road would essentially destroy their religion. Activism, much like the activism of the Alcatraz Occupation and later the Klamath River dam removal effort, focused attention on protests, media, and grassroots organizing to make their case to the Federal District and Supreme Courts. A notable difference between the efforts is that the tribes did not use scientific data as evidence. While there was the Theodoratus Report that relayed the significance of the area culturally there was no tribal sponsored environmental impact statement that the tribes used in their argument.

While the Klamath River Tribes embraced both a religious and scientific argument, the "NO-GO" activists would almost solely base their argument around religion and culture. While they did achieve victory in the lower court, the highest court failed to support their religious argument. Despite this loss, Congress passed the Smith River National Recreation Area Act (1990) that incorporated the twelve hundred foot corridor missing from the California Wilderness Act (1984). Land rights activism for Hupa, Yurok, and Karuk communities eventually transformed from predominately religious and cultural rhetoric to activism that included natural resource rhetoric. The construction of the road was halted by the passage of the two acts.

From High Country to the Klamath River Basin

In addition to damage done to High Country, North Coast Indians experienced further cultural damage from the manipulation of the natural waterways of the Klamath River Basin. The first irrigation ditch on the basin was constructed in 1882 in White Lake, Oregon to provide water for new farms in arid Southern Oregon. Subsequently, private interests began to irrigate 13,000 acres in Southern Oregon to change the arid land into profitable agricultural lands.⁴⁵ From 1903 to 1962, a series of hydraulic dams were built on the Upper Klamath River in Oregon and California. The PacifiCorp Dams were built when the United States government took over the private irrigation plan and began the Klamath Reclamation Project. The project was to irrigate 100,000 acres in Oregon to create new farms and agricultural projects. Dams were built along the Upper Klamath Basin until 1962 to provide water to Reclamation farms of Oregon and to generate power for Northern California and Southern Oregon communities.⁴⁶ According to a December 2008 National Geographic article about the Klamath River "Today the dams are the backbone of the power system that produces 750,000 megawatt hours for Pacific Power in an average year, enough to meet the electricity needs of 70,000 homes."⁴⁷

These dams wreaked havoc on the tributaries of the Lower Klamath and over the decades river quality deteriorated. The history of the dams, and the Native activism that surrounds dam removal, is influenced by the disastrous history of colonization and the failures of previous efforts by tribes to protect sacred sites from federal encroachment

⁴⁵ Bureau of Reclamation, http://www.usbr.gov/mp/kbao/, Accessed on December, 2013

⁴⁶ Bureau of Reclamation, http://www.usbr.gov/mp/kbao/, Accessed on December, 2013

⁴⁷ Russ Rymer, "Klamath River: Reuniting a River" National Geographic,

http://ngm.nationalgeographic.com, December 2008 (Accessed December, 2013) 4

through *Lyng*. Yet, the Klamath River Basin activism is fundamentally different from previous activism efforts.

Firstly, members of the Klamath Justice Coalition joined other stakeholders of water resources, such as commercial salmon fishermen, environmental groups, and farmers of the Upper Klamath, to determine a meaningful conclusion to dam removal, despite conflicting interests. Although it did include several outside stakeholders, High Country activism and the *Lyng* case relied on religious arguments that affected the worldview of the tribes of the north coast. There was a natural resource argument in High Country but it was not privileged as strongly as the religious argument. Secondly, the tribes of the Lower Klamath, unlike in the High Country activism, developed a scientific record that addressed the physical effects of water loss to the lower tributaries. The activists, in addition to the development of a scientific record, espoused the same spiritual and traditional argument observed in High Country activism. This, along with the grassroots efforts of the Klamath Justice Coalition, combined the failures and successes of both High Country activism and the inter-tribal American Indian Movement.

The Klamath River Basin ecology has endured a variety of detrimental changes since the first Klamath Dam was built in 1905. The basin encompasses a 15,700 square mile watershed that stretches from the Pacific Ocean in Northern California to Southern Oregon; 65% of the watershed is located in California, and 35% is located in Oregon.⁴⁸ This watershed has supported tribal communities, various communities in the northern part of California that depended on the dams for power, and farmers in Southern Oregon

⁴⁸ National Research Council of the National Academies, *Hydrology, Ecology, and Fishes of the Klamath River Basin*, (Washington D.C: National Academies Press, 2008) 25

who depended on the water to irrigate and grow their crops. Over time the watershed has declined due to the various dams, dikes, and diversions installed, as well as the introduction of non-native fish and plant species that have been introduced in the basin.⁴⁹ The dams and dikes were built specifically to irrigate farms in Southern Oregon, much to the detriment of the Lower Klamath Basin that depends on the various fish species, including trout, salmon, and sturgeon, to maintain the health of the river tributaries. Dams were built primarily in the Upper Klamath Lake region. The closest dam to the Hupa, Karuk, and Yurok is Iron Gate, a dam that is scheduled for removal in 2020 and is located near the Oregon border.⁵⁰

The dams were built primarily between 1905 and 1962, a period in which the tribes in the Lower Klamath tributaries did not have federal recognition and very little legal recourse. This resulted in no consultation with tribes on the flow of water to the lower tributaries and allowed farmers in the Upper Klamath region better access to water rights. Water was diverted heavily to the Southern Oregon farmers and agricultural centers, creating dangerous conditions for the wildlife that depended on the rivers of the Lower Klamath River basin. With low water from diversion on the Upper Klamath River, conditions on the Lower Klamath River were disastrous. Salmon and other fish species could not adequately spawn with the construction of the dams. If the water and fish were not healthy, tribal communities could not "fix the world" and maintain balance within their communities. The fish that did survive were subjected to deadly warm water conditions, conditions that threatened the physical and cultural life of the Native people

⁴⁹ National Research Council, Hydrology, Ecology, and Fishes, xiii

⁵⁰ National Research Council, *Hydrology, Ecology, and Fishes*, 18

who revered the natural world around them.

The Lower Klamath supports twenty different species of fish, one of which, the Coho salmon, is listed on the endangered species list.⁵¹ Ideal river conditions depend on a combination of water flow and temperature stabilization to maintain a habitat that is ideal for the Coho salmon and other native species of fish. If water flow is too low, water temperature rises creating dangerous conditions for spawning salmon. A National Council study concluded, "Coho salmon annual spawning escapement to the Klamath River system was estimated to be 15,400 to 20,000 fish in 1983. That estimate is less than 6% of their estimated abundance in the 1940's, and a 70% decline has been observed since the 1960's. Coho returns to Iron Gate Hatchery ranged from zero in 1964 to 2,893 fish in 1987, and they are highly variable."⁵²

Yet damming is not the only reason for decline in the native population of fish on the Klamath River Basin; introduced species, diseases, and new plant life also contribute to relative decline. Commercial fishing and over fishing on the Trinity, Klamath, and Salmon tributaries have also contributed to the decline in salmon, lamprey, trout, and sturgeon populations. State and federal water policies have continued to create detrimental effects to the Lower Klamath River tributaries and it remains the biggest blockade to spawning salmon. The fight to preserve the integrity of the rivers is a struggle over natural and cultural resources. Along with the natural resources argument, Native American tribes have a larger stake in natural resources than other communities do. The Native American population of the Lower Klamath Rivers, including the Hupa, Yurok,

⁵¹ National Research Council, *Hydrology, Ecology, and Fishes*, 18 ⁵² National Research Council, *Hydrology, Ecology, and Fishes*, 18

and Karuk people, argue that the fish in the tributaries are a large part of their cultural heritage and the loss of those fish equals the loss of their traditional culture. As activist Leaf Hillman notes, "It's all around, it's the trees, it's the water, it's the fish, it's the deer-This is our home, this is our land-we're Indian people we believe in these things, we have these values, and it does mean something and it is important. And we do have something to say about it and we can do something about it."⁵³

Modern Native people, in areas as remote as the Hupa, Yurok, and Karuk country, rely on the abundance of natural resources to provide sustenance and continued health to families and individuals. With the loss of salmon habitat and logging practices that have made acorns and other food materials scare, modern Native people often rely on a diet rich in saturated fats, foregoing a traditional healthy diet in favor of foods that cause diabetes, unhealthy weight gain, and vitamin deficiencies.⁵⁴ In addition to the physical benefits of salmon consumption, tribal members believe that the relationship between salmon and the river is central to cultural life and practices for their tribal communities. As Cutcha Risling Baldy commented the importance of salmon is not merely physical, but spiritual and cultural as well. "You don't fish because you want to get the biggest fish so you can hang it on your wall and tell everybody you caught a big fish. You go out and fish because it's your responsibility to sort of maintain that balance because you're interconnected with that fish because it becomes a part of you and takes care of you from

⁵³ Interview of Leaf Hillman by Brittani Orona, *Stories of the River, Stories of the People: Memory on the Klamath River Basin Oral History Project,* Orleans, California, January, 2013

⁵⁴ Diana Hartel, "Doctor's Orders: Undam the Klamath-Settlement could restore health to rivers and tribes," *High Country News*, May 16th, 2011,

http://klamathriverrestoration.org/images/stories/flash/articles/articles/Undam_the_Klamath.pdf

the inside."55

The Salmon Die-Off

As the battle over the watershed's future heated up in the 1990s, Southern Oregon farmers argued that by diverting more water to the Lower Klamath tributaries, their livelihood would be lost, as they needed the water to continue growing their crops, such as alfalfa, adequately. Farmers argued that without the Klamath water that fed their crops, they would be facing arid fields and dried up agriculture.⁵⁶

The situation between Oregon farmers and the tribes of the lower tributary came to a head in 1997. That year, the Coho salmon received federal protection under the National Endangered Species Act.⁵⁷ Higher water flows from the Klamath Dams were required to allow minimum water amounts released for the salmon to spawn. In 2001, this meant that 1,400 Klamath Reclamation Project farmers would not get irrigation water because of the water restrictions placed on the dams. The farmers practiced civil disobedience by opening irrigation canals and demanding more irrigation water. The result, "In March 2002, Agriculture Secretary Ann Veneman and Secretary of the Interior Gale Norton flew to Klamath Falls to open the valve into the main diversion canal and assure farmers they would have the water they needed."⁵⁸ Because of these irrigation measures, in September 2002, the lower tributaries of the Klamath River

⁵⁵ Interview of Cutcha Risling Baldy by Brittani Orona, *Stories of the River, Stories of the People: Memory* on the Klamath River Basin Oral History Project, Davis, California, January, 2013

⁵⁶ Hartel, "Doctor's Orders: Undam the Klamath," 17

⁵⁷ Rymer, "Klamath River: Reuniting a River," 2

⁵⁸ Rymer, "Klamath River: Reuniting a River," 2

experienced a salmon die off characterized as one of the largest in U.S. History.

Many tribal and community members still recall the devastation and mourning as salmon died. Hayley Hutt recalled, "I remember getting that phone call - it's a very- I want to compare it to turning on the T.V. for the 9-11 incident." Noting the tragedy of the die off, she explained her shock. "'Is this really happening?' or 'Am I really hearing this?'" she said. Comparing it to recent national tragedies, she said, "and also I would think more recently that the impression it had on my family- it might have been like getting the phone call that there was a shooting at the elementary school. And I don't mean in any way to belittle what has recently happened in American history. Instead, to communicate that this is what it means to us." The die off was deeply personal, she said. "That it was a significant event and that it was like my relation. That there was descriptions and phone calls of salmon floating on top of the river, and the smell, and the fear of what does this mean to our future and what does this mean to the rest- all of the life that is dependent on these rivers, both the Klamath and the Trinity."⁵⁹

Although there is debate over exactly why the salmon died (there had been warmer and lower water levels in previous years) the sequence of events in the salmon die off of 2002 was clear. The salmon swam upriver toward Requa, California and retreated because of warm water conditions. They then tried to swim up river again and, either because of warm water, disease, or both, 80,000 salmon died along the shores of the Klamath River tributaries.⁶⁰

⁵⁹Interview of Hayley Hutt by Brittani Orona, *Stories of the River, Stories of the People: Memory on the Klamath River Basin Oral History Project*, Hoopa, California, January, 2013

⁶⁰Rymer, "Klamath River: Reuniting a River," 3

Fallout from the salmon die off was immediate. Oregon farmers, Indian tribes, environmentalists, and scientists blamed one another for the disaster. Almost universally, PacifiCorp, the company that owned the hydroelectric plants, came under scrutiny from all parties involved. Grass-roots activism, from farmers, environmentalists, and fishing groups began in earnest. It was, however, the Native tribes of the Klamath River basin that pushed activism the hardest. Tucker recalled, "When we first started it was just a bold visionary idea that we could actually pull off what would be the biggest dam removal in U.S. history here on the Klamath. The effort started with a lot of grassroots organizing and a lot of it was campaigning it was everything from writing letters to decision makers to actually showing up and protesting the company that owns the dams."⁶¹

The activists, calling themselves the Klamath Justice Coalition, traveled to Scotland to protest outside of Scottish Power, the company that owned the Klamath River dams at the time. When Scottish Power sold the dams to PacifiCorp, owned by Warren Buffets' Berkshire Hathaway, Native activists traveled to Portland, Oregon and Omaha, Nebraska to demonstrate outside of company meetings and to educate shareholders on issues arising from the Klamath River tributaries.⁶² The Klamath Justice Coalition would spend eight years concurrently crashing shareholders meetings, creating scientific records through their individual Natural Resources Departments, and running a media intensive effort, through websites, exhibition, films, and print, to raise awareness about the health

⁶¹ Interview of Craig Tucker by Brittani Orona. *Stories of the River, Stories of the People: Memory on the Klamath River Basin Oral History Project*. Orleans, California. January, 2013

⁶² Leaf Hillman Interview, January 2013

of the Klamath River Basin.

The final effort turned to litigation. The tribes sued PacifiCorp and agencies such as the Bureau of Reclamation for not upholding existing environmental laws such as the Endangered Species Act. Craig Tucker recalled, "So between the grassroots action, the science and the litigation- all that put a lot of pressure on PacifiCorp and the agencies to seek a resolution for the problem. That resolution grew into the Klamath agreements that were signed in 2010."⁶³

From 2002 to the Klamath Basin Restoration Agreement of 2010, a variety of different groups comprised of tribes, environmentalists, and farmers, met to come to an agreement on the best solution for the river basin. After years of arguments and dissension between all parties involved, the Klamath Restoration Agreements of 2010 were signed on January 7, 2010. The Klamath Restoration Agreements are comprised of two parts, the Klamath Basin Restoration Agreement and the Klamath Basin Hydroelectric Settlement Agreement. The Klamath Restoration Agreement "is intended to result in effective and durable solutions which: in concert with the removal of four dams, will restore and sustain natural production and provide for full participation in ocean and river harvest opportunities of fish species throughout the Klamath Basin; establish reliable water and power supplies which sustain agricultural uses, communities, and National Wildlife Refuges; and contribute to the public welfare and the sustainability

⁶³ Interview of Craig Tucker by Brittani Orona, *Stories of the River, Stories of the People: Memory on the Klamath River Basin Oral History Project.*, Orleans, California, January, 2013

of all Klamath Basin communities.³⁶⁴ Concurrently, the Klamath Hydroelectric Settlement Agreement "lays out the process for conducting necessary additional studies, environmental reviews, and a decision by the Secretary of the Interior as to whether 1) removal of the lower four dams on the Klamath River owned by PacifiCorp will advance restoration of the salmon fisheries of the Klamath Basin, and 2) removal of dams is in the interest of Tribes, local communities, and the general public.³⁶⁵

According to the agreements, the four dams, Iron Gate, Copco 1, Copco 2, and Boyce dams, are slated for removal by 2020. While the Yurok and the Karuk tribes have both signed off on the Klamath Restoration Agreements, the Hupa have not and they do not concur with the dam removal process laid out in the agreements. The Hoopa Valley Tribe has raised concern that the removal of the four dams will not bring water flow to a sufficient level needed to sustain the salmon population. This has been a source of contention among the tribes of the Klamath River Basin. Hayley Hutt, former Councilwoman on the Hoopa Valley Tribal Council and river activist, is staunchly against the KBRA and the KBHA. "What's wrong with the KBRA is that it allocates and locks in water to the irrigators. And it even goes so far as to say 'We're going to terminate your senior water rights so that the United States will defend the right for these irrigators to have that water. Even if the fish need it."⁶⁶

Craig Tucker, director for the Karuk Klamath Restoration project, commented to

⁶⁴ Craig Tucker, "Klamath Restoration Agreements: Restoring a River and Revitalizing Communities," http://klamathriverrestoration.org/ (Accessed December, 2013)

⁶⁵ Tucker, "Klamath Restoration Agreements"

⁶⁶ Interview of Hayley Hutt by Brittani Orona., *Stories of the River, Stories of the People: Memory on the Klamath River Basin Oral History Project.*, Hoopa, California, January, 2013

National Geographic Magazine that if the dams were removed that "this will be the largest dam removal ever on an American river. This can be a model for environmental cooperation."⁶⁷ Dr. Tucker, along with other Klamath Justice Coalition activists, Leaf Hillman and Mollie White, support the agreements as the quickest if not most ideal means to dam removal. Annilea Hillman, a Yurok/Karuk artist who created many of the posters, observed that the KBRA created contentious issues among the tribes: "To me, the KBRA is kind of empty, it's like okay, well this may be the fastest way to dam removal and whatever words are written necessarily mean anything, you know? And I think that's the worst problem with it, is that it's dividing the problem. Divide and conquer."⁶⁸

Conclusion

The Klamath River basin is a natural resource that supports and provides important cultural and physical needs for the tribes of the North Coast. An adequate agreement needs to provide the best possible solution to a problem that has been over 100 years in the making. The importance of tradition and environmental activism define the struggles, failures, and successes of the Klamath River Basin tribes. The influences of the termination and relocation era, along with the activism of the American Indian Movement through the Alcatraz Island occupation, heavily influenced the Hupa, Yurok, Karuk, and Tolowa activists of "High Country" and the Klamath River dam removal

⁶⁷ Rymer, "Klamath River: Reuniting a River,", 5

⁶⁸ Interview of Annilea Hillman by Michael Orona, *Stories of the River, Stories of the People: Memory on the Klamath River Basin Oral History Project,* Orleans, California, January, 2013

efforts. The initial failures of the *Lyng v. Northwest Indian Cemetery Protective Association* and the long history of resistance from the tribes of the North Coast also provided momentum to protect resources that the tribes of Northern California long held sacred. Despite the loss of the *Lyng v. Northwest Indian Cemetery Protective Association* and the current struggles of dam removal on the Klamath River Basin, the tribes of the North Coast give no indication of yielding their fight. They continue to inspire a generation of young Native activists to better their lives, and the lives of their people, into the twenty-first century.

Chapter 2

SHARED AUTHORITY, MEMORY PRODUCTION, AND EPISTEMOLOGIES IN TRIBAL MUSEUMS AND EXHIBITIONS

Shared Authority in Cultural Institutions

Museums that focus on indigenous people, specifically those of North America, historically had contentious relationships with Native Americans. While anthropological museums developed exhibitions focused on indigenous cultures, the Native American collections featured in these museums were obtained through looting, deception, and coercion. The history of colonization, and the devastation it wrought to the indigenous people of North America, contributed to mistrust between anthropologists, museum curators, and Native American people.

The mistrust between the two groups has not disappeared. Amy Lonetree, in her work *Decolonizing Museums: Representing Native America in National and Tribal Museums*, and Patricia Pierce Erikson, in *Voices of A Thousand People: The Makah Cultural and Research Center*, evaluate the cause and effect of decolonization, museum subjectivity, and auto-ethnography in tribal, state, or nationally administered museums. In their evaluations, practitioners of history or anthropology acknowledge the struggles that both indigenous and museum professionals face by sharing authority in museum spaces and cultural institutions. As native people advocated for self-determination and cultural sovereignty into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, there was a substantial shift in the power relationships in museums that continues to the present.

Historically, museum sites were not subject to these inquiries because of early curatorial, non-Native perspectives and reliance on academic expertise. Some Native American groups have advocated for the end of museums as they have represented the devastation of colonization and the loss of cultural heritage. In contrast, Lonetree and Erikson both advocate for Native American involvement in defining and creating spaces where Native American groups can not only share their culture but also participate in institutions that perpetuate and acknowledge Native culture.⁶⁹

Lonetree's most successful arguments are in her discussion of decolonization at the National Museum of the American Indian in Washington D.C. and the Ziibwing Center of Anishinabe Culture and Lifeways in Michigan; both of which opened in 2004.⁷⁰ The National Museum of the American Indian represents much of what the title implies; it is a museum dedicated to the culture and history of U.S. Native American tribes as well as Central America and Mexico. Lonetree notes that despite the best efforts of the NMAI to tell an all-inclusive Native American history, the museum fails at its attempt. One of the main criticisms of the NMAI, according to Lonetree, is that in trying to embrace all native cultures and tell a definitive story, the museum fails to acknowledge the impact of colonization.

Lonetree uses the creation of the inaugural exhibit for the museum, "Our Stories" to convey her argument. While the museum tried to "decolonize" through the use of

⁶⁹ Amy Lonetree, *Decolonizing Museums: Representing Native America in National and Tribal Museums* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012) 5, Patricia Pierce Erikson, *Voices of a Thousand People: The Makah Cultural and Research Center* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002) 17-18 ⁷⁰ National Museum of the American Indian opened in on September 24th, 2004 and the Ziibwing Center of Anishinabe Culture and Lifeways opened on May 21st, 2004.

native consultants, these same consultants were often relegated to the role of informants. That is, there was never very much reciprocity between the native people and the curators of the exhibit.⁷¹ The Ziibiwing Museum was ultimately more successful in relating the history of the Saginaw Chippewa people because it heavily relied upon the expertise of both museum professionals and native people.⁷² Relying upon expertise of both Native and non-Native professionals in indigenous exhibits creates reciprocity in a process that was historically difficult.

At the NMAI, rather than involvement in the creation of the exhibit, native people acted only as a source of information for curators fabricating the museum. Lonetree notes that the NMAI curators debated, and never resolved, issues related to interpreting history from the Native perspective and addressing audience needs. Since these issues were never resolved, the NMAI became, like many other museums, a sterilized space that did not acknowledge the difficulties of colonization.⁷³ In a successful museum or exhibit, according to Lonetree's thesis, native museums can only be decolonized if they relate the difficult history of Native Americans.

Lonetree uses the example of the Ziibiwing Museum to demonstrate the usage of exhibit design and auto ethnography to interpret the history of colonization to a wider audience.⁷⁴ The Ziibiwing Museum, almost fully funded and run by the Saginaw Chippewa, successfully relate native oral histories and personal experiences to their history. By self-reflecting, the Saginaw Chippewa are able to address colonization

⁷¹ Lonetree, *Decolonizing Museums*, 101-102

⁷² Lonetree, *Decolonizing Museums*, 128-129

⁷³ Lonetree, *Decolonizing Museums*, 107

⁷⁴ Lonetree, *Decolonizing Museums*, 133

through traumatic realization.⁷⁵ By focusing only on survival and culture, national, state, local, and tribal museums do a disservice to the public and tribal communities by not privileging difficult histories. By understanding decolonization efforts in museums, and the triumphs and failures that arise from it, practitioners evaluate the role of shared authority between native people and museum professionals and how these two groups can relate decolonization through auto-ethnographies.

Erikson's book, which explores the development in of the Makah Cultural and Research Center MCRC at Neah Bay, Washington, focuses primarily on museum subjectivity and how it relates to the MCRC.⁷⁶ Erikson's most telling and poignant example of museum subjectivity is found in the discovery of the Ozette Village site, and the usage of the site as a place of memory. The Makah village site of Ozette represented the blending of two cultures through traditional beliefs and archeology. These cultures included non-natives fascinated by the archeological site and the Makah, who were tied to the site through tradition and heritage. Once Ozette was excavated, this paved the way for the construction of the MCRC that allowed a full-bodied but subjective story to be told.

In contrast to this subjectivity, the Makah used methods from the colonizers to relay their histories through exhibit design and display. This appropriation of non-Native methods created contact zones between the two groups. The Makah Cultural Center remained a subjective space due to the oral histories, artifacts, and most, importantly, the

⁷⁵ Lonetree, *Decolonizing Museums*, 145

⁷⁶ The Makah Cultural and Research Center (MCRC) opened in June of 1979 after the discovery of the Ozette village site in 1969-1970.

purpose of the site. The MCRC was born out of the desire, not for objectivity, but to relate the history of the Makah community for the Makah community.⁷⁷

In addition to interpreting the history of Native Americans, cultural institutions interpret objects and contemporary indigenous art in galleries and art museums. Along with Erikson and Lonetree, the authors in On Aboriginal Representation in the Gallery, evaluate art galleries as spaces to not only show the art of Native artists but also to tell the history and culture of these artists without relegating them into the "primitive or ethnic" art category. Moira T. McCaffrey's article, "Crossing New Borders to Exhibit Iroquois Tourist Art" compares art galleries and indigenous knowledge. McCaffrey evaluates the problems that traditional art galleries face in not only portraying indigenous artists as stuck in a primitive past, but also the debates surrounding authenticity in regards to tourist art.⁷⁸ By using the case study example of the museum traveling exhibit, "Across Borders: Beadwork in Iroquois Life," McCaffrey demonstrates both the triumph and difficulty in cross collaboration. Art galleries, according to McCaffrey, have clung to a stereotypical view of aboriginal people in a distant ethnographic past.⁷⁹ McCaffrey views cross collaboration between indigenous people and museum professionals as an opportunity to adequately tell a full-bodied and living story.

The example of the commoditized beadwork of the Iroquois, and the usage of this beadwork to demonstrate the change and resilience of Iroquois culture, takes the "inauthentic Native art" and embarked on an exhibit, "Across Borders: Beadwork in

⁷⁷ Erikson, Voices of a Thousand People, 176

⁷⁸ Moira T. McCaffrey, "Crossing New Borders to Exhibit Iroquois Tourist Art" in *On Aboriginal Representation in the Gallery* (Quebec: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2002) 73

⁷⁹ McCaffrey, "Crossing New Borders," 74

Iroquois Life" that addresses issues of historic trauma and the duality and change of culture. The usage of oral history and history, and the display of objects of beauty in the form of beadwork, combined to create a hybrid art and history exhibit that art galleries could emulate in future exhibitions. The "Across Borders" exhibit represents the principles of museum subjectivity, given its evaluation of the beadwork as an object of biography and change, auto-ethnography, in its usage of oral histories from native artists, and de-colonization, because it addressed the "tough stuff" of colonization and White-Native relations.

McCaffrey notes that museums and museum professionals must share authority with tribal communities in order to create art exhibits that represent the cultures that are displayed.⁸⁰ Practitioners of anthropology and history, trained in the academy, must let go of supreme authority over culture and history. The histories and the cultural understanding of those who are living within it, is often as valuable as what academics have to say on a given subject. In the same vein, Native American groups must also recognize the contributions of museum professionals who provide an academic basis that may not be readily available in tribal communities.

Nancy Marie Mithlo's article, "Silly Little Things: Framing Global Self Appropriations in Native Arts," focuses on Native American representation in the international and modern art world. Concurrently, Mithlo writes about postcolonial representations of Native artists and how Native "elites" work to censor both non-natives and each other. As Mithlo notes, the aim of her article is to analyze broadly what it means

⁸⁰ McCaffrey, "Crossing New Borders," 87-89

for minorities and underrepresented groups to enter into the mainstream art and cultural world.⁸¹ The author does this by analyzing different methods of indigenous appropriation through historically colonial mediums in the form of photography, World's Fair Exhibitions, and museum exhibitions.

Mithlo's primary interest is in assessing the Indigenous Arts Action Alliance (IA3) and Smithsonian's National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) involvement in the Venice Biennale International Exhibition through the "Re-quickening Project" and the "Most Serene Republics" exhibit. In 2003 and 2007, the IA3 collaborated with the NMAI to display the works of different native artists, such as Shelley Niro (Mohawk) and Sherwin Bitsui (Dine) at the Venice Biennale, a major biannual contemporary art exhibition in Venice, Italy.⁸² She begins her article with an introduction into the Venice Biennale and consequently relays the difficulty between assimilation and sovereignty in relation to indigenous art displays. The two exhibits at the 2003 and 2007 Venice Biennale, the "Re-quickening Project" and the "Most Serene Republics" exhibit, focused on similar themes to vastly different audiences. Both exhibits aimed to show the beliefs and wisdom of native people on an international stage.

The "Re-quickening Project" at the Venice Biennale predominately focused on indigenous experiences interpreted through the struggles of survival, death, and life.⁸³ The 2007 Venice Biennale exhibit, "Most Serene Republics," curated by Edgar Heap of Birds (Arapho/Cheyenne), set up two public displays that interpreted elements of difficult

⁸¹ Nancy Marie Mithlo, "Silly Little Things: Framing Global Self-Appropriations in Native Arts" in No Deal! Indigenous Arts and the Politics of Possession (Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research, 2012) 192 ⁸² Mithlo, "Silly Little Things," 189
⁸³ Mithlo, "Silly Little Things,", 192

histories related to Venetians and Native actors/warriors who travelled to Europe as a part of Wild West shows in the 1880s. The "Re-quickening Project" aimed at engaging indigenous "scholars, students, fellow minority artist pavilions, and Venetian academics," whereas Edgar Head of Bird's 2007 "Most Serene Republics" exhibit aimed at engaging international artists who may not have understood Native American history.⁸⁴

Through contrasting the "Re-quickening Project" and the "Most Serene Republics" exhibit, Mithlo demonstrates how native people interpret their history and culture in colonial mediums, such as the Venice Biennale while still maintaining their "native-ness." The article further examines the difficult histories of Buffalo Bill's Wild West Shows and World's Fair that represented natives in a colonial light. In the postcolonial era, grassroots organizations such as the IA3 have partnered with organizations like the Venice Biennale (international exhibition) and the NMAI (museum exhibition) as a form of either assimilation or sovereignty. Mithlo is primarily interested in understanding the nature of indigenous identity in relation to the international arena. The author is concerned with understanding identity through indigenous art production. Mithlo argues that native artists can be active in the mainstream, by appropriating historically colonial methods, and still maintain their indigenous identity through participation in international exhibition.

The struggles of decolonizing special issues in the museum and art world are still relevant, but Mithlo's assessment of the "Re-quickening Project" and "Most Serene Republics," and their method of embracing a uniquely indigenous philosophy through

⁸⁴ Mithlo, "Silly Little Things," 192

native and non-native participation, harkens to positive relationships that can occur between the two groups. Other factors, such as audience, funding, and competition often waylay or define these exhibitions. If the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) and the Musée du Quai Branly are both extreme interpretations, the Requickening Project represents the need to allow native artists to simply exhibit on the international stage without the inherent colonial baggage found in American exhibitions.⁸⁵ Along with Mithlo, Price in her work about the Musée du Quai Branly in Paris, argues that by excluding multi-vocal understanding of "primitive" art much of the interpretation of the art is ill defined. Indigenous beliefs and knowledge have been pushed aside and are replaced with a "primitive" interpretation of indigenous culture.⁸⁶

Mithlo challenges assumptions about indigenous art in the international stage by reviewing the histories of the Venice Biennale. Essentially, an all-inclusive, indigenous prospective along with methodology of anthropology and art history is needed to interpret "primitive" art to the larger world. Without the multi-vocal voice, either from the indigenous or the non-native world view, there can be no true understanding of indigenous culture and art. The histories of the colonized and the colonizer are inherently intertwined and acknowledging both histories as a collective history not only creates a better narrative but also allows for an inclusive, healing methodology in museums.

By acknowledging shared authority and the difficulties surrounding decolonization, museum subjectivity, and auto-ethnography, practitioners of

⁸⁵ Mithlo, "Silly Little Things," 204

⁸⁶ Sally Price, *Paris Primitive: Jacques Chirac's Museum on the Quai Branly* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007) 177

anthropology and history understand the changing relationship between tribal communities and museums. Sharing authority and allowing Native American understanding through tribal histories and culture places the indigenous voice, and not the academy's, into the public sphere.

Memory Production in Tribal Exhibitions

The interpretation of tribal groups in museums and other mediums, such as film or photography, demonstrates how "memory communities" and "memory palaces" define the culture of tribal communities. As Peter Burke notes: "Historians are concerned or should be concerned with memory as a historical phenomenon, with what might be called the social history of remembering."⁸⁷ He acknowledges that social organization and different media forms affect memories by different groups of people. Five different media forms are of importance to Burke; oral traditions; memoirs, and other written records; images (pictorial, or photographic); action transmit memories (as they transmit skills from master to apprentice); and space. Burke's example relates back to the memory of the Klamath River Basin and how the tribal communities have interpreted it. Through the usage of museum exhibits the tribes of the North Coast have worked to perpetuate their own history of the Klamath River Basin by using oral traditions, photographs, and written records.

Amy Lonetree in her work *Decolonizing Museums: Representing Native American in National and Tribal Museums* assesses the trauma that surrounds museums

⁸⁷ Peter Burke, "History as Social Memory," Jeffrey Olick, Ed. *The Collective Memory Reader (*Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011)

for Native American communities and the effort of tribes to demonstrate a history that is inclusive, accurate, and reliable.⁸⁸ "Museums can be very painful sites for native peoples," she argues, "as they are intimately tied to the colonization process." The efforts today by tribal communities to become involved in developing exhibitions points to the "recognition that controlling the representation of their cultures is linked to the larger movements of self-determination and cultural sovereignty."⁸⁹ Decolonization of Native American history and culture within museums serves to perpetuate remembrance that has not always been present within institutional confines. Native American groups, including the Hupa, Yurok, and Karuk, have made a sustained effort to "decolonize" museums by including not only historical or anthropological methods, but also privileging the Native American "voice" in exhibitions. The inclusion of the Native voice gives rise to the multi-linear or multi-vocal storytelling in museums and cultural institutions.

Multi-linear storytelling in museums serves to perpetuate memory that includes not only the colonizer but also the colonized. An example of this is found at the Mille Lac Museum in Minnesota. The Mille Lac Band of Ojibwe Indians joined with the Minnesota Historical Society to create a museum that featured the ideals and culture of the Ojibwe using western curatorial and museum practices. These practices included creating a tribal "hybrid" museum. Amy Lonetree writes, "native communities have constructed a collective public memory and history through the medium of tribal museums-or in the case, a 'hybrid' tribal Museum. In doing so native communities have attempted to take

⁸⁸ Lonetree, *Decolonizing Museums*, 1

⁸⁹ Lonetree, Decolonizing Museums, 1

control of the public's perception of their past.⁹⁹ The hybridity of the Mille Lacs Museums includes using exhibit design to tell the oral traditions and stories of the Ojibwe along with the historic narrative found in academic history. The Mille Lacs Museum interprets the strong sense of cultural and traditional values of the Ojibwe people that, despite the colonization they experienced, served as a driving force to protect the culture. "One of the defining characteristics of the Mille Lacs Community," Lonetree argues, "is the ability of its members to preserve their language and culture in the face of ongoing colonization. Mille Lacs leaders believed that it was critical to contextualize these changes within a historical framework."⁹¹ The Mille Lacs Museum is not a true decolonized museum because it is subject to the Minnesota Historical Society that funds the effort. Yet by appropriating western means of interpretation, the Ojibwe have managed to tell their own inclusive history through exhibit design and oral history.

The example of the Mille Lacs museum, and the idea of a hybrid museum, relates to the exhibit, "River as Home" at the Morris Graves Museum of Art in Eureka, California. The exhibit, which was briefly featured as a hybrid museum, ran from February 2, 2013 to March 24th, 2013 and featured sixty native artists working in different artistic mediums such as sculpture, painting, interpretive panels, and basketry. The Morris Graves Museum of Art, along with a group of North Coast Native artists, collaborated in an effort to create an exhibit that relayed the art of the Klamath River Basin featured by the tribes of the Hupa, Yurok, Karuk, Wiyot, Tolowa, and Tseungwe people. The exhibit was predominately an art world effort; very little historical context

⁹⁰ Lonetree, *Decolonizing Museums*, 30

⁹¹ Lonetree, *Decolonizing Museums*, 34-35

was used, and the artists hoped that the exhibit would primarily speak to the feeling of the basin rather than the history. The usage of art to interpret memory, rather than the didactic or interpretive model found in historic museums, relates to the work of Jewish artist, Shimon Attie. In his exhibit to provoke the "history" that is interpreted in the film, *Schindler's List*, Attie hoped to "discriminate between what they know, how they know it, and what actually happened."⁹² By remembering the past through the medium of film, Attie challenged future generations to examine the role they play in remembering events that did not occur to them. Yet Attie also acknowledged the potential pitfalls such remembering might create. In essence, future generations develop a vicarious relationship to history that can lead to an "over mediation of events." As James Young argues regarding Attie, "He fears rightly, that a generation after the Holocaust could still come to mistake their hyper mediated experiences of the Holocaust for the Holocaust itself, that events will come to be displaced altogether by their representations."

Likewise, the artists of the North Coast illuminated the history that they did not live but were affected by. The "River as Home" artists interpreted not only the cultural history of the Klamath River Basin but also the traumatic memories associated with the site. Most of the artists did not go to the government-funded boarding school found on the Hoopa Valley Indian Reservations, which closed prior to 1960; but much of the Native art featured harkens back to that trauma. In addition, many of the artists did not remember a time before dams plagued the Klamath River Basin and much of the art at the

 ⁹² James E. Young, "Shimon Attie's: Acts of Remembrance," in *At Memory's Edge: After Images of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000) 87
 ⁹³ Young, "Acts of Remembrance," 89

"River as Home" exhibit interpreted the river before the PacifiCorp dams were constructed along the Klamath River system. The artists "remembered," because the memory of a healthy ecosystem had been passed down to them through elders and traditions. By displaying artwork that showed the river as a healthy and thriving ecosystem, the artists recreated and celebrated the river as it was before the dams were built.

This memorial of the Klamath River and its tributaries through art speaks to both the devastating reality of the current state of the rivers and the cultural memory of the rivers as sustaining. By including traditional forms of basketry, the artists used artistic methods to decolonize the memory surrounding culture. In this way native artists were able to interpret the memory of the Klamath River Basin through their own perspectives and cultural ideals. The basketry display did not have any context or didactic panels but rather displayed the baskets as an art form separate from western ways of knowledge. By de-mystifying basketry and not interpreting the skills involved in creating them, the native artist and basket weaver Kateri Masten defined the basketry as a way of knowing that was not privy to outsiders. This created inclusivity not easily interpreted by those outside of the culture. In a broad contextual sense, the exhibit provided insight into the culture of the North Coast and the memories and meanings associated with the Klamath River system.

In "River as Home," the viewer was forced to animate a story that they may not have understood fully. By not interpreting artworks through panels and text the participating artists defined memory rather than history and demonstrated inclusive feeling only found from full cultural understanding. In a similar sense, although not completely inclusive of the example, David Levinthal's example of using Nazi figurines to recreate horrific events of the Holocaust in his photographic exhibition, "Hitler Moves East" forces viewers to question their own ideas of WWII history. He wrote, "I think I create a window that allows the viewer to come into an image that appears to be more complete than it really is. It becomes complete when the viewer becomes a participant and fills in the missing details."⁹⁴

The generations of indigenous people who had been affected by colonization on the North Coast have carried those memories: orally, traditionally, and through art works to subsequently teach future generations of their collective past. By forcing the viewer to "fill in the blanks" the artists in the "River as Home" exhibit, like Levinthal, force viewers to question their knowledge of the Klamath River Basin.

Museums, as Amy Lonetree noted, historically served to perpetuate the master colonial narrative and Native Americans were left out of defining the narrative in which they lived. The history and memory of culture that was apparent to Native Americans, because they had lived it, seen it, and experienced it was not present within large institutional museums because the native voice had been silenced. The silencing of the Native narrative harkens back to non-inclusivity. If a narrative is not defined or is not acknowledged within an institution, than how can it be adequately interpreted? More importantly, what is the driving need for Native American groups to interpret in an accurate historical and anthropological light?

⁹⁴ James E. Young, "David Levinthal's Mein Kampf: History, Toys, and Play of Memory," in *At Memory's Edge: After Images of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000) 51

Peter Burke rightly notes that, "It is often said that history is written by the victors. It might also be that the victors forget history. They can afford to forget while the losers are unable to accept what happened and are condemned to brood over it."95 He acknowledges that victors forget traumatic events that did not occur to them because they "won" and ultimately, are separated from the hardships of those who "lost." The "winners" do not dwell on the hardships of the "losers" because they are distant from it; whereas those who lost culture, land, and rights are left to pick up the pieces of life shattered. In this sense, trauma is passed down through generations to create a social and collective memory that harkens to not only victimization but also self-determination and cultural sovereignty. Repression of traumatic history seen in large institutions like the National Museum of the American Indian and the California State Indian Museum, which makes no mention of the devastating effects of colonization, is the effort of the "state" to censor a difficult history. With regard to the National Museum of the American Indian, Amy Lonetree argues that "The museum's silences around the tragedies that took place were, again, not an oversight but intentional, a conscious choice." Founding director Richard West defends this choice by saying that the period of tragedy is only a small portion of our time in the Americas: "Here's what I want everyone to understand. As much and as important as that period of history is...it is at best only about 5 percent of the period we have been in this hemisphere. We do not want to make the National Museum of the American Indian into an 'Indian Holocaust Museum.""96

⁹⁵ Burke, *History as Social Memory*, 191

⁹⁶ Lonetree, *Decolonizing Museums*, 22

Individual Native American groups, by repurposing museums to decolonize these state memories, are perpetuating a collective history that has not been privileged in institutional regimes before. Small exhibits, as seen at the "River as Home" at the Morris Graves and "Stories of the River, Stories of the People," at the CSUS Anthropology Museum, define the Klamath River Basin as a site of cultural and traumatic memories but also relay the importance of indigenous self-determination. Museum exhibitions, for not only large institutions like the Smithsonian's National Museum of the American Indian, but for small tribal and regional museums have redefined their efforts to tell an allinclusive story and privilege a voice that has been silenced.

The effects of colonization, as devastating as they have been for Karuk, Hupa, and Yurok people, refocus and repurpose the way in which the three tribes collectively and individually remember the Klamath River Basin. For thousands of years before white encroachment, the Klamath River Basin was the site of cultural and traditional livelihood. As colonization took effect, the Klamath River Basin became a proverbial battleground between the colonizers and the colonized. It has only been within the last ten years, since the Salmon Die-Off of 2002, that North Coast tribal communities have worked to interpret the history and memory of the Klamath River Basin to outsiders. By relaying the memory of the Klamath River Basin, the three tribes hope to garner not only sympathy but also support for the wider dam removal effort. Ultimately, the battle for the Klamath River has taken place not only through picket lines and grassroots activism but also through museum exhibitions.

Epistemologies (Ways of Knowing) in Museums

Finally, it is important to evaluate the epistemological practices that arise from various groups within the museum and institutional world. By evaluating the overarching themes of knowledge production and cultural awareness practitioners gain insight into the sources of contention found among different knowledge producers. Pamela Smart finds an example of this in *Sacred Modern: Faith, Activism, and Aesthetics in the Menil Collection.* Dominque De Menil and her husband, John in an effort to combine the religious experience of viewing art with the subjective experience of understanding art, established the Menil Collection, a privately funded museum in Houston, Texas. While the book gives many examples of the ways the De Menil's demonstrated their ideals, the most interesting is in the notion of "pure, excess." De Menil, in her effort to combine aesthetic with practicality, commissioned a Houston artist to create scale models of miniature pieces of art. This was to create the models of gallery displays instead of using photographs to create installations.

While on the surface this seems painfully excessive, De Menil not only had the means to create the models but the aesthetic understanding to do so. By using her wealth to create replicate displays, De Menil defined her ideal of how art and artwork is viewed by curators and the public.⁹⁷ The public would not see the displays or the miniatures but the very nature of creating the miniatures speaks to the reverence that De Menil had for art. De Menil's influence over the De Menil Collection stemmed from her vast wealth and her ability to control and take charge of exhibitions. She was involved in every aspect

⁹⁷ Pamela Smart, *Sacred Modern: Faith, Activism, and Aesthetics in the Menil Collection* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011) 151

of the museum from the creation of display miniatures to the architecture of the museum building.

By involving Native American artists and curators in exhibitions, participating museums relinquish control and engage Native communities in similar ways as De Menil did in Houston. While Native American artists and culture bearers in the past had been relegated to the role of informant in many museums, the Sacramento State Anthropology Museum with "Stories of the River," and the Clarke Museum in Eureka, CA with "River as home" relinquished control of their space and allowed Native Americans to engage with art and artifacts in their own way. The idea of reverence, "religious" feeling toward art pieces or museum objects, is subject to the curator, the viewer, or the tribal member involved with development and consumption of the exhibit. De Menil revered art because she appreciated the aesthetic quality of a beautiful object; tribal members revere their art because of cultural upbringing and the belief that knowledge is tied to their art.

While the religious feeling for art does not bridge every context, the epistemologies of other cultures speak to the reverence that these groups have for cultural objects or art pieces. De Menil felt this reverence for much of the art that was housed within her personal collection although she did not necessarily take the artist's interpretations into account when displaying "her" art. Native artists and participants in exhibitions also hold reverence for objects, not because of their imagined meaning but because they relate back to their culture. While De Menil displayed pieces in her collection based on her own interpretation of a given art work or artifact, Native participants interpret an artifact, such as a basket, fish hook, or photograph, through the lens of their own cultural identity. Arguably, a curator such as De Menil interprets the objects in a way that relates to her own cultural identity, despite not having informed herself on the history of the given object. The question then becomes, who is best suited to interpret indigenous art or objects?

Another example of western interpretation of indigenous culture is found in Jacques Kerchache, who revered and admired indigenous art. Jacques Kerchache was a French gallery owner, "expert" on art from Oceania, the Americas, Asia, and Africa, and was on the planning board for the Musée du Quai Branly. The Musee du Quai Branly is located in Paris, France and specializes in art from Oceania, the Americas, Asia, and Africa. Jacques Kerchache was widely considered in France to be an expert on "primitive" cultures from the regions represented in the collections in Musée du Quai Branly. Despite this, Kerchache's aesthetics for "primitive art" did not translate to cultural sensitivity. A specific example is in Kerchache's acquisition of different "primitive" arts pieces and then interpreting them without regard to cultural context or ethnographic history. Kerchache's interest in primitive art was purely aesthetic; he had no interest in the workers of the objects or their background. In interpreting the objects at the Musee du Quai Branly, Kerchache would often make up context for a particular object. This is seen in the Solomon Island house post depicting two figures in a sexual stance. Kerchache's description described the object in inaccurate cultural terms.⁹⁸

To an ethnographer, and the indigenous makers of the house post, the Solomon house post represented the physical manifestation of the spirit Matorua, a malevolent

⁹⁸ Price, Paris Primitive, 76

being that killed its unwilling victims through sexual intercourse. To Kerchache, the post represented a sensual and loving scene between two lovers.⁹⁹ Kerchache did not take into account the indigenous meaning of the house post but rather interpreted meaning to the house post that did not exist for the indigenous makers of the object, blatantly disregarding existent interpretations found within the culture of origin. In giving the object "reverence" Kerchache succeeded in fictionalizing the Solomon Island culture that was deemed "backward and primitive" by French and western patrons of the Musee Du Quai Branly through sexualizing the house post. The example of Kerchache is one reason why there must be indigenous interpretation in museum exhibitions that feature art and objects from indigenous cultures. The sexualizing of the Solomon house post falsifies and marginalizes the culture of origin. The researcher or patron comes to cultural institutions to discover the truth. The different ways of knowing, through shared authority, memory production, and epistemologies that accompany production of museums cloud the "truth." In the end, visitors will define the information they receive through their own experiences. Epistemologies are inescapable and must be acknowledged as museums continue to inform the history and memory of a given culture.

Stories of the River, Stories of the People: Memory on the Klamath River Basin

The preceding literature review leads to the conclusion that curators or the institutions in which they work must support the involvement of Native American participants in exhibits and museums. With the exhibit, "Stories of the River" the

⁹⁹ Price, Paris Primitive, 78

curator's intention for the project was to exclusively reproduce Native American perspectives using Native American modes of interpretation such as oral history. This exhibit also blended western forms of communication to relay the history of the people of the Klamath River to non-Native audiences. The Native American voice, using western forms of interpretation such as video, photography, textual panels, and painting, was favored above other narratives. For example, Native American artists painted scenes of the river system using acrylic painting and Native American participants took photographs of modern traditions of the Hupa, Yurok, and Karuk people. "Stories of the River" attempted to decolonize old forms of interpretation by using those methods to tell the history of the Klamath River through native perspectives.

In the an effort to decolonize memories and histories, small exhibitions such as "Stories of the River" rely on the experiences of the Hupa, Yurok, and Karuk people, who provide context with editorial authority and museum professionals, who install the exhibit. The Native American participants detailed their histories to the curator, who is a member of the Hoopa Valley Tribe, and the curator determined how to interpret the information using museum methods. The curator and participants worked back and forth on oral histories, context, and object inclusion to create an exhibit that illuminated the native voice and kept that voice accessible for non-natives.

The exhibit attempted to do this by relaying the struggles of the Hupa, Yurok, and Karuk to remove dams affecting their cultural resources. The exhibit had to privilege the difficult history and effects of colonization through museum interpretation. Using Lonetree's thesis, the curator continuously addressed the effects of colonization and how the tribal communities of Hupa, Yurok, and Karuk people worked to decolonize their homelands through activism. This can be viewed in the different sections of the exhibit that explore the importance of art, activism, and tradition in the memory of the three tribes. The tribes used these three methods to combat the colonial narrative, which favored water diversion to farmlands, surrounding the Klamath River Basin.

The Hupa, Yurok, and Karuk in the "Stories of the River" exhibit also used their voice to privilege history subjectively. The exhibit was unapologetically subjective because for decades Native American voices were ignored in museum spaces. The curator, similar to the Makah Cultural Center, used interpretations like oral histories, objects, photographs, and acrylic paintings to create contact zones between native and non-native visitors. Non-native visitors absorbed information in a way they could easily understand and native participants were able to share their culture with a wider audience.

Creating an exhibit around the trauma of colonization helps non-native visitors relate to history they may not understand. The history of native people, either through land rights such as "Stories of the River" or beadwork in "Across Borders" is tied to colonization. The experts of these histories and cultures are not historians or anthropologists but rather the native people who are still affected by colonization. It would be impossible to adequately interpret the history of the Klamath River Basin without the knowledge and shared experiences of the native people who live on the basin. Without their knowledge, the exhibit would fall short of telling a true, inclusive history. Native people in the "Stories of the River" exhibit relinquished control to a curator, albeit a native one, to accurately interpret their histories. In both the "Stories of the River," and the "River as Home" exhibits native artists were represented by indigenous art that used western methods of interpretation, not necessarily on the international platform, but in regional exhibitions. By using different forms of interpretation that relate to western understanding, such as oil on canvas, printmaking, or polaroids, the artists of both "River as home" and "Stories of the River," interpret their histories in ways that non-natives can "understand." The artists also contribute to indigenous ways of knowledge by interpreting tribal culture and history though western means of art. Lyn Risling's paintings interprets the history of the Hupa/Yurok/Karuk people by demonstrating dances, interpreting cultural dress, and harkening back to traditional stories. Ms. Risling's paintings are also her individual interpretations of the culture she was raised in. While her art represents many ideals that her tribe has the paintings she creates are also subjective to her own experiences. All art, whether it be from Native artists or not, is subject to the creator of that particular piece of art.

The artists of the "Stories of the River, Stories of the People" similarly require the viewer to question their knowledge of water usage, the history of reclamation, and the meaning of water to indigenous communities. The artists of "Stories of the River," Julian Lang (Karuk, Wiyot, Shasta), Lyn Risling (Hupa/Yurok/Karuk), Brittany Britton (Hupa), and Annilea Hillman (Yurok) not only ask the viewer to integrate themselves into the struggles of the Klamath River system but blatantly question the importance of the dams themselves. The artists are asking the viewer to "remember" the dams not merely in their

usage of electricity and water storage but as the source of difficulties for the tribes on the Klamath River Basin.

Kerchache's methods of interpretation represent the attitudes of colonial institutions. The aim of "Stories of the River" was to avoid colonial methods of interpretation and to privilege the indigenous voice. This meant interpreting the history of an object, photograph, or art piece through the native participants of the exhibit and allow tribal members to amend any context they deemed incorrect. Interpreting the history of the Klamath River Basin also meant sharing authority with tribal members and building a reciprocal relationship with the participants, something Kerchache clearly did not do.

Rather than completely ignore native worldviews and traditions as Kerchache did, "Stories of the River," aimed to tell the history of the Klamath River with tradition and worldview heavily entrenched in the exhibit. To add controversy, and a colonial worldview to spark debate, three photographs from Edward Curtis were included in the exhibition. The photographs by Edward Curtis depict two conflicting worldviews in the exhibit: that of native informants, who carried on their culture and tradition; and that of Edward Curtis, an ethnographer who believed that native people were vanishing. By including all aspects of the colonial and the native perspectives, from Edward Curtis to using western means of interpretation, cultural institutions allow visitors to absorb knowledge of which they are not aware. Portraying inclusive and nuanced histories in museums allows a fuller bodied understanding of our collective past.

Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

Informed by my readings and graduate training, "Stories of the River, Stories of the People: Memory on the Klamath River Basin" developed out of my desire to create a multi-media installation that incorporated methods of western and indigenous epistemologies. I wanted the exhibit to use methods of videography, oral history, photography, and anthropology to interpret modern grassroots activism and how it affected the communities, indigenous or not, of the Klamath River Basin. Initially, the exhibit was entitled, "Stories of the River, Stories of the People: Tribal Activism and Memory on the Klamath River Basin," but was condensed to the current title due to length. When I was assigned the project, I was enrolled in the course Museum Studies with Lisa Prince. The final project of the course required a detailed outline of an exhibit project and I used that assignment to develop my intentions for "Stories of the River." The preliminary outline of the exhibit as detailed in that proposal varies slightly from how the exhibit evolved.

The exhibit coincided with the One World Initiative, a campus-wide advocacy campaign that focuses on different world issues through exhibition, presentations, and workshops. During the 2012-2013 academic school year when "Stories of the River," was conceived, One World focused on global water rights issues. "Stories of the River" tied the initiative's theme of water rights to the struggles of indigenous communities and their fight to protect water resources that had not only physical implications for the tribes but cultural and spiritual implications as well. The exhibit created dialogue between tribal partners and non-native parties who historically had not seen eye to eye on the issue. The project acted as a means for historic record keeping as well, in the form of transcribed oral histories, video, and a traveling exhibition. Finally, the project contextualized regional water rights and land use issues for the public.

Due to the large scope of the project, and the amount of detail I wanted to put into it, I decided to open the exhibit in October 2013 to coincide with the California Indian Conference instead of the One World Initiative. Although this delayed the opening of the exhibit, I ultimately believe this was the better choice for the exhibit. I was able to adequately gather materials, edit the oral history videos, train staff, and create an exhibit that truly relayed the history of water rights in Northern California from the Native American perspective without time constraint.

Exhibition

According to Edward Alexander, the chief components of museum exhibition include a concept message or story line, objects to be displayed, the setting that may include custom built elements and layout within the museum building and "front end" evaluation studies or audience research.¹⁰⁰ "Stories of the River" followed Alexander's components and included a story line in the form of themes, objects of basketry and art, and a museum setting at the CSUS Anthropology Museum to display all of the research and material acquired. The themes of the exhibit reflected my interest in privileging the Native American perspective on water rights issues.

¹⁰⁰ Edward P. Alexander and Mary Alexander, *Museums in Motion: An Introduction to the History and Functions of Museums* (New York: Altamira Press, 2008) 239

The exhibit flows in a sequential order. Each section corresponds with a sequence of events in history to describe the stories of the culture and heritage of the Klamath River Basin and the history of the PacifiCorp Dams and the efforts to remove the dams. The time period encompassed in the exhibit dates from pre-history, an anthropological perspective of the Hupa, Yurok, and Karuk, to the present to describe the status of dam removal on the Klamath River Basin.

Visitors follow a set path in the exhibit, following the panels from "Introduction" to the concluding panels, "Who we are." Mixed in with the thematic structures and exhibit designs, which include photographs and interpretive panels, are interactive displays, videos of oral histories as well as videos of tribal members fishing on the rivers or doing other culturally related activities, underwater video of the tributaries, videos from various protests in Sacramento, and artifacts encased in glass cases located in the middle of the exhibit.

While all of the themes from the original exhibit concept remained in the final exhibit there were a few subtle differences. Instead of separating themes via historic periods, as detailed in the original conception of the exhibit, I created one overarching theme and created subthemes throughout the exhibit. The central theme centered on memory and how tribal community activists, "remembered" the Klamath River Basin through activism, art, and tradition.

As a result, I created three sections of the exhibition, "Tradition as Memory," "Activism as Memory," and "Art as Memory" that incorporated multi-media elements (object, text, oral history, art, and tradition). I chose to limit my curatorial voice. If I included all of the components originally intended, I would have been interpreting the Klamath River more than the participants. In each section, I used photographs, objects, and the words of tribal members to convey the importance of the basin. I wrote the panels; but other than that I wanted the majority of the material to come from the participants rather than myself.

"Tradition as Memory" took the elements of the original "Introduction: Coming Together for the Water and the People," and "Three Rivers in Three Cultures: The Karuk, Hupa, and Yurok on the River Basin" to interpret the historic meaning of the rivers to the three tribes. Rather than create multiple text panels to interpret the history of the tribes and their relationship to water, I decided to use photographs to tell the story. For each section, I created one interpretive text panel, and let the photographs, objects, art, and video "speak" for themselves. This ensured the viewer received the story from the tribal perspective. Although sharing authority with the community was my goal, subjectivity is inherent in every museum exhibition. I would be remiss to write that my own subjectivity did not color what was included in the exhibit. As much as possible, I tried to limit my curatorial voice and allow the community to "speak" for itself through oral history, art, photography, and objects.

While creating the didactic panels for each section, I wanted to be sure that the information could be clearly read by any individual who came into the exhibit. According to Kristin Johnson, exhibits should be accessible so anyone who is interested, no matter

what age, race, or physical condition, can enjoy them.¹⁰¹ I also made sure that the photographs and panels were centered so that a child or a wheelchair bound patron could read or look at them. The pathway for the exhibit was wide and was wheelchair accessible for any one who came through the doors. While I was concerned about the content of the exhibit, I also wanted to be certain the information could be relayed to any individual who visited the museum.

Tradition as Memory

To convey the traditional life of Klamath River Basin residents I used photographs from Regina Chichizola, media coordinator for the Hoopa Valley Tribe and Klamath River activist, and the Library of Congress. Chichizola supplied all of the photographs in the exhibit. The photographs selected for the exhibit range from photos of activists protesting in Portland and Scotland to the toxic algae blooms and fish lying dead on the riverbanks of the Klamath and Trinity Rivers. These images throughout the exhibit created a powerful message conveying the devastation wrought by the dams of the Klamath River Basin. For the "Tradition as Memory," section I used three photos from Chichizola, entitled, "Ron, boys, and Big Fish," "Cute Kid Fishing," and "Fish Cook." I wanted these photographs to demonstrate the importance of the rivers to contemporary tribal communities and convey how the Hupa, Yurok, and Karuk communities continue traditional practices.

¹⁰¹ Kristin Johnson, "Exhibition Accessibility," in Barry Lord and Gail Dexter Lord, eds., *The Manual of Museum Exhibitions* (New York: Altamira Press, 2001) 135

In addition to Chichizola's photos, I also included three photographs by early ethnographer, Edward Curtis. While I was presenting the project at the National Council for Public History in Monterey, California, Dr. Samuel Redman of the University of Massachusetts, Amherst questioned why Edward Curtis photographs would be used in the exhibit. He argued that Curtis did not necessarily photograph traditional life as it had been, but rather Curtis staged his photographs to convey culture in the way he saw fit. While Dr. Redman was absolutely correct in his assertion, I felt that the Curtis' photographs represented a history that included not only cultural lifeways, albeit a bit skewed, but also the dynamics between the "outsiders" and tribal communities. There is no way to fully tell a traditional story without using western means of interpretation. The usage of photographs, film, and multi-media combines both traditional knowledge and the ways in which contemporary Native people interpret their culture to the present. It was important to demonstrate that since the time of colonization, Native people have lived between two worlds.

The informants that worked with Curtis by posing in the photographs adhered to both the traditional and western modes of interpretation. Curtis, as an ethnographer, was interpreting Native culture and perpetuating an image of the American Indian, as the noble savage, that did not exist. By displaying the Curtis photographs, I wanted the visitor to compare and contrast between Curtis and Chichizola's photos. While Curtis uses his informants to present a stoic and imaginary Indian, Chichizola's photographs present California Indians as entrenched in their culture and as contemporary people. Finally, the panel for "Tradition as Memory" gave a brief description of the importance of tradition in modern Hupa, Yurok, and Karuk culture. The panel also included a quote from Leaf Hillman where he described the importance, through tradition, of the Klamath River Basin.

Art as Memory

When I began the project, I envisioned the participation of Northwestern artists to help interpret the Klamath River Basin through works of art, both traditional and contemporary. In March 2013, I travelled to Eureka, California to visit the Morris Graves Museum of Art. The museum featured an exhibit, "River as Home" that included art from different North Coast Native artists including: Lyn Risling (Yurok/Hupa), Brittany Britton (Hupa), Annilea Hillman (Yurok), Julian Lang (Karuk), Charley Burns (Yurok), Kateri Masten (Hupa), and Brian Tripp (Yurok/Karuk). At the exhibit opening, I was able to speak to both Risling and Britton about participating in the project. They both agreed and were enthusiastic about the prospect of displaying their art at "Stories of the River." Risling sent my email to Julian Lang, artist and culture barrier for the Karuk tribe, and he expressed interest in being involved with the project.

I was very excited and honored that Risling and Lang agreed to be a part of the exhibit as both are renowned native artists. Annilea Hillman agreed after I contacted Leaf Hillman, Director of the Natural Resources Department for the Karuk tribe and her father-in-law, and Craig Tucker, Klamath Coordinator for the Karuk tribe, about participating in the oral histories. Annilea Hillman is an activist artist who designed much of the signage, t-shirts, and pamphlets for the Klamath Justice Coalition. After the four artists agreed to participate in the exhibit in Spring 2013, I set to work creating loan documents to transport the art from Humboldt County to Sacramento. While I was writing up loan agreements, I made sure the information of the patrons including email, address, and name were included. In addition, I identified the duration of the loan and the requirements of transportation as outlined in Lord & Lord.¹⁰²

I met with each artist in June 2013 to select the artwork, work out loan agreements, and arrange for transportation. The art from Lang and Risling was transported by Risling to Davis in September where I went to pick it up via car with my brother. Annilea's art was transported from Orleans to Sacramento via car in January of 2013. Britton's art was sent via United States Postal Service (USPS) in September of 2013. I insured the artwork as well in case anything happened in the exhibit, from vandalism or wear and tear, the museum and myself would be covered. The artwork was insured collectively for about \$4,000 through Sacramento State. I ended up selecting six pieces from Annilea Hillman, four from Lyn Risling, four from Julian Lang, and one from Brittany Britton. Each piece represented the artist's feeling for the cultural and natural resources of the Klamath River Basin as well as their tribal identity.

The panels for "Art as Memory" were minimal. I selected only a small half-sized didactic panel to interpret the art of the Klamath Justice Coalition represented by Annilea Hillman. Hillman's work was featured in one of the four middle exhibit cases. The Klamath Justice Coalition panel featured a brief history of the coalition and how it

¹⁰² Lord, *Museum Exhibitions*, 280

formed and a description of the objects featured in the exhibit case. In addition to the Klamath Justice Coalition panel, I added two panels for artist statements by Lyn Risling and Julian Lang to be featured near their paintings. The art of Risling and Lang was featured on the door-facing wall so visitors could see it prominently as they walked into the exhibit. Their art, along with the video, were the focal points of the exhibit. Brittany Britton's work was sculpture/mixed media pieces that featured a suitcase, Polaroid's, and jump dance materials. Her work was placed on a pedestal underneath Risling and Lang's art.

According to Lord & Lord, framed artwork should be hung on walls with "links and fixings" not easily removed.¹⁰³ Lang and Risling's art was hung in such a manner. Security for the exhibit was of the upmost importance. When the exhibit opened, Lang commented that he was concerned that the art may not be secure in the museum if only one docent was on duty. If possible, art should be quartered off with rope or barriers to keep visitors away.¹⁰⁴ Unfortunately, due to time constraints and inadequate materials, I was not able to do this. Instead, I specifically instructed the docents to keep an eye on all visitors that came into the museum especially when they were near the art. This was an imperfect compromise but fortunately, no art was damaged while the exhibit was at the CSUS Anthropology Museum.

¹⁰³ Lord, *Museum Exhibitions*, 129

¹⁰⁴ Lord, *Museum Exhibitions*, 129

Activism as Memory

The "Activism as Memory" section of the exhibit comprised both the introduction panel and a panel containing a brief history of activism on the Klamath River Basin. "Activism as Memory" incorporated photographs courtesy of Regina Chichizola. The combination of "Introduction" and "Activism as Memory" was done due to space constraints. While writing the panels I wanted to be sure that they complemented each other with the information they provided. The first panel titled "Introduction" included a brief overview of the issues of the basin. This panel mentioned other stakeholders of dam removal, the role individual activists played in the production of the exhibit, and the importance of the rivers to the Hupa, Karuk, and Yurok worldview.

The second panel, "Activism as Memory" elaborates on the importance of the river systems to the tribes and introduces the 2002 salmon die-offs. The salmon die offs helped to perpetuate the Klamath Restoration Agreements reached in 2010. Unlike the introduction panel, "Activism as Memory" includes, along with the remainder of the didactic panels, a quote from Klamath and Trinity River activists. In this panel, Hayley Hutt (Hupa) is quoted regarding the importance of activism relating to the different levels of government, including the Senate, Assembly, and Executive branches. "Activism as Memory" is comprised of different photographs from Regina Chichizola (Karuk), Media Coordinator for the Hoopa Valley Tribe and river activist. She provided all of the photographs found in the exhibit with proper permissions and releases. The photographs included a wide range of subjects: demonstrations in Portland, Oregon and Scotland, the Iron Gate and JC Boyle dams, dead fish in toxic algae, and river activists as they stood

near protest signage. This was to show visitors the devastation the dams wrought on the rivers and the activism against the dams by the native people who depended on the rivers for sustenance.

Object selection

The CSUS Anthropology Museum installed four permanent exhibit cases when the museum was initially built. This allows curators to rotate different exhibits without the need to move heavy glass cases. The exhibit cases, measuring about 7 x 1 feet were cumbersome, and I had difficulty using the cases to convey the themes of the exhibit. Initially, I wanted fluidity in the exhibit. I wanted the visitor to easily move from one section of the space to another. The glass cases made this nearly impossible. Instead of fluidity, I had to accept that visitors would start the exhibit where they saw fit. I made sure that wherever visitors decided to start, they would gather information in a way that made sense. Every individual section would tell a story that built to a whole.

A museum collects because the institution believes that objects are worthy of study and that the objects offer a powerful educational tool absorbed by the masses visiting exhibitions.¹⁰⁵ The objects selected for this exhibit included materials from the CSUS Anthropology Museum collection and the California Indian Heritage Center. I was able to borrow many of the baskets because I established a personal relationship with the two curators of the museums, Ileana Maestas of the California Indian Heritage Center and Terri Castaneda of the CSUS Anthropology Museum. The CSUS Anthropology Museum

¹⁰⁵ Alexander, Museums in Motion, 189

held the Cotton Collection, which included basketry from the Hupa, Yurok, and Karuk tribes. Although the collection did not formally belong to the participants of the exhibit, the baskets did come from the culture of origin and they were significant to the three tribes through traditional practices. I borrowed four basketry caps and three twined baskets from the Cotton Collection to display in the exhibit. The California Indian Heritage Center holds several thousand pieces of basketry at their facility at McClellan Air Force Base in North Highlands, California. For the exhibit, I chose two pieces to be displayed from their collection, a fishing net made of cotton twill and an eel trap. I wanted patrons of the museum to view traditional fishing materials. Many tribal members teach their children how to fish in the "old ways" to continue a connection between tradition and modern life.

The exhibit cases in "Stories of the River" were not ideal to showcase the full beauty of the basketry. Museum exhibit cases should be accessible for people of different eye levels between the height levels of 43 and 57 inches.¹⁰⁶ The purpose of exhibiting the basketry was to showcase the craftsmanship of the basket on display. I placed all the baskets at a level that patrons could easily view. The cases were tall and this was a challenge for visibility. Some of the baskets were placed up high with the bottom of the basket showing. The baskets selected for these positions were beautifully patterned at the bottom for optimal viewing.

I placed the eel trap and basket caps in the first exhibit case so patrons would see those items first. They were the most eye-catching of all the pieces. The basketry from

¹⁰⁶ Lord, *Museum Exhibitions*, 138

the Cotton Collection was placed in the exhibit case closest to the video projection. This was to add some visual interest to the exhibit case, which sat in an odd position in the gallery. Finally, the fish net was placed in the exhibit case closest to Lang and Risling's art. The net was laid out so that patrons could view the net and the workmanship that went into creating it. There was no easy way to adequately display the objects without obstructing them. The exhibit cases were cumbersome and made it difficult to interpret the information adequately. I had to work with what I had and given the circumstances the exhibit turned out coherently despite the cases.

Video Projection

Although I had initially envisioned using interactive elements such as scavenger hunts, quizzes, and games I decided to remove these elements because the exhibit predominately catered to an adult audience. Very few children were projected to visit the museum located on the California State University, Sacramento (CSUS) campus. Although Lord & Lord advocate for inclusivity of all ages in museum exhibition, I specifically geared the exhibit toward an adult audience.¹⁰⁷ I am now certain this was the wrong decision. Despite no child patrons to the exhibit, I think having an interactive element, such as a touch station with an abalone shell or crayons to color a body of water, would have engaged adults as well as children. Instead of the interactive component, I incorporated a video projection of the edited oral histories. My brother, Michael Vincent Mahlon Orona, edited the ten hours of oral histories into a thirty-minute video. When the

¹⁰⁷ Lord. *Museum Exhibitions*, 130

video was fully edited, my brother put it on a DVD format and posted it to YouTube. The Honors Program at CSUS lent a video projector for the exhibit. I used the DVD to play the project on a blank screen of an exhibit wall. The video, entitled "Stories of the River, Stories of the People: Memory on the Klamath River Basin," played on a continuous loop when the exhibit was open so visitors could listen to the oral histories. The video consisted of remembrances of the Klamath River and its tributaries from activists, elders, non-native allies, and tribal members invested in the health of the rivers. There were chairs in the gallery space for visitors to sit and listen if they chose or wander through the exhibit as they saw fit.

Participation

Originally, a group of ten community members representing members of the Hupa, Yurok, Karuk tribes and non-native allies were selected based on their relationship with the following: Northwestern California grassroots activism; indigenous art that depicted water struggles; cultural ties; and knowledge of the issues of the Klamath River Basin. The proposed participants to the oral histories were Cutcha Risling Baldy (Hupa), Charlie Burns (Yurok), Leo Carpenter (Hupa), Allie Hostler (Hupa), Hayley Hutt (Hupa), Jack Kohler (Yurok), Mahlon Marshall (Hupa) Frankie Myers (Yurok), Craig Tucker, and Molli White (Karuk). While the final participants of the oral history reflected most of the original members of the proposed project, three had to drop out because of scheduling conflicts, one acted as a participant to the plenary session that accompanied the opening of the exhibit in October 2013, and one acted as consultant to the project. As a result, three new members were added to the oral history sessions, Annilea Hillman (Yurok), Leaf Hillman (Karuk), and Byron Nelson Jr. (Hupa), bringing the final number of oral history participants to eight.

Much of the funding for the exhibit came from my own resources with the help of the CSUS History Department and the University Enterprises, Inc. (UEI) Campus Grant program. I applied for the UEI Campus Grant in October 2012 and got notification I received the award in December of 2012. The CSUS History Department granted the exhibit about \$400 in funds for the manufacture of photographic panels and the UEI Campus Grant Program granted \$850 for the editing of the oral history video. To help with installation, design, and panel editing, I placed a call for docents to the Native American Studies, History, and Anthropology departments at CSUS in the spring of 2013. I spent approximately nine months training the docents who responded to the call. The installation and staffing of the exhibit was made possible with the help of CSUS Anthropology, Native American Studies, and Public History student docents: Allan Jason Sarmiento, Alicia Castaneda, Sam Skow, Matthew Walker, Gloria Brown, Hayley Williams, Margaret Jenson, Amy Long, Valerie Garcia, Erin Bostwick, and Michael McNeil. I trained the docents on the history of the Klamath River Basin, tribal perspectives on water rights, installation techniques, interpretation techniques, and the opening and closing procedures for the exhibit. The docent training involved about ten two-hour-long sessions, for a total of twenty hours of docent training.

The docents were asked to choose times to volunteer that fit with their school/work schedules. The museum would be open from Tuesday to Friday from 12-

3pm when the exhibit went up. Most docents were able to work a full shift but some had to split their time between two one and a half hour days. While the exhibit was open, there was never a problem with conflicting work schedules. The museum was open everyday it was scheduled to be.

Ileana Maestas, Curator of the California Indian Heritage Center, and Dr. Terri Castaneda, Curator of the CSUS Anthropology Museum, both loaned the objects, including basketry, fishing tools, and netting, from their respective collections. I worked with Maestas for several years at the California State Indian Museum and, based on my relationship with her, was able to secure a loan of objects from the California Indian Heritage Center. Four Northern California Native artists, Julian Lang (Karuk), Lyn Risling (Yurok/Hupa), Brittany Britton (Hupa), and Annilea Hillman (Yurok), all submitted artwork to the exhibit. Lang and Risling submitted oil paintings, Britton submitted a sculpture piece, and Hillman loaned activist art in the form of signs, t-shirts, and posters. Much of the submission of the artwork was made possible by my personal relationship with the artists. I am distantly related to Risling and Britton and I are both members of the Native Women's Collective non-profit based out of Arcata, California.

Tribal interest in the project was also propagated by word of mouth. As often happens in smaller communities, one person will talk to another and they will hear about a project and express interest in becoming involved. This was how I was able to not only garner community support but also involve the community in the exhibit planning stages. Regina Chichizola (Karuk), media coordinator for the Hoopa Valley Tribe, allowed for the publication of her personal photographs of activists and Allie Hostler (Hupa), editor in chief of the *Two Rivers Tribune*, actively promoted the exhibit through the local newspaper. Both Chichizola and Hostler are friendly with one of the oral history participants, Cutcha Risling Baldy. Allie and I are also distant cousins. The importance of community involvement in this project cannot be stressed enough. In tribal communities, the dependence on health, prosperity, and well-being rest squarely on the shoulders of the people within those communities. We depend on each other, and depend on the natural resources surrounding us, to survive both physically and spiritually. Family ties interconnect tribal communities, especially within the Hupa, Yurok, and Karuk cultures. This tight knit community, and my membership within the Hoopa Valley Tribe, not only gave me credibility to facilitate the project but also allowed for openness that an "outsider" would not enjoy. "Stories of the River" was a project that portrayed the indigenous significance of the Klamath River Basin from an insider's prospective.

My older brother, Michael Vincent Mahlon Orona, and I conducted the oral history recordings and video editing from January to March 2013. Michael and I travelled for two weeks between January and March to conduct the oral histories in Orleans, Davis, Weitchpec, and Hoopa, California. I met many people in their homes and spent a considerable amount of time with each participant. I also drafted a release form indicating that I could use their image and words for the exhibition and transcription. The eight oral histories we recorded totaled approximately twelve hours of interview time. While I initially wanted the oral histories to be transcribed and donated to the Humboldt Room at Humboldt State Special Collections and University Archives by the completion of the project, I have still not transcribed the audio recordings in their entirety. There are future transcription plans and oral histories to be conducted on land use issues in Northern California.

Michael spent the month of September 2013 editing the twelve hours of oral histories into the thirty-minute video that played in the exhibition. The video, "Stories of the River, Stories of the People: Memory on the Klamath River Basin," is currently available for viewing at: <u>http://youtu.be/UNoywheXt4M</u>. In addition to the help of my brother, Samuel Sellers, Senior Graphic Designer at UC Davis School of Law, offered his services pro bono. Sellers designed the posters announcing the exhibit, the title of the exhibit, and also designed and fabricated the textual panels for the exhibit. Sellers and Orona's work as well as the final installation of the exhibit can be viewed in the appendix of this thesis. In every way, "Stories of the River, Stories of the People: Memory on the Klamath River Basin," was a community-based project.

Presentations

Since the inception of the exhibit, I have presented the history of the Klamath River Basin along with the purposes of the exhibit to a wide variety of audiences. Most of my presentations have been at academic conferences. These presentations have included elements of exhibit design, shared authority, tribal sovereignty, history, and memory production. A list of presentations is provided below. Although, some of the presentations were not specifically related to "Stories of the River," they incorporated elements of tribal activism, Native American religious rights, and land use issues as related to museum exhibition.

- "This is our home, this is our land," Exhibition, memory, and activism in High Country and the Klamath River Basin," Proposed session with the Environmental Justice Panel at Western Lands, Western Voices: The American West Center at 50 symposium, September 19th-September 21st, 2014
- "The State of Indigenous Public History: Maintaining a Compatible Approach in a Rapidly Changing Field," Panel Member with Jean-Pierre Morin (Moderator), Mattea Sanders, Shae Adams, and Jacob Orcutt, Annual Meeting of the National Council on Public History Conference: Monterey, California, March 22nd, 2014
- Lyng V. Northwest Indian Cemetery Protective Association: 25 Years Later Symposium: Paper Presentation-"Challenging the Conqueror: Indian Activism and Memory through Lyng V. Northwest Indian Cemetery Protective Association" UC Davis School of Law, November 8th, 2013
- California Indian Conference, Sacramento State University: Panel Coordinator/Member, "River of Renewal" Film Presentation and Panel Member with Julian Lang, Hayley Hutt, Jack Kohler-University Ballroom, October 3rd, 2013
- "Stories of the River, Stories of the People: Memory on the Klamath River Basin"
 Paper Presentation: Sacramento Anthropological Society Conference, May 4th,
 2013
- "Stories of the River, Stories of the People: Memory on the Klamath River Basin"
 Paper Presentation: One World Initiative Conference, April 29th, 2013

The presentations demonstrated the history of the Klamath River Basin and also raised awareness of the exhibit. The purpose of all the presentations was to demonstrate the importance of the river systems to people who did not know the history of the Klamath River Basin and the people who lived along its shores. The presentations also allowed me to hone my public speaking skills and narrow down what context should be included in the exhibition.

Future of the Exhibit

After "Stories of the River" closed in December 2013, the exhibit went on hiatus for three months. The exhibit was designed to travel with some elements, such as artwork and artifacts, interchangeable. Since most of the art and objects were on loan, I was not able to incorporate these into any traveling plans. However, I made sure that I was able to carry the matted photographs, panels, and video to any available location. "Stories of the River," was on loan at the Maidu Museum and Historic Site in Roseville, California from March 15th, 2014-July 16th, 2014. I had previously worked at the Maidu Museum and knew Museum Manager, Mark Murphy and Sigrid Benson, Cultural Arts Coordinator. With their support, "Stories of the River" was partially displayed at the museum.

One of the considerations of a special or traveling exhibit, according to Edward Alexander, is how objects are transported and packed.¹⁰⁸ Curators must ask themselves how to transport objects, how to handle loans, and how to pack objects safely and with care. According to Alexander, transportation should be carefully planned with respective

¹⁰⁸ Alexander, *Museums in Motion*, 224

institutions and support staff from both sites ready to pack and unload the exhibit.¹⁰⁹ Objects must "rest" after arriving at a host institution in the gallery. As "Stories of the River" the exhibit was so small, I was able to transport it from the CSUS Anthropology Museum to the Maidu Museum in a hatchback. Most of the objects featured in the original design were not used in the travelling exhibit. All of the objects used in the original exhibit were on loan and had to be returned to either the artist or institution they belonged to. Some of the matte photographs were dropped in the process of transportation but with some care, like steaming the matte board, the photograph was straightened out to original size. The objects that travelled for "Stories of the River" included the matte photographs from Edward Curtis and Chichizola as well as the DVD of the oral history played in the exhibit.

"Stories of the River," as of summer 2014, is in negotiations to travel to the People's Center in Orleans, California. The People's Center is the Karuk Tribal cultural resources center and museum. Orleans is the traditional home to the Karuk people and holds all of tribal administrative offices. The exhibit will also be hosted by the Native Women's Collective website. The Native Women's Collective is a non-profit based out of Arcata, California and headed by Cutcha Risling Baldy (Hupa, Yurok). The collective has agreed to act as the host for the online exhibit. The website launched in mid-August and can be viewed at <u>http://www.nativewomenscollective.org/storiesoftheriver.html</u>. "Stories of the River" allows for the continence of the exhibit through different mediums. The web exhibit will display the exhibition as it was at the CSUS Anthropology Museum.

¹⁰⁹ Alexander, *Museums in Motion*, 225

The travelling exhibit will allow tribal communities to add the objects and art they wish to display in relation to the river issues. Based on word of mouth, the exhibit has grown to a moderately sized travelling exhibition serving both the Native American and non-Native communities.

Conclusion

"Stories of the River, Stories of the People: Memory on the Klamath River Basin" was a multi-media exhibit that described the meaning and memory of the Klamath River Basin to the Hupa, Yurok, and Karuk people. The exhibit privileged the native perspective on the history of the basin and shared editorial authority with the participants. The exhibit used western means of interpretation to describe traditional and contemporary practices of the three tribes. "Stories of the River" was a small exhibition that addressed issues of memory production, ways of knowing, and cross-cultural interactions. The exhibit used design techniques in the form of video production, art, photographs, and contextual panels to interpret the basin. "Stories of the River" was open from October to December of 2013 included six scholarly presentations, opened at the 2013 California Indian Conference, functioned as an online exhibit, and became a travelling exhibit.

Despite all the work that went into the exhibit, it is nothing compared to the dedication and drive of the activists of the Hupa, Yurok, and Karuk tribes. Today, the Klamath River and its tributaries are in the greatest of danger. The drought of 2014 has created deadly conditions on the river, toxic algae blooms fill the water, and another

catastrophic fish kill appears imminent. "Stories of the River" is a small exhibit and its aim was not merely to relay the story of tribal activism. The exhibit developed in the hope of raising awareness about the conservation and preservation of our natural resources. Simply, the earth cannot function if humans destroy it. As Byron Nelson remarked in the "Stories of the River" video: "I am not afraid of people blowing each other up, I am afraid of what the earth might do to us." There has never been a more appropriate time to reflect on land use management then today. The natural resources of California do not hold spiritual meaning for all those who encounter them; in fact our society has taught us to ignore the detrimental effects of our actions. The Hupa, Yurok, and Karuk people, along with many other Native American tribes, believe in everything we do we must consider the effects of our actions on the next seven generations. Ultimately, it is up to this generation to remember the rivers, remember the oceans, remember the land, and remember the beings that live in those habitats. If we forget, we may lose all that is precious in the world around us.

APPENDIX A

Exhibition Photos

APPENDIX B

Forms and Procedures



Figure 1: Entrance to the CSUS Anthropology Museum Gallery

Introduction

The Klamath River Basin sustains the life of the many people who live along its river banks. Farmers in Oregon and Central California depend on the rivers of the basin to irrigate their crops. Local towns depend on the water to provide electricity and heat through hydroelectric damming. Recreationalists depend on the rivers to provide an outlet away from the concerns of everyday life through fishing and boating.

For time immemorial, the Hupa, Yurok, and Karuk tribes have lived along the banks of the Klamath, Trinity, and Salmon Rivers. Their homelands and the rivers that course through them are the center of their world. The rivers are central to sacred ceremonies, such as the World Renewal Dances, and provide physical nourishment in the form of salmon, trout, and eel. With the damming of the Klamath River Basin between 1908 and 1962, the health of the Klamath River Basin has steadily deteriorated. Since 2002, tribes have worked to remove four dams (Iron Gate, Corpco 1, Corpco 2, and JC Boyle) in order to heal the river basin.

This exhibit is an effort to document the struggles of the Klamath River Basin through the remembrances of those who fight to protect it. This exhibit does not speak for all members of the Hupa, Yurok, and Karuk tribes. It is an effort to document the Klamath River Basin through various modes of memory production from select individuals. All the items you will see in this exhibit are on loan from different tribal activists, artists, and elders and in some cases, non-Native allies. The items represent the memories of tribal members who have invested their energy in preserving the Klamath River Basin for generations to come.

Figure 2: Introduction Panel

Activism as Memory

The importance of the Klamath River Basin stretches beyond water allocations and irrigation. The basin is the source of all life, both spiritual and physical, to the tribes of the Klamath River Basin. The building of irrigation and hydroelectric dams along the Klamath River Basin from 1908 to 1962 severely threatened tribal ways of life by reducing the amount of water allocated to the Klamath River and its tributaries. In 2002, after a devastating fish kill that decimated upward of 70,000 adult chinook salmon due to the low water levels, tribal members and non-native allies, formed the Klamath Justice Coalition. This grassroots organization protested the Klamath River Dams at

ScottishPower in Scotland, PacifiCorp headquarters in Nebraska, and the Bureau of Reclamation in Sacramento, California. The demonstrations were held in the hope that private and public agencies would acknowledge the fish kill and prevent such an event from occurring again. As a result of these protests, the Klamath Basin Restoration Agreement of 2010 was signed to appease all interested parties. The KBRA will remove the dams by 2020 but terminates tribal senior water rights; it is still a point of contention among tribal groups, irrigators, and agencies. The photos you see on this wall document a fraction of the Klamath River demonstrations.

"So I will never forget it, and it drives me when I testify before congress, when I meet with senators, when I meet with their staff and the senate committees, congressional committees, even when we meet with Governor Brown's office and the Secretary . . . our number one fight is water for salmon. We need to make sure there's enough water for salmon." - Hayley Hutt, January 2013

Figure 3: Activism as Memory Panel



Figure 4: Activism as Memory gallery wall

Lyn Risling

Artist Statement

Through my art I try to reflect the beauty of my culture and my environment, while reaching for a deeper level of understanding of our connection to the Earth and all living things, and also of our job of "Fixing the Earth."

I am a descendent of the Karuk, Yurok and Hupa peoples who have lived along the Klamath and Trinity Rivers for thousands of years. The river was and still is the life force that runs through the land and has provided for our people in so many ways. It is central to our amazing ecosystem of plants, animals, fish, birds and other living things who always lived in balance with my ancestors. The rivers are the spawning grounds for the Salmon, which has always been our main food source. Every year we hold ceremonies, as our people did long ago, to restore balance to the world and give thanks for all that Earth has provided.

However there is much unbalance in the world we live in today. The rivers are now suffering from low water flows brought on by dams and water being diverted to other parts of the state for agriculture, and also global warming. As a result, our salmon and other life that depend on the river, are suffering as well. When our salmon die a part of us dies. As human beings it is all of our responsibility to work toward restoring balance to the Earth.

Artist Biography: Lyn Risling's art is informed by the cultures of her paternal grandfather and grandmother, of the Karuk, Yurok, and Hupa peoples of the Klamath and Trinity Rivers in Northern California. As descendents of ceremonial and cultural leaders, her family have long been involved in traditional tribal arts such as basket weaving and ceremonial regalia as well as more contemporary art forms. Lyn has also been influenced by her mother and grandmother who were both illustrators and painters.

While developing her skills in illustration and painting, Lyn also became involved in her Native cultures. She has been active in the renewal of tribal ceremonies and traditions, including ceremonial regalia. In the 1990's Lyn and her partner, Julian Lang, initiated the return of the Karuk girls' puberty ceremony that had been dormant for over 100 years. Lyn received a woman's "One Eleven" chin tattoo several years ago, a tribute of honor and respect to her female ancestors and a reafirmation of her commitment to her culture.

Lyn received a national Community Spirit Award in 2004 from First Peoples Fund for her artwork and commitment to her Native culture and community. She had her first solo show in 2005 at the Carl Gorman Museum Gallery at the University of California at Davis, where she received her B.A. Degree. In recent years besides creating her own work, Lyn has worked with Native youth, sharing traditional and ongoing cultural knowledge through art.

Figure 5: Lyn Risling artist statement



Figure 6: Lyn Risling paintings in Art as Memory gallery wall

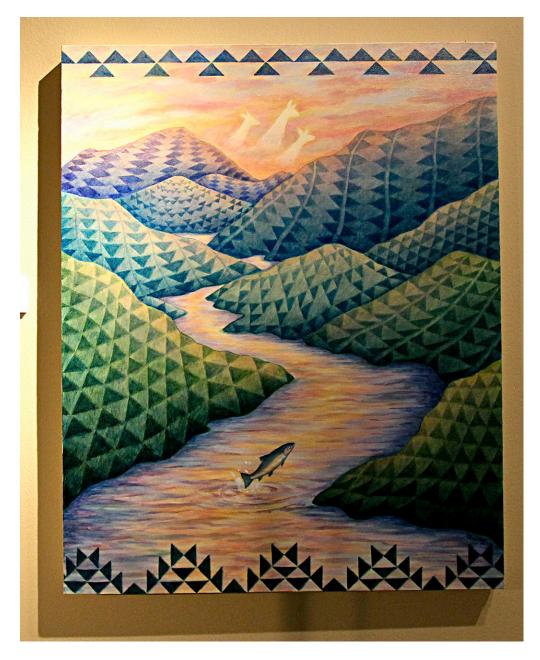


Figure 7: Cheemyach ik' ishyaat

(Hurry Up Spring Salmon)

Lyn Risling, 2012

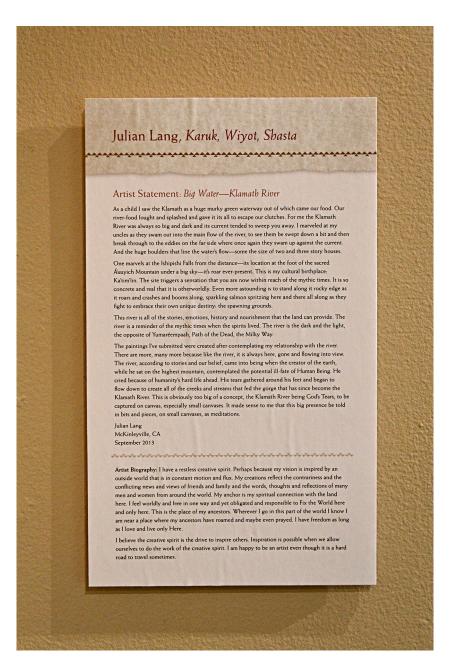


Figure 8: Julian Lang artist statement



Figure 9: Julian Lang paintings in Art as Memory gallery wall

Tradition as Memory

The Hupa, Yurok, and Karuk tribes have lived on the Klamath River Basin for generations. Traditional practices changed with the advent of European culture in the 1850s. Despite this shift, tribal members rivers are not merely water. The continue to set net, fish, and perform ceremonies, such as the Boat Dance, on the rivers. Fish are distributed to elders and families. Each family maintains fishing spots allocated to them through the generations. All life on the Klamath

River Basin is supported by the water that sustains the valleys, creeks, and tributaries through fishing and ceremony. To the tribes of Northwestern California, the rivers represent a living relative who must be honored to sustain life. The photos you see in this section demonstrate the traditional and modern uses of the Klamath River Basin for the tribes of Northwestern California.

"I like to say, at the beginning of time, prior to bumans, there were spirit people who roamed the earth. And at the time of the great transformation, some of those spirit people were transformed into the rocks and the trees and the water and the air, the fish, the sun, the moon, the stars. And then some of those spirit people were transformed into human beings at that same time. And so when you follow that logic, it's obvious that everything that exists in nature is your close relative, you are related, you have common roots, you come from the same place. And those spirit people have a responsibility, one to another as relations, and so it's a reciprocal relationship that is built on codependence. All of the things that we rely on for our survival as buman beings, those are all our relatives and we couldn't survive without those relatives." - Leaf Hillman, January 2013

Figure 10: Tradition as Memory panel



Figure 11: Tradition as Memory gallery wall

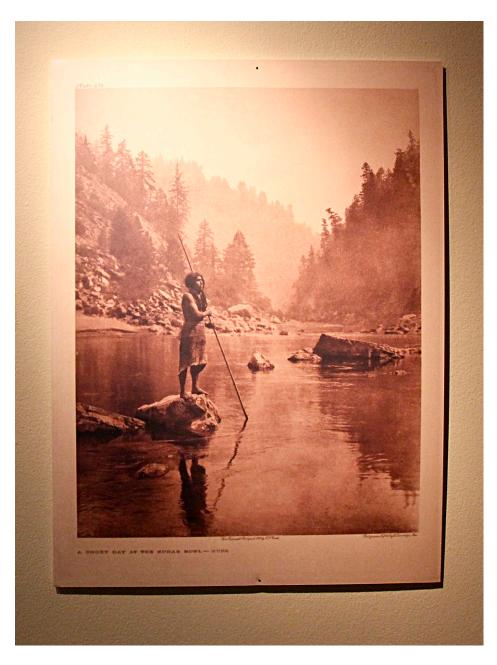


Figure 12: Smokey Day on the Sugar Bowl-Hupa

Edward Curtis, 1923

Courtesy of Library of Congress



Figure 13: Basketry exhibit case



Figure 14: Trinket Basket-Hupa

Courtesy of Cotton Collection-CSUS Anthropology Museum



Figure 15: Ornamental Basket-Karuk and Yurok

Courtesy of CSUS Anthropology Museum



Figure 16: Exhibit case with fishing net



Figure 17: Exhibit case with eel trap and basket caps



Figure 18: Basket Cap-Hupa

Courtesy of Cotton Collection-CSUS Anthropology Museum



Figure 19: Eel Trap

Courtesy of California Indian Heritage Center, California State Parks

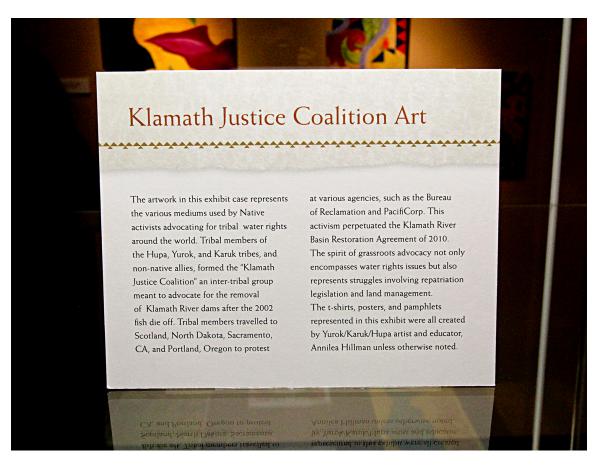


Figure 20: Klamath Justice Coalition Art panel



Figure 21: Exhibit case with Klamath Justice Coalition Art



Figure 22: Klamath Justice Coalition art by Annilea Hillman



Figure 23: Repatriation Now! By Annilea Hillman



Figure 24: Sell your soul? By Annilea Hillman



Figure 25: Tribal Rites are Not Negotiable by Annilea Hillman



Figure 26: Will not wait by Annilea Hillman

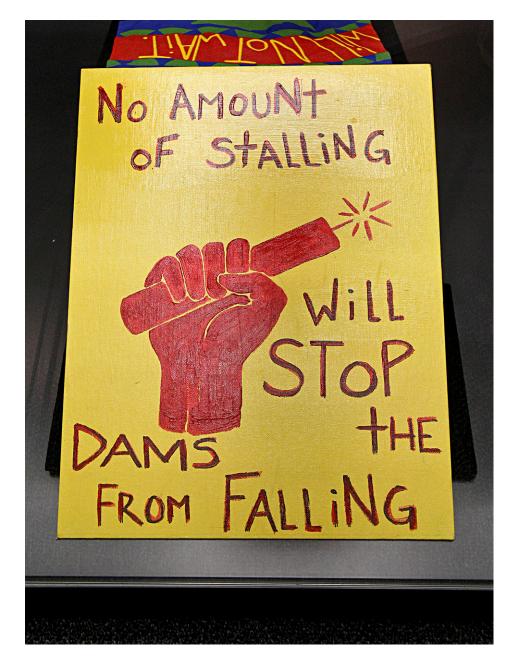


Figure 27: No Amount of Stalling will Stop the Dams from Falling by Annilea Hillman

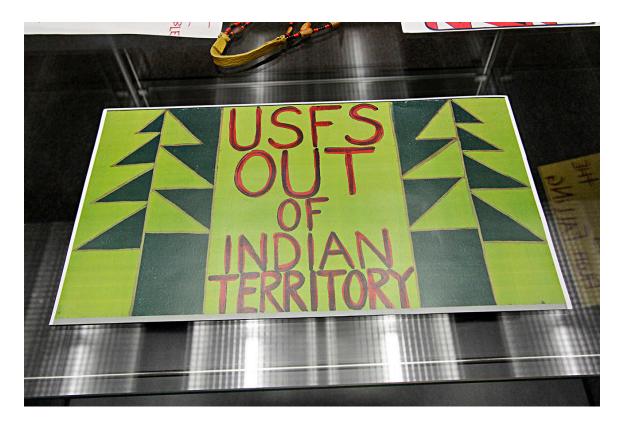


Figure 28: USFS out of Indian Territory by Annilea Hillman



Figure 29: "Stories of the River, Stories of the People: Memory on the Klamath River Basin" video gallery projection



Figure 30: Fish net and Art as Memory wall



Figure 31: Gallery shot of "Stories of the River, Stories of the People: Memory on the Klamath River Basin. Facing toward the Activism as Memory wall and "Stories of the River" video projection

Opening and Closing Procedures for Exhibit

Below you will find the opening and closing procedures for the exhibit:

"Stories of the River, Stories of the People: Memory on the Klamath River Basin"

Hours: 12pm-3pm (Tuesdays-Fridays)

Special opening times are available! Tell them to contact me at <u>Brorona@hotmail.com</u> or 916-390-5167

Opening:

1.) Go to the Anthropology Department Office (Mendocino Hall, 4010) and sign out Museum Key from Ana Guiterrez, Office Manager. PLEASE BE SURE TO BE AT THE ANTHROPOLOGY DEPARTMENT OFFICETO PICK UP THE KEY NO LATER THAN 11:45am.

The office closes from 12-1 for lunch. You need to get the key before then.

- Go to the Museum and open the front door (the door that guests will be coming in and out of)
- 3.) <u>Turn on the exhibit lights</u>-they will be the black control panels by the light switches. Be sure to only push the TOP buttons on these panels. There will be instructions on the panel on how to turn on the lights. They are all preset so it is important not to touch the other buttons.
- 4.) <u>Turn on the exhibit cases-</u> The light switches for the exhibit cases will be located on the top, right hand side of each case. With your palms down, reach up to the

top and feel for the switch. You will be able to turn on the cases by pushing the switch.

- 5.) <u>Turn on the DVD and Projector-</u> The power surge for the projector and DVD will be unplugged. Be sure to plug this into the floor socket. (FINISH THESE INSTRUCTIONS)
- 6.) <u>Note any problems-</u> Please walk around the exhibit and note any problems you may find. Just be sure to check for dirty glass on exhibit case, check the artifacts to make sure they are not damaged in some way check the art and the photographs and make sure all is in order. Also, be sure to check that the front vinyl letters are still stuck to the wall. If some of it is peeling, please push it back into place.
- 7.) <u>Opening</u>: When all done, open the front, left door and raise the blinds on the second door. This is to insure guests know the exhibit is open
- 8.) This should all be done before (and at) 12pm if possible.

Closing:

- <u>Shut the front door-</u> At 3pm, be sure to shut the front door and close the blinds of the right side door.
- 2.) <u>Turn off the exhibit cases:</u> Be sure to turn off the exhibit cases in the same way you turned them on. This is very important. Dr. Castaneda was very adamant about the exhibit cases turned off every night.
- <u>Turn off the DVD and Projector-</u> Please be sure to do this individually. (FINISH THESE INSTRUCTIONS)

- 4.) <u>Note any problems</u>- Please walk around at the end of the shift and note any problems you may find with the exhibit (this is listed in Opening section)
- 5.) <u>Turn off lights:</u> they will be the black control panels by the light switches. Be sure to only push the BOTTOM buttons on these panels. There will be instructions on the panel on how to turn on the lights. They are all preset so it is important not to touch the other buttons.

Rules for the Exhibit:

- Please no eating in the exhibit. Coffee and Water is fine but nothing sticky (I.e. Soda, juice, etc.)
- Please ask guests to not bring in food or drink. A closed top bottle or coffee is fine...cliff bars are tolerable...just not a picnic lunch...
- 3.) Make sure no one touches the art or photography.
- 4.) Keep an eye on the projector and DVD player.
- 5.) Be vigilant-it's alright to do homework or another task when no one is in the exhibit but please keep an eye on guests when they are in the Museum
- 6.) Talk to guests! Ask if they have any questions. If you don't know something it is perfectly acceptable to say so.
- 7.) Have fun!
- If you can't be in for whatever reason, please let me know as soon as possible to find a replacement. I would prefer a week in advance but I understand emergencies happen. My contact information is above.

I'm sure more will come up as we go along so be prepared for updates. Thanks so much for all your help! This exhibit would not function without you.

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Oral History Release Form

Oral History of the Klamath River Basin A project of the CSUS Anthropology Museum and CSUS Public History Program Winter 2012-Spring 2013 California State University, Sacramento Brittani Orona

In consideration of the recording and preservation of my oral history interview, I hereby grant, assign, and transfer to the Department of Public History at CSUS, all rights, including all literary and property rights unless restricted as noted below, to publish, duplicate, or otherwise use and dispose of the recording(s) and/or transcribed interview(s) conducted on

This includes the rights of publication in electronic form, such as placement on the Internet/Web for access by that medium. I hereby give the above mentioned Department the right to distribute the recording(s) and/or transcription to any other libraries and educational institutions for scholarly and educational uses and purposes.

Note any restrictions below:

Signature of Narrator:	
Dated:	
Narrator's name as he/she wishes it to be used:	
Narrator's address:	—
Narrator's phone number: ()	
Signature of Interviewer:	
Dated:	
Interviewer's address:	
Interviewer's phone number: ()	
Signature of representative, CSUS Public History Program:	

Oral History Interview Questions

1) Please introduce yourself. Name, title, and tribal affiliation

2.) Where were you born and where did you grow up?

3.) What are your earliest memories of the Klamath River basin? Do you remember stories, either traditional or contemporary, from elders, parents, family members about water or the rivers? Please tell me.

4.) What was your impression of the rivers growing up? how has your perception changed with time? What are your fondest memories of the rivers?

5.) How have you viewed the rivers through your tribe or community? What meaning have you derived of the rivers from the community as a whole? Traditionally and culturally?

6.) Do you remember the first ceremony, such as the brush dance and world renewal dances, you attended? Did the rivers play an important role in these ceremonies to you? How so?

5.) Why should the public be aware of the effects of the dams on the salmon and traditional ways of life on the Klamath River basin? How does it connect to wider water rights issues?

6.) Describe your artwork and artistry and how it relates to the rivers, the Karuk culture7.) How did you get involved in dam removal? what events lead to your interest in river restoration?

8.) What events, personally and outside the community, shape the activism and career

path you became involved in? Please describe

9.) Please describe the effects of the salmon die off of 2002 to yourself and the tribal community as a whole What changes did you notice? What was the general reaction?10.How has this activism shaped you personally?

11.) What changes would you like to see to the Klamath basin restoration agreement? What are the fundamental problems with the agreement, as you see it?

12.) What is the future of the dams, the salmon, and the Klamath River Basin? How can differing groups work together for a solution?

13.) What would you like the outside community to know about the Karuk and river restoration, from your perspective?

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