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**ARCHITECTURAL TRIBALISM
in The Native American New World**

by
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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(Architecture and Anthropology)
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Architectural Tribalism in the Native American New World

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**Acknowledging the memory of a vacuous low-cut burgundy dress that shows
a lot of thigh--but dedicated to my ancestors and their descendents.**

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CHAPTER 1: CENTERING

(Fore/Back)ground

During the last five centuries, the original peoples of the western hemisphere have been struggling for survival in the European new world. Survival not only as an imposed, misconceived, homogeneous collectivity, but survival also as distinct communities living within established homelands and religions. Contrary to the sometimes overt, often covert, policies of territorial, state, provincial and federal authorities, many tribal groups survive and thrive today. But there are problems. Health, education, economic and social indices continue to communicate that many tribal peoples are in dire straits. In these "appalling indices of social disorder of the tribal peoples," however, "Westerners see only continued disruption and, being unaccustomed to viewing life as a totality, cannot understand the persistence of the tribal peoples in preserving their communities, lands, and religions" (Deloria 1973: 300).

Communities, lands, and religions¹; these, then, are central concerns of tribal peoples. Tribal peoples desire to maintain and perpetuate their unique identities, to retain and re-acquire their lands and the use of them, and to practice their sacred rituals and enjoy respect for their religious beliefs. Unfortunately, their efforts are often thwarted and the only recourse usually is the United States government. Tribal peoples are distinct from minority or ethnic groups²; they have one set of rights because they are

citizens of the United States and another set of rights retained for them by their ancestors through treaties and treaty substitutes³. In response to threats against their communities or their lands, they must often depend on judicial interpretation of these government to government agreements to insure their recognition and their land base⁴. Tribal peoples' religions, on the other hand, were not protected by such agreements and it was only with the passage of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act in 1978 that the federal government recognized the practice of indigenous religions in the land of religious freedom. Yet even today tribal peoples' religious freedom is not assured. In fact, their religious beliefs and practices are often called into question, curtailed, dismissed, or outlawed.

Tribal peoples constitute tribal communities. And tribal communities, for all intents and purposes, are inseparable from federal policies and politics. A tribal community, or tribe, "is simply a group of Indians that is recognized as constituting a distinct and historically continuous political entity for at least some governmental purposes" (Canby 1988: 4). Since the lands within what are now the United States of America were occupied and controlled by tribal peoples, and because the European immigrants could not or would not totally eradicate those tribal peoples, the federal government had to obtain lands through a process that they judged internationally justifiable. Their phenomenally successful (from the viewpoint of non-tribal peoples) acquisition of tribal lands was carried out through treaties and treaty substitutes which often reserved and set aside lands for the "use, possession, and benefit" (Pevar 1992: 19) of a tribe. The reserved lands, or reservations, were "intended to establish homelands for the tribes, islands of tribalism largely free from interference by non-Indians or future state governments" (Wilkinson 1987: 14). The establishment and perpetuation of a

tribe's reservation normally ensured that tribe's federal recognition⁵, a recognition that "has traditionally been held to be a political one not subject to judicial review" (Canby 1988: 5). Tribes, under this definition, are political both internally and in relation to external governments. Tribes are not aggregations of "racially" homogeneous people, but instead political entities possessing government to government relations with the federal government⁶. In other words, tribes are sovereign nations⁷.

There is, however, a non-political definition of tribal communities that is not the product of negotiated settlements involving European-derived concepts, though it is evident in those agreements⁸. "At almost every treaty . . . the concern of the Indians was the preservation of the people" (Deloria 1984: 8), a concern that definitely preceded the arrival of Europeans in the western hemisphere. According to Deloria (1984: 8):

The idea of the people is primarily a religious conception, and with most American Indian tribes it begins somewhere in the primordial mists. In that time the people were gathered together but did not yet see themselves as a distinct people. A holy man had a dream or a vision; quasi-mythological figures of cosmic importance revealed themselves, or in some other manner the people were instructed. They were given ceremonies and rituals that enabled them to find their place on the continent. Quite often they were given prophecies that informed them of the historical journey ahead. In some instances the people were told to migrate until a special place was revealed; in the interim, as with the Hebrews wandering in the deserts of Sinai, the older generation, which had lost faith, and the cynics and skeptics in the group would be eliminated until the people were strong enough to receive the message.

We see here the important interrelationship and cosmic beginnings of community, land, and religion: "When lands and peoples are both chosen and matched together in a cosmic plan, the attachment to the land by the people becomes something extraordinary and involves a sense of identity and corresponding feeling of responsibility" (Deloria 1992: 31-32). Viewed in this light, tribal communities are "guided by internal prophetic instructions

rather than external political and economic events (Deloria 1992: 32). As such, "the idea of peoplehood transcends the contemporary political organizations and speaks to generations of people, people past and people yet to come" (Deloria 1984: 242). Tribal communities, therefore, have a responsibility to continue fulfilling the cosmic instructions given them. So in addition to their political status, tribal communities are fundamentally and originally spiritual associations with cosmic ties to particular landscapes. Moreover, because these ties are mythic in origin, they are by definition out of chronological time. They are sacred and therefore eternal. This spiritual aspect of tribal communities is hereafter referred to as "tribalism," while the political aspect of tribal communities will be referred to as "nationalism."

In the Native American old world⁹, tribal communities each accepted and perpetuated a unique origin/creation belief and practiced tribal sovereignty. Tribal communities still strive for self-determination, but in the Native American new world their members more than likely follow multiple religious orientations. Thus, the Native American old world was multinational, each nation believing and behaving in accordance with their cosmic plan: their "Original Instructions." The Native American new world, on the other hand, is still multinational, but members of each nation follow multiple religious Instructions as well. But there is little if any doubt among tribal peoples as to which Instructions within their nations are Original. The Original Instructions are what constituted the multitribal composition of the Native American old world. And it is their Original Instructions that tribal communities, as well as outsiders, identify with their nations. Original Instructions, therefore, are linked to spirituality:

We must be very careful when we consider the role of the spiritual plane. We are not dealing with some quaint custom, nor are we dealing with religion as many of us define that term in our post-

industrial, western world. To many Native people, the spiritual plane is not simply a sphere of activity or belief which is separable from the pragmatics of everyday life; instead, it seems to be a context from within which most aspects of life are seen, defined and given significance (Ross 1992: 54-55).

In the Native American old world, religion was not a separate sphere of activity within tribal societies. There was no religion, no activities called "religious." There was, however, spirituality. So whereas religions are a product of the Native American new world, spirituality is the genesis of the Native American old world that people can draw from to retribalize their communities. As such, Original Instructions are the traditional foundations of today's tribal communities.

This dissertation seeks foremost to produce a study relevant to tribal peoples today, a study with applications within tribally controlled lands, one that assists in perpetuating communities and is not at variance with their traditional spiritual beliefs. Time and time again we hear tribal communities asserting their sovereignty, attempting to reestablish manifestations of their cultural identities, to distinguish themselves as unique tribal entities, to communicate to themselves and to outsiders that they are Lakotas, Poncas, Siksikas or Anishinabeg. In short, they seek to delineate boundaries; to reinforce or maintain existing boundaries. These efforts at articulation are like "boundary maintaining processes" described by Frederik Barth: "The nature of continuity of ethnic units is clear: it depends on the maintenance of a boundary. The cultural features that signal the boundary may change, and the cultural characteristics of the members may likewise be transformed, indeed, even the organizational form of the group may change--yet the fact of continuing dichotomization between members and outsiders allows us to specify the nature of continuity" (quoted in McNickle 1973: 14). Whereas Barth is concerned with "ethnic units" in general, the continuity of tribal

communities between the Native American old and new worlds is our focus. Between these two worlds, the cultural characteristics of many tribal members have changed, and tribal organizations too have transformed. Yet the people still desire to demarcate themselves and their communities. Therefore, this study will explore the maintenance of tribal boundaries, "tribalism" if you will, through a specific cultural feature--architecture.

Vision

The past three decades have witnessed what some have called a Native American renaissance¹⁰. It's hard to dispute. Consider that just 34 years ago the Institute of American Indian Arts was founded in Santa Fe, New Mexico. The training of Native American painters, by Native Americans, began there in 1961. Eleven years later, in 1972, two painters who studied at the IAIA held a two-man exhibition at the National Collection of Fine Arts in Washington, D.C. In 1969, Kiowa novelist N. Scott Momaday was awarded a Pulitzer Prize in literature for House Made of Dawn. Not long afterwards, Paula Gunn Allen began teaching Native American literature courses, saying "there were 10 [novels by Native American authors] covering the entire century. Now [in 1991] I couldn't begin to cover them in a semester" (quoted in Simson 1991: 23). The American Indian Religious Freedom Act was signed into law in 1978, and though tribal religions are still threatened¹¹, their resurgence is undeniable. Similarly, interest in tribal languages has grown tremendously. As recently as the fall of 1990, then-President Bush signed into law a policy promoting Native American languages. Even profitable feature-length films, such as *Dances With Wolves* and *Black Robe*, have dialog in tribal languages with English subtitles. Finally, of particular interest to anthropologists and museum personnel, new federal policies

require repatriation of Native American human remains and sacred and ceremonial artifacts. The extension of federal recognition to tribal groups not recognized in the past and the restoration of some tribal communities "terminated" in the 1950s¹² illustrates, along with repatriation laws, a federal policy shift toward maintenance and perpetuation of tribal communities and their belief systems¹³. Combined with the extraordinary growth of interest in and production of Native American arts, the past three decades indeed may be characterized as a Native American renaissance.

The renaissance just described, with the exception of re-recognition of federally terminated tribal communities, is Native American, or pan-tribal, in orientation. This study, however, is concerned with the maintenance of tribal boundaries, an orientation that implies the existence of cultural features with tribally specific heritages. In January 1990 the National Park Service met with representatives from tribal communities to learn what their "concerns and needs were for preserving their cultural heritage[s]" (Parker 1990: 3). Tribal representatives replied that their communities desired to "preserve" their cultural heritages as on-going processes of contemporary life: "to preserve and transmit language and oral tradition, arts and crafts, and traditional uses of plants and land; to maintain and practice traditional religion and culture; to preserve sacred places; to record and retain oral history; to communicate aspects of tribal culture to others; and to use cultural resources to maintain the integrity of communities and advance social and economic development" (Parker 1990: 67). In other words, tribal communities seek to perpetuate their cultural heritages, to promote a renaissance of tribalism. As such, tribal communities are continuing to differentiate themselves from both the dominant culture and from each other.

Architecture is eminently suited to the long-term communication of tribally encoded messages, messages that would enable tribal communities to three-dimensionally manifest their uniqueness, to delineate their boundaries, "to communicate aspects of tribal culture to others." The production of such architectures, however, is impeded by two factors. First, tribal communities generally do not have control over the processes of producing architectures within their land holdings. And second, there does not exist an explicit method to creatively encode tribally specific messages in contemporary architectures.

These two factors, control and encodement, are closely interrelated. If a method of encoding tribally specific messages was to be developed, but control over the planning and construction of architectures was not achieved by tribal communities, contemporary designers would continue to produce architectures encoded with non-tribal messages. Likewise, if tribal control of architectural production was achieved but new processes of encodement were not developed, the production of architectures which embody messages irrelevant to tribal communities would continue. The challenge, therefore, is twofold. The first is to promote the formulation and implementation of new building regulations within tribally controlled lands which empower tribal communities. And the second is to develop a way to encode contemporary architectures with messages specific to tribal communities.

The production of "boundary maintaining" architectures within tribally controlled lands requires changes in the policies and processes that govern and determine their production. If issues of control and encodement were addressed, and changes codified, each tribal community could develop their own "design tradition." Unlike the product oriented design guides developed for historic cities and districts¹⁴, such tribal design traditions would govern

the production phase of architecture. In other words, they would be process oriented. These design traditions would reestablish conventions within which designers would operate. Every tribal community, based upon their own architectural and cultural histories, could develop, implement, and require adherence to their design tradition. By so doing, each tribal community would regain control of architectural production and ensure the encodement of tribally specific messages into contemporary architectures. In this manner, future architectures within tribally controlled lands would once again embody the specific cultural beliefs of individual tribal communities. The vision, then, is of a renaissance of tribal architectures.

Organization

White Man took the stars from us. Yeah, that's right, he stole the stars. Before White Man came we lived by the stars. The stars told us when to go hunting, when to go fishing. We had a name for every star. Then you came and gave us calendars and clocks and schedules and we forgot the stars. We don't read them anymore. Now we just follow the moon and the sun for our ceremonies and planting. We know only a little about where the stars are going to be or what they mean. That's all been lost. You guys took it from us. But where does it tell about that theft in your history books? You don't even know you stole it! (Leon Shenandoah quoted in Arden and Wall 1990: 106)

That star with the long, wide tail is going to destroy the world some day when it comes low again. That's the comet called *Genondahwayanung*, {Long Tailed Heavenly Climbing Star}. It came down here once, thousands of years ago. Just like a sun. It had radiation and burning heat in its tail (Fred Pine quoted in Conway 1992: 243).

That comet made a different world. After that, survival was hard work. The weather was colder than before. But soon after the comet, the holy spirit send Nanabush along to teach the people how to live. He was a spiritual man that came from the morning star (Fred Pine quoted in Conway 1992: 244).

What happened with the comet was a long time ago. I'm talking about way beyond two thousand years ago. There is a prophecy that the comet will destroy the earth again. But it's restoration. The greatest blessing this island {earth} will ever have. People don't listen to their spiritual guidance today. There will be signs in the sun, moon and

stars when that comet comes down again. That's the story, but that's just the beginning (Fred Pine quoted in Conway 1992: 246).

There is a constellation of associations when employing the metaphor of a comet to organize this paper. Contemporary Western astronomers believe comets are dislodged from "the *Oort Cloud*, which is gravitationally part of the solar system and extends thousands of times farther from the sun than the outermost planets," by some gravitational disturbance. "This cloud represents the remains of the primordial matter from which the sun and planets were formed some 4.6 billion years ago" (Olson 1985: 1). Though each comet is unique in its elliptical orbit around the sun, they all embody creative matter, the same collective creative elements of the solar system.

Astronomically speaking, however, a comet is simply a celestial body comprised of a nucleus surrounded by a head and trailed by a tail. The head of a comet is called "coma," the heads of all comets collectively are termed "comae." Metaphorically, then, a renaissance of tribal architectures is the nucleus and there are five concepts (Centering, Orienting, Moving, Arranging, and Echoing), or C.O.M.A.E., that are closely related and through which one must pass to approach the core. Stretching the metaphor, the tail encompasses architectural designs which in turn constitute the elliptical legacy of tribal architectures.

The five comae concepts may also be used to analyze origin/creation accounts (as will be demonstrated in chapter 3), thereby linking them to language, oral tradition, and religion. For these and other associations, Centering, Orienting, Moving, Arranging, and Echoing are used as titles for this dissertation's five chapters, respectively. Centering is concerned with a pivot, the source of influence, focus, or core around which events and actions revolve. Orienting places the core in a definite position with reference to its surroundings. To get one's bearings is to know where one is at spatially and

temporally. Once one is oriented, purposeful movement can begin. Moving is bound up with action, with doing something or going somewhere with a goal in mind. And whereas Orienting is concerned with outside reference points, Arranging is inwardly directed. It is concerned with internal order, with relation between the components of the core. Finally, Echoing resonates with reflection, repetition, recognition and recollection. But for something to resound, it must be sent out, so to speak. Therefore, Echoing binds together the present, past and future.

The present chapter, then, identifies tribal architectures as the source of influence, the nucleus of this paper. Chapter 2 proposes a theoretical framework for operationalizing the design of such architectures based in part on critiques of previous studies of Native American architectures and the results of a survey of contemporary designers of tribal architectures. The framework views architectures as communication systems whose social functions are to embody rhetorical messages pertaining to the cosmic instructions of tribal communities. In chapter 3 the theoretical framework is used to develop an "architectural code" for the Ponca Tribe of Nebraska. This tentative architectural code, which may serve as one component of a contemporary Ponca "design tradition," is then tested by two architecture studios (one using the code, the other not) through designs for a Ponca interpretive center. Chapter 4 evaluates the experiment through discussion of the student designs, the community members' responses, and interviews with the students. Finally, chapter 5 reflects on this dissertation's stated purpose, discusses its significance and contribution, and suggests trajectories for further research. It also explores the possibility of extending the production of tribal architectures from rural tribal reservations to urban Native American communities.

In spite of recent triumphs in science, it seems that human nature has not changed much in two thousand years, but other factors in our environment and society have altered. Human beings now stand on the razor's edge, possessing an unforetold potential to destroy themselves completely--not only spiritually, with apathy, cynicism, and disillusionment, but quite literally as well, with deadly weapons. Comets, by their very existence, argue against this bleak scenario. They can be understood not as portents of good or evil but as eloquent symbols of change within the continuum of our universe. They quietly argue for the preservation and improvement of our planet, while offering scientists elemental clues to the formative process of the universe. They are beacons of hope and inspirations for the discovery of new worlds (Olson 1985: 127).

Centering Notes

Persons who read and commented on portions of this chapter or previous writings related to this chapter include Crisca Bierwert, Henry Wright, James Chaffers, Jay Stauss, John O'Shea, Neena Mitchell, Renate Eigenbrod, Richard Ford, Sergei Kan, and Tristine Smart.

Places which figured prominently into the production of this study include our family ranch on Bear in the Lodge Creek, Grandma and Grandpa's house, Dalila and Redha's living rooms, NUBS, the Brown Jug, Continental Restaurant, and Milagro's.

In general, funding from the Doctoral Program in Architecture, the Museum of Anthropology, and the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies supported my educational experiences at the University of Michigan. When funding was granted for specific research purposes, it is so noted.

¹Gaiashkibos, president of the National Congress of American Indians, states that the "preservation of sovereignty, the protection of treaty rights, religious freedom and the protection of sacred sites are the central issues of all tribes" (quoted in the *Lakota Times*, 11 December 1991).

²The uniqueness of Native Americans and tribal peoples is clear when an article on racial and ethnic policy in the United States begins with the following cryptic disclaimer: "We have excluded Native Americans from our consideration, because laws and policies regarding them are quite different from other laws regarding law, and diverse customs as well" (Novit-Evans and Welch 1983: 417).

³In fact, "Federal recognition [of tribal status] may arise from treaty, statute, executive or administrative order, or from a course of dealing with the tribe as a political entity" (Canby 1988: 4). The term "treaty substitute" as a gloss for these various methods of federal recognition is borrowed from Wilkinson (1987).

⁴Yet even the Supreme Court reduced the Northern Ute's land base by over 75 percent in a 1994 decision (reported in *Indian Country Today*, 2 March 1994).

⁵"A tribe normally will be recognized by the federal government if Congress or the President at some point created a reservation for the tribe and the United States has had some continuing political relationship with the tribe" (Pevar 1992: 14).

⁶In fact, "many Indian communities are Indian in the sense of possessing political rights but are indistinguishable from other Americans culturally, linguistically, or even religiously" (Deloria 1992: 34).

⁷"Indian" tribes were sovereign nations--in that they possessed the inherent right or power to govern--before European contact. From contact to 1831 they were implicitly treated by Europeans as sovereign nations, though not unequivocally. Then in 1831 "Indian nations" were characterized by Supreme Court Chief Justice Marshall as "domestic dependent nations." Furthermore, "the definition of 'nation,' by such international organizations as the United Nations and the World Court, includes the following components: common culture and heritage, common language, stable geographic locale over time, internal laws that are accepted by members of the community, boundaries recognized by other nations, and formal agreements (treaties) with other nations" (Mander 1991: 199). Therefore, tribes are nations, and it is only the extent of their powers that is disputable.

⁸Winthrop (1991: 308) posits that the term "tribe" is "commonly used in at least four different contexts": (1) an ethnological category for classifying social groups, (2) a stage in an evolutionary sequence, (3) "an expression of social identity and distinctiveness among the descendents of aboriginal social groups now threatened by assimilation or destruction at the hands of encroaching states" (the political definition presented earlier falls within this context), and (4) a qualitative "pattern of existence" distinct from state or civilized societies. The following definition falls outside these four contexts.

⁹"Native American old world" refers to the collective land base of tribal communities before non-tribal interventions. Essentially it is the western hemisphere. The "Native American new world," on the other hand, is based on control of decision making opportunities within a land base and is therefore not a static domain. As land passed out of control of tribal communities, the Native American new world likewise contracted. Today, the Native American new world is represented by tribally controlled lands: essentially federally recognized Indian reservations. The Native American new world, however, is more than just land. It is a way of thinking--land based and idea orienting--that Wendy Rose (1993: 2) expresses in this excerpt from her poem "Fifty Thousand Songs":

With the name they gave my country
they name me: new world, one coming
up like a tidal wave with the power
of the newborn; new world

¹⁰Nancy Lurie introduced the phrase "American Indian Renaissance" into literature in 1965: "I use the term renaissance, rebirth, rather than revitalization or nativism, because leadership is diffuse, emphasis and action vary from place to place, and the common characteristic seems to be a heightened desire for Indian identity coupled with vocalized insistence on recognition of the right of Indian groups to persist as distinctive social entities" (Lurie 1972: 306). Nearly twenty years later Kenneth Lincoln wrote Native American Renaissance, a collection of essays on Native American literature. In it he quotes from Louise Erdrich's Love Medicine: "I'm gonna rise," he said. "One day I'm gonna rise. They can't keep down the Indians"

(Lincoln 1983: xi). This rising of "the Indians" parallels the fourth of Jacobs' four stages of Native-white relations. Friendliness characterized initial relations, but conflict and subsequent deculturalization followed. The fourth stage, which "among Indian people . . . is sometimes called a Native American renaissance," is often found in Native societies which survived previous relations with non-Natives. "This kind of rebirth of Native culture is especially evident among the Sioux today [1974] in whom we can see vigor and pride in cultural traditions Thus this fourth stage in the history of Native-white relations is oftentimes the era of cultural rebirth in which Native people unite and turn again to the[ir] tribal inheritance as a source of inspiration" (Jacobs 1980: 80).

¹¹In "Religious Freedom Update," Dean Suagee (1994: 7) outlines the shortcomings of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act:

In 1978 Congress enacted the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA), which proclaims federal policy to "protect and preserve" the freedom of religion of American Indians and other Native Americans. In a number of lawsuits that arose after AIRFA was enacted, the federal courts uniformly ruled that AIRFA does not have any "teeth" to make federal agencies comply with the espoused policy. Indian and Native people seeking protection of their religious freedom relied instead on the First Amendment to the U. S. Constitution. In 1988 and 1990 the U. S. Supreme Court issued two decisions [*Lyng v. Northwest Indian Cemetery Protective Association*, and *Employment Division v. Smith*] holding that the First Amendment does not protect Indian religious freedom.

However, on 15 November 1993, President Clinton signed the Religious Freedom Restoration Act, "an act that reverses some of the effects of the Supreme Court's decision in the *Smith* case" (Suagee 1994: 9). And there is a concerted effort to enact a Native American Free Exercise of Religion Act (NAFERA) which would "provide Indians and other Native Americans with a right to carry on their religions, a right that for other Americans is a constitutional right" (Suagee 1994: 7).

¹²For example, the 27 November 1991 issue of the *Lakota Times* reports that on 20 November 1991 the Senate Select Committee for Indian Affairs approved a bill conferring federal recognition to the Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina. The House version of the bill passed 26 September 1991. Lumbees have been petitioning for federal recognition for nearly 100 years, and in 1956 were granted recognition if they agreed not to accept any federal services. They refused. As of the Summer of 1995, however, the Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina has yet to attain federal recognition.

¹³The return of Blue Lake and the surrounding lands to Taos Pueblo in 1970 by the federal government was an early case of tribal land restoration for purposes of religious or spiritual use by tribal members.

¹⁴Examples of product oriented design guides would include those developed for Santa Fe, NM and Williamsburg, VA. Such design guides are concerned primarily with architectural form and architectural objects.

CHAPTER 2: ORIENTING

The Native American old world was one of great diversity: in language, religion, land, clothing, music, art, and architecture. Tribal architectures were and are rich in imagery and ancient in tradition. But there was no national, no "Native American", architecture encompassing what is today the United States of America. National architectures are the product of coherent aggregations of people, whereas the Native American old world "was among the most linguistically and culturally plural areas the world has ever known" (Dorris 1979: 147). The categorization of those architectures as a single unit of analysis has no logical basis. There was no coherent aggregation of people called "Indian," or "Native American," or "American Indian," so why impose such a category upon the diversity of peoples and architectures of the Native American old world? Such an imposition usually serves only to detribalize tribal peoples, to homogenize them, to render invisible their distinct identities and cultural boundaries. If the intent is a survey of "Indian" architecture, there is no logical reason that "primitive" architectures worldwide should not be included (cf. Oliver 1987, Rapoport 1969, Fraser 1968, and Fitch and Branch 1960)¹.

Having said that, some of the literature pertaining to "Native American" architectures will now be reviewed. Conceptually, the literature may be bracketed by Morgan's Houses and House-Life of the American

Aborigines (1881) and Nabokov and Easton's Native American Architecture (1989). Between these two bookends are a multitude of articles, pamphlets and book chapters which attempt to deal with this broad and definitionally imposed category of peoples and architectures. As well, there is a body of literature that addresses subsets of this general category, such as building type (Laubin 1973, Walker 1981) or geographical area (Mindeleff 1989, Waterman 1921).

Previous studies have predominantly treated Native American architectures as direct reflections of non-human forces. "The primitive architect works in an economy of scarcity--his resources in materials and energy are severely restricted. Yet he has little margin for error in coping with natural forces: gravity, heat, cold, wind, snow, rain and flood. Both his theory and his practice are strictly determined by these conditions" (Fitch and Branch 1960: 134). In essence, Native American architectures are determined by sun angle (Fewkes 1906), wind direction, temperature variation (Fitch and Branch 1960, Shapiro n.d., Madison 1925, Waterman 1924, Geare 1907), topography (Scully 1989), available materials (Walker 1981, Waterman 1924 and 1921, Mindeleff 1898) or technological sophistication (Barber 1879, Morgan 1877), only occasionally recognizing human agency in the guise of social organization (Waterman 1965, Goddard 1928, Dellenbaugh 1901, Morgan 1965). Native Americans, as human beings, are denied creativity and control, purpose and intention. They simply respond, often quite efficiently, to these external forces. It could be argued that the emphasis on products, on architectural forms, is to blame. Yet even when studying the constructions of non-humans, Frisch (1974), in the Forward to his book Animal Architecture, wrote that "[t]o understand the building activities of animals it is necessary to know something about the

lives of the builders. Therefore the behavior of animals always enters the discussion." In other words, architectural forms cannot be understood in isolation from the people (or animals) producing them. It follows, then, that researchers who fail to examine the human activities that produce Native American architectural forms do not understand the creative expression of Native Americans embodied in those forms. As such, they are perpetuating the image of "invisible Indians."

McGuire and Schiffer (1983) proposed a social theory of design whereby architecture is the product of production, use, and maintenance activities performed by different task groups within a society. Their theoretical construct is significant because it purports to impute decision making abilities to the task groups. As such, their human beings are seen as visible and central decision makers, a welcome advance from many previous studies. However, once again it is "efficiency" that each "task group" is attempting to maximize, and in the case of Native American architectures, Native Americans are denied creativity and intention, diversity and tradition.

All of the aforementioned authors, with the exception of Nabokov, place tribal peoples in peripheral positions with regard to architectural decision making. Because of this, they do not consider contemporary architectures or theories of design that are applicable in the Native American new world. In addition to focusing on the past (or the ethnographic present) and minimizing the impact of human cerebral intentionalities, their studies of Native American architectures exhibit four other related characteristics. First, an almost exclusive emphasis on form. Form refers to the physical objects we visually perceive, but "[t]he enclosed space within them is the reality of the building" (Wright 1941: 189). Concern with form is concern

with surface, with decoration, with materials. The human use of the enclosed space, a central "reality" of architecture, is excluded. Second, the types of architectures studied (homes, houses, dwellings, buildings) usually include only the mundane, the ordinary, excluding the limnal or sacred, the extraordinary. Third, the focus on "Indian" rather than the architectures of specific tribal communities obliterates cultural identities and diversities. And finally, the studies are synchronic in orientation. Architectural developments within specific tribal communities are largely ignored.

There was no "Indian" architecture. The architectures produced within the multitude of nations collectively mislabeled "Indian" by Euro-Americans was culturally adaptive. It accommodated the emerging and varied needs of peoples, their mythical representations of their changing historical milieu, and was planned, constructed, used and maintained in accordance with their particular tribal aesthetics. To dilute these tribal architectures was and is a great disservice. Each tribe is unique, and each has its own architectural legacy. There is no reason that architectural monographs for specific tribal communities cannot be written: monographs that would address the limitations of previous studies of Native American architecture.

Architecture: Tribal and Native American

Tribal architecture is the product of a coherent aggregation of people, constructed within their distinctive cultural context. Both the designers and the users are members of this collectivity. Tribal architecture, then, is from a people, by those people, and for those people. And those people "tend to reflect aspects of a shared consciousness, an inherently identifiable world-view, a collective understanding of custom, language, and tradition" (Dorris

1979: 147). Such conditions existed within the Native American old world and continue to exist today.

Referring to "Indian homes" (more appropriately referred to as tribal architectures), Nabokov believed they "functioned as containers and preservers of social and religious life" (Nabokov 1981: 43), "a sort of living memory bank" (Nabokov 1981: 44) for tribal communities². As such, they had to embody and communicate tribally specific messages. To do so, Nabokov believed tribal architectures "were duplicates of mythic homes described in origin stories Such myths functioned as zoning codes, blueprints, and labor unions. When people rebuilt a house or started a new one, they were renewing their links to the timeless moment when they were born on earth. Architecture was identity" (Nabokov 1981: 47). Many tribal homes were indeed encoded with such messages, but it seems more likely that public spaces, particularly those whose "purpose was to provide a suitable place and a structure wherein the public functions connected with religious rituals might be celebrated" (Gilmore 1930: 48), would be the medium of choice for such important messages.

According to Dellenbaugh, "every tribe had some kind of sacred structure" (1901: 208). Gilmore labelled such Arikara buildings "Tribal Temples" or "Holy Lodges." After an interview with "Four-rings, a priest or custodian of one of the Sacred Bundles of that nation [Arikara]," Gilmore (1930: 48) wrote that "when a Holy Lodge is built it should be so planned and constructed that it will represent to our sight and recall to our minds the natural world in which we live, its beauties and wonders and mysteries. It should make us think of the Chief Above and of Mother Earth, and of all the Aides of the Chief Above which reside in all the four quarters of the world about us." He went on to say that the ground plan should be circular and

that the main structural system consist of four posts, each associated with an Aide of the Chief Above and a "class of friends." As well, a fireplace was to be in the center with an opening in the roof above it, a doorway "toward the rising sun," and an altar, opposite the doorway, for the Sacred Bundles. In short, Four-rings described to Gilmore a blueprint for an Arikara sacred architecture, an architecture that embodied Arikara religious belief and practice.

In addition to embodying symbolic messages, tribal architectures were often the products of ceremonial processes. Among Navajos, "rude as the[ir] winter huts appear, every detail in them is dictated by an elaborate ritual and strict ceremonial requirements" (Mindeleff 1898: 424). Returning to the Arikara "Tribal Temple," Gilmore wrote that "the kind of materials, the manner of their preparation, the form of the building, and the method and place of its erection were ritualistically prescribed" (1930: 48). The significance of tribal architectures, then, was transmitted through oral traditions and ritual performances. Thus, an interdependent relationship existed between myth, ritual, and architecture, a relationship that was manifested three-dimensionally in tribally specific architectures.

These tribally specific architectures were, until recently, the most encompassing manifestations of architecture nationalism in the Native American old and new worlds. The Eighty-third Congress (1953-54) of the United States of America, however, embarked on a policy of terminating federal recognition of tribal communities. In response to those termination acts, a pan-tribal awareness of collective unity blossomed. Tribal peoples fully realized that the recognition, if not existence, of their communities was in the hands of the federal government. Bureau of Indian Affairs relocation programs implemented during that same time continued the growing

urbanization of tribal peoples³. Since the relocation programs were not specific to certain tribes, the resultant urban communities were intertribal. Thus, in the 1950s there began to develop, at both the urban individual level and the rural tribal level, an intertribal cohesiveness. In the late 1960s, in response to further federal and local threats against their communities and lives, intertribal coalitions arose and challenged the prevailing relationships between tribal and non-tribal peoples. Their most visible and memorable actions were occupations such as Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay, the Bureau of Indian Affairs headquarters building in Washington, DC, and in Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, Wounded Knee.

Though their audience was far smaller than the international one reached by these events, the development of urban Indian centers was much more important architecturally. Established to serve intertribal constituencies which resulted, at least in part, from relocation programs, these centers became some of the first examples of intertribal architecture. Rather than being the expression of specific tribal communities, these buildings were collective expressions of Indianness, of Indian nationalism. In other words, they were among the first truly Native American architectures.

The Daybreak Star Arts Center in Seattle, Washington, is a quintessential example of Native American architecture. It is built on land declared surplus by the federal government in 1970 and subsequently occupied by "nearly 1,000 Indians representing forty tribes" (Monthan and Monthan 1978: 29), a tactic used less than a year earlier at Alcatraz Island. The people then formed the United Indians of All Tribes Foundation and began negotiations with federal and local agencies to build both a social services center and a cultural center to serve the approximately "17,000 Indians living in the greater Seattle area" (Monthan and Monthan 1978: 29).

Though the social services center was finally housed in an existing downtown Seattle office building, a new cultural center was constructed on 35 acres of the Fort Lawton Military Reservation and has been open to the public since May 13, 1977.

In nearly all respects, the Daybreak Star Arts Center is Native American, as opposed to tribal. "The design team, consisting of Colville sculptor Lawney Reyes and architects Clifford Jackson and Yoshio Arai, received input from many individuals and tribes and these were carefully considered and often incorporated, but the words of Black Elk ["the great Oglala Sioux holy man"] provided the building motif: 'I saw it (the daybreak star herb) falling far and when it struck the earth, it rooted and grew and flowered, four blossoms on one stem'" (Monthan and Monthan 1978: 30). The cultural center was intended for an intertribal community of Native Americans, was designed by an intertribal and non-tribal team, and drew its conceptual principles from the written words (Black Elk Speaks⁴) of a man who lived nearly a thousand miles away, words pertaining to his vision for his people (Oglala Lakotas) during his youth (nearly 80 years earlier). Intertribal attitudes ("Indianness") pervaded the conceptualization, planning and construction of the cultural center. This is indicative of Native American architectures.

Of great importance, however, and often overlooked, is the issue of "choice." Intertribal activities, if they are to be successful, require choice and agreement: choice from the wide array of tribal and non-tribal options, and agreement, within the intertribal community, to accept the choice(s). In order for intertribal agreement to be achieved, the decision makers must be seen as legitimate in the eyes of the community. The most common methods of acquiring legitimacy would include extraordinary abilities (especially

spiritual and oratorical in the Native American new world) and age. By choosing Black Elk's words for the conceptual basis of the cultural center, the decision makers themselves did not necessarily need to be legitimate. Who could question the legitimacy of Black Elk, a quintessential "Indian" from a quintessential "tribe?" Within the Northwest Coast's United Indians of All Tribes community, Black Elk's words provided a link to the past, a link to "Indianness," and these links were not diminished by the fact he was an Oglala Lakota from the northern Plains.

Again, the Native American old world was one of tribalism and there existed a multitude of tribal architectures. Each tribal community expressed their identity through their own architectures. In the Native American new world, however, there has arisen another level of identity called intertribal or pan-tribal. This intertribal nationalism does not displace tribalism but is instead an over-arching shared framework that unites tribal peoples and Native Americans. So "Indians," or "Native Americans," or "American Indians" are appropriate titles for this intertribal collectivity, whereas Anishinabe, Siksika, Dine, and Oglala are historical names of nations that are exclusive to individual tribal communities. Tribal peoples exist within both these levels, emphasizing one or the other, or neither, as they wish or require. Likewise, viewed as a communication medium, architecture too may be encoded with messages referring to either or both of these levels, or as is more often the case, referring to neither⁵.

Modeling Contemporary Tribal Architectures

Architecture is a tremendous void in the aforementioned (see chapter 1) Native American renaissance. Whereas nearly all the other arts are flourishing during this renaissance, architecture is just beginning to be

widely utilized as a communication medium for expressing Native American identity. Even though an ever-increasing number of such contemporary Native American architectures are being built, tribal architectures beyond those intended for ceremonial purposes are nearly non-existent.

As mentioned in chapter 1, the production of tribal architectures requires changes in the policies and processes that currently govern the production of architectures within tribal lands. The National Commission on American Indian, Alaska Native, and Native Hawaiian Housing found that "federal statutes and implementing regulations that have evolved since the early 1960s are characterized, to an unfortunate degree, by inflexibility and insensitivity to demographic, geographic, and cultural differences among tribes" (National Commission 1992: 64). They concluded that a "reversal in current federal attitudes and actions affecting Native citizens--in short, a much-needed basic change in the content and focus of federal policy"--was required. "With this as our foundation," they continued, "we also recommend policy, regulatory, and statutory changes as well" (National Commission 1992: xi).

In Canada, after "protests against substandard buildings, poor water quality, and asbestos in schools" (Weder 1993: 22), the federal government implemented a policy of "'devolution'--a federal policy to transfer certain administrative responsibilities from government bureaucrats to First Nations" (Weder 1993: 22). A key aspect of this policy is that tribal communities are now central decision makers. Still, "[d]espite the increased input from aboriginal communities and project managers, the devolution process has not yet established a truly independent architectural process" (Weder 1993: 24).

Therefore, efforts to promote a renaissance of tribal architectures must necessarily challenge the existing status quo; and the actual construction of tribal architectures will thereby spatially manifest a rejection of the mainstream establishment's architectural production methods. So in addition to communicating tribally specific messages, tribal architectures also constitute a particular form of communication--protest.

Native American Protest Rhetoric

The 1960s witnessed a phenomenal rise in protest movements in the United States; movements concerned with a broad range of issues such as civil rights, the Vietnam war, women's liberation, and university administration. Such protest rhetorics are characterized by two forms: those that "uphold and re-enforce the established order or system and those which reject the system, its hierarchy and its values" (Cathcart 1978: 237). Those rhetorics which "do not question underlying epistemology and group ethic" (Cathcart 1978: 238) of the establishment are termed "managerial" by Cathcart and "non-totalistic" by Scott and Smith (1969). The second form of protest rhetoric, "confrontational" or "totalistic," challenges the "basic values and societal norms" (Cathcart 1978: 238) of the establishment, "questioning not only the limitations of its benevolence but more fundamentally its purposes and modes of operation" (Scott and Smith 1969: 2). Thus, the division between managerial and confrontational rhetoric revolves around epistemology--around values, aesthetics, beliefs and assumptions. Rather than a logical reforming of the existing system, the rhetoric of confrontation attempts to generate a qualitative re-ordering by advocating a "new" epistemology.

In addition to its "search for a new epistemological base, . . . [a]nother major motivation behind [confrontational] protest rhetoric is the hope of turning an aggregate into a group" (Gresson 1977: 249-250). Seen in this light, confrontational protest rhetoric promotes development of new, "minority" epistemologies, and establishment of group identities. These two aspects are interwoven: "The two-epistemology view and new, genuine group are two aspects of a larger whole. In order for the individuals who listen to become a true group, they must interact; but to do so they must create a new, shared perspective. *And it is in the process of formation that the 'split' with the macro-system occurs.* The 'split' is, however, essential to reconciliation and to group formation of a 'true' sort within the macro-system" (Gresson 1977: 257).

A confrontational protest group or movement, then, is action oriented, and its actions are guided by its unique epistemology. Through epistemic actions, confrontational protest groups distance themselves from the establishment, creating "(1) intra-group definition and mobilization and (2) inter-group confrontation and renegotiation relative to conflicting social realities" (Gresson 1977: 259). Their concern is to promote a re-ordering of the macro-system while retaining their identity within it.

In the final analysis, then, both confrontational and managerial protest movements share the desire to remain a part of the macro-system, be it re-ordered or merely re-formed. Native American protest movements, on the other hand, do not desire to be a part of the existing establishment, nor do they desire to change the establishment's epistemology. Instead, the primary goal and need of what Lake (1983, 1991) calls the "Red Power" movement is a "cultural leave-us-alone agreement in spirit and in fact" (Deloria 1969: 34).

Red Power rhetoric actually encompasses the discourses of two interrelated movements: one intertribal and the other tribal. The rhetoric of both movements seeks "to generate traditional Indian religious beliefs and to restore the ancient ways of life" (Lake 1983: 129). Tribalism seeks to maintain or rejuvenate tribal identities in juxtaposition to all other societies--tribal and non-tribal--whereas intertribalism attempts to bridge "cultural differences among different tribal cultures [by] forming coalitions sufficiently powerful to resist encroachments by the dominant society" (Morris and Wander 1990: 166). Thus, Native American protest rhetoric asserts epistemological perspectives which serve two simultaneous functions: (1) they establish an intertribal "Native American" identity and (2) they argue for tribally specific worldviews--tribalism.

Tribalism--and the modeling of tribal architectures--must be allied with Native American protest rhetoric and the epistemological perspectives in which it is grounded. As such, tribal architectures are experienced as products of a system outside the values and norms of mainstream western society in general, and the United States in particular. Tribal and intertribal epistemologies posit their own values and aesthetics, beliefs and assumptions. Sharing an epistemology, however, does not make a group. Actions are required. And epistemic, or traditional, actions are those instructions given to a tribal nation at Creation; they are the "ceremonies and rituals that enabled them to find their place on the continent" (Deloria 1984: 8). Therefore, when tribal ceremonies and rituals are performed, that tribe's epistemology is enacted and an identity separate from all other peoples is affirmed. And that identity is shared among tribal members who sense their togetherness in time, their common past, present, and future.

The role of tradition in Native American protest rhetoric cannot be overemphasized. "When we were placed on this land, we were given certain instructions to follow. If we no longer follow those instructions, we no longer belong to the land" (High Pine 1976: 31). Traditions bind a people to a particular area of land and that relation is perpetuated when communities perform their traditional ceremonies. Moreover, the natural right to perform those ceremonies at the appropriate times and places is a manifestation of a tribal community's self-determination, their sovereignty. We see once again the interrelationship between community, land, and religion, and the centrality of that interrelationship to Native American protest rhetoric.

The widespread use of English in Native American protest rhetoric leads many to assume that movement rhetoric is primarily addressed to non-Natives and that the goal is redress of past and present actions of the mainstream establishment. But Red Power rhetoric "is directed at movement members and other Indians for purposes of gathering the like-minded, and is addressed only secondarily to the white establishment" (Lake 1983: 128). In their efforts to articulate a metaphysical identity separate from the mainstream, movement members "returned to traditional Indian religion and its values and concepts. We found out that Indian spirituality among traditional people is what rules every aspect of their lives. Based upon our traditional religion, we then devised a short-range plan of action" (Means 1981: 194).

Perceptions of traditional spirituality, then, provide the metaphysical assumptions which specify the epistemological boundaries of Native American protest actions. Protest rhetoric, therefore, attempts to persuade "movement members and other Indians" to adhere to these fundamental convictions by appealing to their feelings and imaginations--non-verbal

experiences--through participation in symbolic actions. These actions include: "home birthing; food growing habits; the wearing of medicine pouches and the painting of faces as if preparing for battle; reliance on the vision experience for guidance in dealing with whites; pipe-smoking and purification in the sweat lodge; revival of the Sun Dance; and use of traditional tribal names, e.g., Dene (Navajo), Lakota (Sioux), and Hau de no sau nee (Iroquois)" (Lake 1983: 139). These same actions were performed in the past and by performing them again, movement members are making the past present, the present past. This rejection of the dominant perspective of linear time refutes establishment discourse that "characterizes native cultures as outdated and regressive, native history as uncorrectable (if regrettable), and native activism as a historical anachronism" (Lake 1991: 125). By drawing on tribal religions' "conception of life grounded in time's cycle; and ritual's power to enact tradition, thereby generating a kind of eternal mythical present" (Lake 1991: 130), activist rhetoric "characterizes native 'history' as an on-going tale of injustice, the modern [Native American activist] movement as the fulfillment of ancient prophecies, and native cultures as the sorts to which all human life will turn to survive" (Lake 1991: 125).

Native traditions provide an ideological basis outside of the mainstream establishment for Native American protest rhetoric. Rhetorical acts grounded in Native American ideology generally and tribal ideologies specifically thereby constitute true confrontational movements. They also serve important social functions for tribal and intertribal communities. "The result [of the activist movements] was that the national Indian community as a whole took on a more militant posture regarding what it meant to be Indian and interest in tribal culture and religion escalated accordingly. Today a

near majority of each tribe seems to regard themselves as traditional people or as people who revere tribal traditions" (Deloria 1992: 43). As a form of self-address, Native American protest rhetoric promotes the revitalization of tribal and intertribal identities, the reenactment of tribal practices, the recitation of traditional knowledge, and the reinforcement of spiritual values.

Persuasion/Conviction Function of Tribal Architectures

Earlier we suggested that tribal architectures, particularly those bounding the "public functions connected with religious rituals," embody tribally specific symbolic messages and are constructed according to ritual prescriptions. This is in marked contrast to contemporary High-Style architectures which are generally built as efficiently and economically as possible, following designs based on "what an individual designer believes and the degree to which society as a whole and individual clients are willing to accept those beliefs" (Lang 1987: 241). Tribal architectures are the products of different production processes and are encoded with different value systems, with different epistemologies. As such, the production of tribal architectures lies outside the establishment's architectural production processes and therefore constitute--in Cathcart's terminology--a confrontational movement.

Using Gowans' (1981) terminology, tribal architectures constitute a "historic" or "traditional" art whereas contemporary High-Style architectures are "avant-garde" or "modern." He argues that "'modern' art and 'traditional' arts differ not in time, but in essence; in kind" (Gowans 1981: 17). In juxtaposition to modern arts which are "primarily or exclusively vehicles for the sensibilities and expression of artists," historic arts fulfilled "certain specific and objectively recognizable functions [in] and for society" (Gowans

1981: 17). He then identified four "social functions" of historic arts which he believed were sequentially cumulative; (1) substitute imagery, (2) illustration, (3) beautification, and (4) persuasion/conviction⁶.

Because architecture "is by its collective nature *the* art of conviction" (Gowans 1981: 491), it logically encompasses the first three social functions when consciously employed "to evoke associations with, or create metaphors of, ideologies and presuppositions (convictions) which underlie all social institutions. [Historic architectures] thus were vehicles and instruments for transmitting those accepted values, ethics, belief systems, upon which ultimately depends the endurance of city, state, and family" (Gowans 1981: 18).

Without hesitation we can add "tribe" or "tribal community" to Gowans' list of social institutions. Then, recalling that Native American protest rhetoric views (1) current Native/non-Native conflicts as reenactments of previous injustices, (2) the Red Power movement as a manifestation of ancient prophecies, (3) the revitalizing of traditional ways as necessary to insure survival, and (4) itself as bound up with the interrelationship between community, land, and religion, the following quote nicely expresses the relation between historic architectures and Native American protest rhetoric:

Meaning in historic architecture . . . was never a reflection of convictions universally held throughout societies. Architecture historically made its most powerful statements when the institutions it stood for were under attack. Its visual metaphors were means of establishing, transmitting and above all reinforcing convictions. Architecture both proclaimed and persuaded. Architects created dramatic statements of mass conviction as much because people didn't hold them as because they did: their job was precisely to do this and so ensure orderly continuity of society. . . .

And more basically; those visual metaphors of 'institutional patterns of human relatedness,' which it was the historic business of architecture to create, rested upon the Nature of Things, upon ultimate premises,

Practical Reason, whatever name you give the basic ground of thought, on which all argument must rest—including any argument that society has no such convictions. For without that ground no communication would be possible (Gowans 1981: 447).

The conflation of historic architecture and Native American protest rhetoric results in what herein is referred to as "architectural tribalism." The production of tribal architectures is a people's spatial manifestation of their tribal convictions, their spirituality. In so doing, tribal architectures three-dimensionally manifest tribal identities, spatially differentiating tribes from each other and from the architectural mainstream. Analogous to Native American protest rhetoric, the social function of tribal architectures is to embody the convictions—the Original Instructions—of a tribal community, and to persuade community members to support, defend, promote, and perpetuate those Instructions. Tribal architectures communicate this information first and foremost to tribal members, secondarily to non-member tribal peoples as well as the non-Native establishment⁷.

Having argued that a renaissance of architectural tribalism is analogous to a confrontational protest movement, and that tribal architectures themselves fundamentally constitute manifestations of Native American protest rhetoric, it needs now to be suggested how tribal architectures communicate their messages. In other more general words, how can architecture be operationalized as a communication system?

Communication Systems

A basic communication system may analytically be seen as comprised of six components: (1) a sender, (2) a message, (3) a referent, or that to which the message refers, (4) a code that organizes the relationship between referent and message, (5) a medium, or channel between a sender and (6) a receiver⁸. Communication takes place when a sender transmits a message by

way of some medium to someone. The message refers to something, and the relationship between that something and the message is codified. In the case of tribal architecture, the architecture itself must embody the resultant code. In other words, architecture embodies the code that organizes the relationships between messages and their referents. Codification is the activity of systematizing the relationships between messages and referents while transcription is the activity of representing the resultant code in a non-verbal medium--architecture. Therefore encodement, the process whereby messages (and by extension, their referents) are embodied in architecture, encompasses both the codification and transcription activities. It is in the encodement process that intentions are manifested and control is wielded. If tribal communities are to purposefully delineate their cultural boundaries through architecture, then they must control the encodement process of communication, which informs the design and construction of architecture.

Even though the term "architecture" is ambiguous and unaccompanied by operational definitions (Bandini 1987: 4), it is possible to delimit recurrent sets of activities that collectively are subsumed by "architecture." Arranged sequentially, these activities include (1) conceptualization, (2) planning, (3) construction, (4) utilization, (5) maintenance, and (6) abandonment⁹. The first three activities comprise the architectural production phase while the final three activities comprise the consumption phase of architecture. The importance of the encodement process to the production of architectures that transmit tribally relevant messages is evident. Encodement and production (or at least conceptualization and planning activities) are interdependent, and when transmission of tribally specific messages is desired, tribal communities must control both the encodement process of communication

and the production phase of architecture. This paper suggests the term "ethnoarchitectonics" be used for the study of these concomitant processes¹⁰.

Recalling that a central "reality" of a building is the space enclosed within, the products of architectural production are not "architectures," but bounded spaces. Architecture, then, consists of spaces and their bounding or defining surfaces. And built forms are the physical objects that bound, encompass and enclose space. Built forms constitute what is typically meant by architecture: floors, walls, ceilings, roofs, and the composite, architectural form. Since built forms are material and highly visual, issues of style and iconography are readily addressed. Though these issues are important and ultimately integral to the production of boundary maintaining architectures, their extrinsic characteristics imply the existence of a deeper more intrinsic medium for message transmission. Space¹¹, it may be argued, is this medium.

Architectures are necessarily the products of human activities and therefore their enclosed spaces fall within what may be called "technological space." But not all technological spaces are architectural. Two necessary conditions--geometric shape and finite volumetric magnitude--create a set of "concave-like envelopes"¹² that constitute a "repertory" of all technological spaces. These spaces, for example, would include those within pipe bowls as well as the spaces within architectures. Architectural space, then, is a spatial subset of technological space within which face-to-face human activities may take place. This potential to encompass human activities is what distinguishes architecture from other plastic arts. Whereas sculpture may be concerned primarily with enveloping surfaces, or built forms, the "reality" of architecture is architectural space.

Tribal architectures, then, entail the production of built forms and architectural spaces, both of which, as media for messages of cultural boundary delineation, must embody tribally specific referents. Such referents, it is argued, are grounded in religion, in belief systems that are constituted, according to Wallace, by "a set of rituals, rationalized by myth, which mobilized [and still do] supernatural powers for the purpose of achieving or preventing transformations of state in man and nature" (quoted in Powers 1982: xv). Myths express cultural identities, delineate ethnic boundaries, and contain assumptions about the nature and operation of the world, enabling people to structure events and objects into culturally understandable contexts. Myths and rituals are cultural features of the Native American old and new worlds which represent tribally specific sources of symbolic concepts. They represent a tribal community's cosmic order, their Original Instructions, and are the referent to which boundary maintaining messages refer.

The referent is what primarily distinguishes one tribal community from all others. The boundaries signaled and maintained by tribal architectures are also cosmological boundaries and boundaries of religious belief systems. Codification of the relationship between these messages and their referent (cosmic and mythic order) produces architectural codes that articulate concepts pertaining to the three activities of the architectural production phase: namely conceptualization, planning, and construction¹³. The encodement process whereby cosmic and mythic referents are embodied in architectural media suggests that architectural codes may be vehicles by which tribal communities inscribe their spatial designs with cosmic order. As such, architectural codes are the key communication component in the production of tribal architectures, in a tribal architectures renaissance.

Whereas Nabokov stated "myths *functioned* as zoning codes, blueprints, and labor unions" (Nabokov 1981: 6, emphasis added), a communication model posits myths as the *referents* of planning (production of blueprints informed by zoning codes) and construction (performed by labor unions) activities. Human beings, not myths, conceptualize, plan and construct architectures. By formulating architectural codes, tribal communities may systematize a relationship between the ritual enactment of their myths and the production of their architectures. Architectural codes, then, constitute, in some fundamental sense, a paradigm of creation.

Creation Paradigm¹⁴

The act of creation is a unification of form and matter: the substantiation of form and the informing of substance. Ritual, as a paradigm of creation, reenacts this unification through acts and words, thereby imparting order and meaning to the universe. Ritual acts and words, being formalized and invariant, are not similar to ordinary acts and words. During ritual performances, participants transmit self-referential messages that pertain to current (at the time of performance) conditions or situations. These performances also substantiate, they physically manifest, the ritual words recited during the performance. Ritual words are an integral part of a seemingly invariant, durable, and immutable canon. As such, they give canonical meanings to ritual acts, thereby incorporating ritual performances into similar performances distant in time and space or even outside of time and space. Ritual creation, then, unifies acts and words, both of which transmit self-referential (the here and now) and canonical (universal and eternal) messages.

Not unlike ritual creation, spatial production too has complementary non-physical (cosmic and mythic referents) and physical (architectural media) aspects. Whereas acts and words are unified in ritual creation, architectural media and mythic referents are unified, through architectural codes, in spatial production. The architectural media substantiate, they embody, the architectural codes and, by extension, their cosmic and mythic referents. These media, as contemporary products of tribal communities, reflect their time and place: they embody and transmit self-referential messages of their planners and builders both temporally and spatially. Conversely, through architectural codes tribal communities transcribe their architectural media with mythic and cosmic order, thereby incorporating them into sacred time and space: into extra-ordinary temporal and spatial domains.

Unless they are performed, liturgical orders are dead, their ritual acts have no meaning and their utterances no substance. The death of liturgical orders is counteracted by ritual performers who, through participation, accept and conform to, as well as establish, the canons of a liturgical order (Rappaport 1979: 197). In so doing, the participant fuses components of the communication model. She or he both receives and transmits canonical messages. Similarly, the performative aspect of tribal architectures is the encodement process. Through encodement, architectural media re-represent a tribal community's cosmic and mythic order (their canon). The media embody canonical messages plus establish that canon anew each time they are produced. In language, ordinary usage erodes the eternal invariant character of the canonical while ritual usage preserves and re-creates it. In spatial production too it seems that domestic architectures constitute a more individual, and therefore variable, canonical manifestation whereas liturgical

architectures re-constitute in physical form a tribal community's cosmic and mythic order.

This paper argues that a tribal community's spatial (architectural) and ritual canons are conterminous--their cosmic and mythic order. A primordial union of substance and form is expressed in a tribal community's cosmogonic myths (Rappaport 1979: 202), their Original Instructions, which, in turn, serve as canons (referents) for their spatial and ritual unions of substances and forms.

The interconnectedness of mythology, rituals, and built forms begins to demonstrate the complexity of tribal symbolism. This complexity was manifested in their ritual creations and spatial productions: two activities which share many characteristics, perhaps even a creative canon. In both, order is imparted to form and matter, and creation--the union of form and matter--is achieved. This union in religious creation is accomplished by ritual performances whereas in spatial creation it is accomplished by production of tribal architectures. Constructive acts (in the architectonic sense) are creative acts in that they order form and matter. Thus, architectures may be seen as related to myth-based belief systems and their ritual enactment. This led to the production of rituals and architectures particular to tribal communities even though certain ceremonies and their constituent architectures are not exclusively theirs. By encoding their architectures with their unique cosmic meanings, tribal communities differentiated themselves architecturally as well as culturally and linguistically.

Returning to the communication system, architectural tribalism may be operationalized as follows:

Sender: Persons, be they living or not, recognized and accepted by a tribal community as legitimate stewards of their community's cultural traditions. In essence, the sender is the tribal community, the coherent aggregation of people who accept and share a set of cultural traditions, a system of beliefs. This acceptance, especially in today's world, is often situational¹⁵.

Message: Sovereignty, tribalism, community integrity, and ethnic identity are subsumed by "boundary maintaining processes". Messages delineating these boundaries therefore speak to treaty rights, land rights, religious freedom, and self-determination.

Referent: Though all tribal communities transmit boundary maintaining messages, their unique tribally specific referents are the cultural features that distinguish one tribal community from all others. The most central and therefore distinguishing cultural features are "the major ceremonial cycles which include origin and creation cycles, migration and celebration of new laws, and legendary or 'mythic' occurrences" (Allen 1990: 236). By extension, these referents recall a tribal community's cosmos, their epistemology, their Original Instructions.

Code: The systematization of relationships between cosmological referents and tribalism messages produces canonical messages that are codified in architectural codes. These architectural codes include spatial concepts and iconological categories. The embodying of these canonical messages in architectural media is the activity of transcription. Together, codification and transcription activities constitute the encodement process of communication. It is a creative process, full of intentions and governed by tribally specific conventions. The

encodement process of communication is inseparable from the production phase of architecture.

Medium: In addition to architectural spaces and built forms, spatial relations (Knight 1986) and spatial configurations (Hillier et al 1987) embody tribally specific architectural codes, thereby transmitting boundary maintaining messages that refer to that tribal community's cosmology. The media, then, are spaces, built forms, and spatial connections or relationships. Each medium exhibits unique attributes, though some conceptual categories of an architectural code may inform their transcription in more than one medium.

Receiver: The self-persuasive function of protest rhetoric, as examined earlier, argues that in tribal architectures the sender and the receiver of many messages are one and the same, that they become fused. In many ways, then, the primary receivers of tribalism messages are members of the tribal community transmitting them. As such, the sender and receiver are the same. However, these messages are often also intended for other tribal communities as well as non-tribal society.

Thus, a communication model of tribal architectures subsumes tribal communities, their lands and religions. Tribal peoples are cast in creative and purposeful roles, wielding power and manifesting intentions through production of architectural spaces, built forms, and the relationships between and among them. The model is general enough to encompass old, new, and even presently unconstituted tribal communities, yet through operationalization is tribally specific. Through their Original Instructions tribal communities are symbolically inserted into the larger cosmic order which establishes patterns of cosmic spatial creation: "Whenever [architecture] is mentioned in a myth or lore, it at once becomes part of the

higher order, ineffable, immutable, not to be changed" (Alexander 1979: 47). As such, tribal architectures are "intimately bound up with religion; they are of one fabric. Given these considerations, a [tribal community] can be considered a spiritual association that transcends narrow issues of territory. In this case, to be a member of a [tribal community] is to live a sacred Way, to be of a certain type of heart" (Melody 1980: 15). Community membership, then, is by choice, and tribal communities differentiate between themselves and from non-tribal society on the basis of spiritual values, on the basis of cosmology. The tribal boundaries established, therefore, are primarily mythic, or cosmic, in addition to terrestrial.

Ethnoarchitectonics suggests an approach to the production of tribal architectures, an approach whereby designs are based on a tribal community's mythic and architectural traditions. Ackerman has suggested a similar approach in which "the architecture of the past would be interpreted, and that of the present be conceived, as an outgrowth of the structures that articulate societies and cultures and of those that bring the individual designer into touch with the values of the community" (Ackerman 1980: 16). Such an approach parallels ethnoarchitectonics, with the function of his "structures that articulate societies and cultures" being fulfilled by architectural codes. Through the formulation of myth-based architectural codes, tribal communities may become centrally involved in a tribal architectures renaissance--the creation of architectures that signal and maintain cosmic boundaries--within their lands. But is this presently the case in the Native American new world? Do architects employ ethnoarchitectonics when conceptualizing and planning tribal architectures? To answer these questions a survey of design methodologies used by architects to produce tribal architectures was conducted.

Surveying Tribal Architectures Design Methodologies¹⁶

"Twentieth-century Native American architecture has rarely been the subject of scholarly attention", according to Krinsky (1994: 54), and the design methodologies architects employ to create them are even less studied. In part this is due to the fact that "[t]here is a good deal of superstition among designers as to the deathly effect of analysis on their intuitions--with the unfortunate result that very few designers have tried to understand the process of design analytically" (Alexander 1979: 6). Scholars too have largely ignored the design process in general, and almost wholly with regard to design methodologies designers utilize to create Native American architectures. The purpose of this diagnostic survey,¹⁷ therefore, was to ascertain how architects are designing architectures for tribal communities today in the Native American new world; particularly how they conceptualize and plan those structures.

Other than their self-produced normative statements, little is written or known about how architects actually design Native American buildings. Since "surveys provide one of the few techniques available for the study of attitudes, values, beliefs, and motives" (Smith 1981: 185), architects who had designed structures they considered expressive of tribal identity were interviewed about their design intentions. What types of messages did they intend to send and what were the referents of those messages? Who was the sender of such messages? Who was the intended receiver? Then, because "[t]here are two types of normative statements made by designers: verbal statements of their ideological positions and the projects they design" (Lang 1987: 219), architects were then asked to indicate the design manifestations of their verbal intentions. Which architectural media were used and in what

ways? In short, viewing their designs as communication media, how would their architectures be operationalized within a communication model?

A sample of buildings and designers was compiled from newspapers, trade and professional journals, professional association members, and lists of building types. The sample was then narrowed to those tribal and intertribal buildings and their architects within a 200 mile radius of three cities: Albuquerque, New Mexico, Seattle, Washington, and Omaha, Nebraska. In anthropological terms, then, the survey drew from four "culture areas": the Southwest, the Northwest Coast and Plateau, and the Plains. Next, phone calls were placed to a person in authority at each building and they were asked if they felt the building design was reflective of tribal identity? If so, and if they were agreeable, an interview was requested to be held at the building. Architects were similarly contacted and interviews scheduled in their offices. Letters were then sent to the prospective interviewees introducing the survey and emphasizing the importance of their participation (see appendix A). The letter also served as a consent form which was collected at the time of the interview¹⁸.

All interviewees were told that their responses were confidential, would eventually be rendered anonymous when follow up was no longer needed, and would be summarized with the responses from other persons for statistical purposes. Furthermore, their participation in the survey could either be kept confidential or else be fully recognized. And finally, they could choose to obtain a draft and/or final compilation of the survey. In return, a request was made of them for a floor plan and/or site plan for each design discussed.

The survey interviews¹⁹, refined through pretesting with an architect who had designed Native American architectures, consisted of four parts: (1)

reviewing and collecting the consent form, (2) verifying the interviewee's name and address, and the name and address of each of the designs discussed, (3) establishing a chronology of the six architectural activities for each design,²⁰ and (4) identifying the interviewee's design intentions and how those intentions were made evident in their designs. Each discrete communication intention mentioned by the interviewees was recorded, even if all components of the communication model were not identified. Since drawings represent graphic recordings of designers' intentions, they were essential devices in identifying how designers actually attempted to implement their intentions. This is particularly true with regard to unbuilt designs, but also when interviews were not conducted in the buildings themselves.

Thirty-four persons (see appendix B) who referenced 38 designs (see appendix C) were contacted while conducting the survey. During 12 days of the summer of 1993, 21 persons involved with 34 designs were formally interviewed. Notes were taken in pencil during the interviews and, when time permitted, were typed on a computer for safe and convenient archiving. The interviews were conducted in five states and one Canadian province. Because four interviewees were either peripheral decision-makers with regard to the designs under consideration or else their designs were not intended for tribal communities or lands, the final sample was narrowed to 17 interviews relating to 31 designs. Regionally, six interviews were conducted in and around Albuquerque, nine in the Seattle area, and two in Omaha. During five of the 17 interviews, a second designer was present at least part of the time, although only one of them consented to and was formally interviewed. The 31 designs were distributed as follows: 10 in the Southwest; 10 in the Northwest; 6 in the Plateau; and 5 in the Plains.

After transcribing the notes from each interview into a narrative format, communication intentions were partitioned. Twenty-nine recording units--partitions--were identified for components of the communication model: five message units, two units of senders, nine units of referents, five media units, and six units of codes²¹. By analyzing these messages, their senders, referents, media, and codes, contemporary architectures designed for tribal communities can be operationalized within a communications model.

After all communication intentions with regard to the 31 designs were recorded, they were grouped into the four "culture" areas and the frequency of each partition compiled, along with that partition's percentage of communication intentions recorded for the communication component of which it is a part. This information is presented in figure 2.1 (see page 47).

Two hundred and thirty-four messages were identified as having been encoded into the 31 designs. The six types of messages and their percentages are as follows: 12% tribalism, 2% intertribalism, 36% Indianism, 12% regionalism, 35% naturalism, and 3% aestheticism. Tribalism messages are tribally specific. They are concerned with tribal issues, regardless of whether or not those issues are shared by other tribes or the general non-tribal population. The focus of intertribalism is some sense of shared perspective among two or more tribes or tribal members, often limited in space and/or time. Indianism, on the other hand, is closer to an imposed commonality of all tribal peoples of North America, an imposition usually made from outside of tribal communities. Such commonalities are assumed universal and eternal, thereby antithetical to both distinct and changing (inter)tribal identities. Regionalism, as the name implies, is limited spatially but not temporally. With regard to architecture, it is almost exclusively concerned

| | Southwest | Plateau | Northwest | Plains | Total | Percentage |
|-----------------------------------|-----------|---------|-----------|--------|-------|------------|
| Messages | | | | | | |
| Identity | | | | | | |
| Tribalism | 12 | 6 | 4 | 7 | 29 | 12 |
| Intertribalism | 4 | | | | 4 | 2 |
| Style | | | | | | |
| Indianism | 34 | 23 | 17 | 11 | 85 | 36 |
| Regionalism | | 9 | 19 | | 28 | 12 |
| Naturalism | 34 | 20 | 13 | 14 | 81 | 35 |
| Aestheticism | 5 | 2 | | | 7 | 3 |
| Senders | | | | | | |
| Designer | 90 | 66 | 60 | 36 | 252 | 98 |
| Tribal Member | 5 | 1 | | | 6 | 2 |
| Referents | | | | | | |
| Tribal | | | | | | |
| Original Instructions | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 |
| Tribal Architectures | | 4 | 7 | 5 | 16 | 7 |
| Tribal Details | 11 | 6 | 1 | 3 | 21 | 10 |
| Intertribal | | | | | | |
| Intertribal Architectures | 15 | 3 | 20 | 8 | 46 | 21 |
| Intertribal Details | 7 | 2 | 5 | | 14 | 7 |
| Non-Member Native Consultants | 2 | 3 | | | 5 | 2 |
| Non-Native | | | | | | |
| Vernacular Architectures | 3 | | | | 3 | 1 |
| Dominant Mainstream Architectures | 1 | 4 | 1 | | 6 | 3 |
| Personal Beliefs of the Designer | 43 | 28 | 17 | 13 | 101 | 47 |
| Media | | | | | | |
| Architectural | | | | | | |
| Architectural Spaces | 5 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 10 | 5 |
| Built Forms | 58 | 44 | 42 | 17 | 161 | 81 |
| Spatial Relationships | 4 | 1 | 4 | | 9 | 5 |
| Non-Architectural | | | | | | |
| Landscaping | 2 | 6 | 2 | 4 | 14 | 7 |
| Workers | 2 | 2 | | | 4 | 2 |
| Codes | | | | | | |
| Architectural | | | | | | |
| Mimetic Spaces | 1 | | | 2 | 3 | 2 |
| Mimetic Built Forms | 19 | 9 | 9 | 4 | 41 | 33 |
| Mimetic Spatial Relationships | 2 | 1 | 4 | | 7 | 6 |
| Non-Architectural | | | | | | |
| Intermedia Translations | 5 | 7 | 4 | 3 | 19 | 15 |
| Geometrical | 5 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 13 | 11 |
| Personal/Intuitive | 21 | 8 | 5 | 2 | 36 | 29 |
| Mimetic Landscaping | 1 | 1 | | 2 | 4 | 3 |

Figure 2.1. Frequency of Communication Intentions for Tribal Architectures

with formal and physical objects, with the shape and materials of buildings. Interestingly, regionalism was not mentioned in either the plains or southwest areas (15 designs combined), whereas 50% of both the Northwest designs and the Plateau designs were intended to be regional. Naturalism refers to those attributes and behaviors imputed to tribal peoples throughout the world. Whereas Indianism is predominantly concerned with North American peoples, naturalism is concerned with those attitudes and behaviors--often resulting in caricature and stereotype--presumed inherent in all "primitive" peoples. A few examples are self-sufficiency, climatic responsiveness, geometrical simplicity, and an environmentalism ethic. Finally, aestheticism refers to those basic design principles assumed universally inherent in great art. Whereas the other types of messages in some way reference people, aestheticism does not. These six types of messages may be divided into those that are supportive of Native identities (tribalism and intertribalism) on the one hand, and those that are supportive of design styles (Indianism, regionalism, naturalism, and aestheticism) on the other. As such, 14% of the messages refer to identity whereas 86% are concerned with style.

Of the 258 communication intentions, architects identified themselves as the senders in 252 of them. There were six instances (2%) when tribal members were identified as the senders. Though proportionally small, those six instances are revealing and will be discussed after the following three communication components have been examined.

The nine units of referents may be organized into three categories: tribal, intertribal, and non-Native. Tribal referents are (1) the Original Instructions of a tribe, (2) the architectures of a tribe, and (3) any number of details exhibited by the material culture of a tribe. Intertribal referents are

(4) architectures or (5) material culture details from tribal peoples other than whose land the structure being encoded is built upon. Another intertribal referent would be (6) a Native consultant who was not a member of that tribal community. The non-Native referents to which messages may refer are (7) vernacular architectures world-wide, (8) dominant mainstream architectures, and (9) the architect's personal beliefs. Two hundred and fifteen referents were recorded: 1% Original Instructions, 7% tribal architectures, 10% tribal details, 21% intertribal architectures, 7% intertribal details, 2% Native consultants, 1% vernacular architectures, 3% mainstream architectures, and 47% personal beliefs of the architects. Grouped, the results are 19% tribal, 30% intertribal, and 51% non-Native.

There are three architectural media which may be inscribed with--and in turn communicate--messages. These are architectural spaces, built forms, and spatial relationships. One other (landscaping), though not in the strict sense architectural, was indicated by architects 7% of the time as their message medium. This was greater than both architectural spaces (5%) and spatial relationships (5%), but far less than built forms which were mentioned 81% of the time as being inscribed with meaning. Two percent suggested that the employees themselves were what made a building "Indian": that the presence of Native people communicated the "Indianness" of architectures.

Seven types of codes used by designers to inscribe their messages onto architectural media may be ascertained from the survey. Three of them attempt to achieve a one-to-one correspondence between proposed and existing architectures either (1) spatially, (2) formally, or (3) relationally. Another code concerns correspondence requiring (4) intermedia translation. For instance, creating a tile pattern based on a beadwork design. Whereas

these four codes seek a correspondence with actual spatial or physical entities, a (5) geometrical code asserts a correspondence between intended messages and a geometric shape. It is more abstract and dependent upon the designer for interpretation. A second even more personal manner of inscribing architectural media with meanings is for designers to use their own (6) intuitive code, gut feeling, sixth sense, or other such "irrational" method. This second most popular code was used for 29% of the messages. The three mimetic architectural codes were employed in 41% of the cases (2% spatial, 33% formal, and 6% relational), while the intermedia translation code was used 15% of the time and the geometrical code 11% of the time. The final type of code, a (7) mimetic landscapes code, seeks a one-to-one correspondence between landscapes and was used 3% of the time.

Based on this survey, architectures designed for tribal communities today in the Native American new world are usually (71%) inscribed with messages assumed universal about all "primitive" peoples (messages implying passivity and environmental determinism) or else all Native Americans (messages obliterating tribal identities). Those messages are overwhelmingly (98%) formulated and encoded by the architects themselves, with nearly half of them (47%) referencing the architects' personal beliefs. Architects inscribe their personal, universal, messages predominantly (81%) in built forms by either (33%) direct copying of existing buildings or else (29%) by doing what feels or looks right. Such a "mainstream" design methodology has little if any relation to tribal architectures, which are inscribed with messages delineating tribal identity by persons recognized and accepted by a tribal community as legitimate stewards of their community's spiritual traditions. Such messages reference a community's epistemology, their Original Instructions, and the relationships between these epistemic

referents and tribalism messages are systematized in tribally specific architectural codes, which in turn are embodied primarily in architectural spaces and spatial relationships.

So what is the outlook for architectural tribalism in the Native American new world? Statistically bleak. Only 12% of messages espouse tribalism; this from a sample of buildings avowedly expressive of tribal identity. Just 2% of communication intentions are encoded by tribal members. And a significantly insignificant 1% of messages refer to a tribe's Original Instructions, the genesis of tribalism. Architectural spaces and spatial relationships combined are inscribed with only 10% of all messages, while codes pertaining to such spaces and relationships are employed in merely 8% of cases.

But perhaps the research methodology biased these interpretations. Therefore, in order to minimize the influence of any one design, or any one architect, or even my own biases as the interviewer and data recorder, a non-frequency (presence-absence) tabulation of the same data is provided in figure 2.2 (see page 53). In other words, figure 2.2 indicates for how many of the 31 designs each of the 27 recording units were mentioned. So whereas figure 2.1 presents the total number of communication intentions of each recording unit mentioned for all 31 designs combined, figure 2.2 presents the number of designs referred to by each recording unit. Though the numbers vary, the patterns remain. Based on figure 2.2, the outlook for architectural tribalism in the Native American new world remains statistically bleak. Only 13% of messages espouse tribalism. Just 11% of messages are encoded by tribal members. And a significantly insignificant 3% of messages refer to a tribe's Original Instructions, the genesis of tribalism. Though architectural spaces and spatial relationships together are mentioned in nearly a quarter

(24%) of the designs as a communication media, codes pertaining to such spaces and relationships are employed in only 13% of cases.

There is evidence for a powerful link between spatial relationships and tribal epistemology. In four of the six instances when tribal members were identified as the senders of communication intentions, a communication medium was mentioned. And in all four cases, the medium was spatial relationships. Since the tribal members did not inform the designers about the intent of their requests, there are no referents and only one message (tribalism) for these cases. It can be inferred, however, that the intended receivers were the tribal members themselves. As such, and in accordance with Native American protest rhetoric theory, those messages sent and intended to be received by the same person or group of persons are concerned with "constituting self-hood through expression; that is, with establishing, defining, and affirming one's self-hood as one engages in a rhetorical act" (Gregg 1971: 74). Tribal architectures--as manifestations of Native American protest rhetoric--are "persuasive insofar as [they] serve consummatory purposes prescribed by traditional religious/cultural precepts" (Lake 1983: 128). In other words, those four instances where tribal members were both sender and receiver are representative of protest rhetoric. Such rhetoric constitutes tribal identity in part by referencing a tribe's traditional spiritual precepts, their Original Instructions. And the architectural medium chosen by rhetors to carry such tribally specific epistemic messages was spatial relationships. In contrast, contemporary Native American architectures primarily rely on built forms as communication media. This reliance perhaps precludes such architectures from embodying tribalism messages and their traditional referents.

| | Southwest | Plateau | Northwest | Plains | Total | Percentage |
|-----------------------------------|-----------|---------|-----------|--------|-------|------------|
| Messages | | | | | | |
| Identity | | | | | | |
| Tribalism | 2 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 9 | 13 |
| Intertribalism | 4 | | | | 4 | 6 |
| Style | | | | | | |
| Indianism | 7 | 6 | 3 | 4 | 20 | 29 |
| Regionalism | | 3 | 5 | | 8 | 11 |
| Naturalism | 9 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 25 | 36 |
| Aestheticism | 3 | 1 | | | 4 | 6 |
| Senders | | | | | | |
| Designer | 10 | 6 | 10 | 5 | 31 | 89 |
| Tribal Member | 3 | 1 | | | 4 | 11 |
| Referents | | | | | | |
| Tribal | | | | | | |
| Original Instructions | | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| Tribal Architectures | | 2 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 7 |
| Tribal Details | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 6 | 9 |
| Intertribal | | | | | | |
| Intertribal Architectures | 5 | 2 | 7 | 3 | 17 | 24 |
| Intertribal Details | 4 | 2 | 3 | | 9 | 13 |
| Non-Member Native Consultants | 2 | 3 | | | 5 | 7 |
| Non-Native | | | | | | |
| Vernacular Architectures | 2 | | | | 2 | 3 |
| Dominant Mainstream Architectures | 1 | 1 | 1 | | 3 | 4 |
| Personal Beliefs of the Designer | 7 | 6 | 4 | 4 | 21 | 30 |
| Media | | | | | | |
| Architectural | | | | | | |
| Architectural Spaces | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 6 | 11 |
| Built Forms | 10 | 6 | 8 | 5 | 29 | 54 |
| Spatial Relationships | 4 | 1 | 2 | | 7 | 13 |
| Non-Architectural | | | | | | |
| Landscaping | 2 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 10 | 19 |
| Workers | 2 | 1 | | | 3 | 6 |
| Codes | | | | | | |
| Architectural | | | | | | |
| Mimetic Spaces | 1 | | | 2 | 3 | 5 |
| Mimetic Built Forms | 6 | 4 | 5 | 2 | 17 | 28 |
| Mimetic Spatial Relationships | 2 | 1 | 2 | | 5 | 8 |
| Non-Architectural | | | | | | |
| Intermedia Translations | 3 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 12 | 20 |
| Geometrical | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 8 | 13 |
| Personal/Intuitive | 4 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 13 | 21 |
| Mimetic Landscaping | 1 | 1 | | 1 | 3 | 5 |

Figure 2.2. Frequency of Recording Units for Tribal Architectures

Traditional spiritual beliefs are the foundations of Native American protest rhetoric, and analogously, of tribal architectures. This survey suggests that these Original Instructions are largely ignored in contemporary Native American architectures. One architect stated that though he himself overlooked it in the past, he now recognizes the importance of incorporating religion into Native American designs. Still, only two of the 17 architects (12%) stated that they incorporated religious precepts (cosmology and mythology) into their designs. Coincidentally, both of their designs are strongly tribal. The other 15 architects, however, conflated "Indian," "spirituality," and "tradition" in their efforts to create designs outside the mainstream architectural legacy, to create designs expressive of tribal or intertribal identities.

When explaining what makes their designs "Indian," architects identified six attributes. The first, environmentalism, revolves around a sensitive relationship between a building and the surrounding environment. Three more attributes are a ceremonial space, a circle, and acknowledging four cardinal directions. Another way to make designs "Indian" is to mimic the techniques, colors, shapes and forms of tribal artifacts, especially from the past. The sixth attribute is associative, in that the design itself is not "Indian." Instead, it is so considered if a Native person designed it, or built it, or lives or works in it. Furthermore, if Native people meet there, or Native documents and artifacts are housed there, or even if Native foods are served there, then that design is considered "Indian."

Three of the interviewees mentioned "spirituality" as distinguishing their designs from the mainstream, explaining it as an environmentalism ethic, a concern for the earth, for conservation. The use of simple, primary geometries, a ceremonial space, and employing Native consultants were three

more attributes of spirituality. Together with an environmentalism ethic, all four of these may be subsumed under "Indian" attributes articulated above.

Finally, "tradition" itself was invoked by two architects. Their honest responses clearly indicate the gulf between insider and outsider interpretations of tribal traditions. In one case, the architect believed tribal members had no traditions, so meanings were invented for design elements by the architect and thereby "Indianness" was achieved. (That interviewee now believes that the people do have traditions again.) In the other case, tradition was attributed to a design through proposing to implement a running (foot racing) program on the building grounds.

Collectively speaking, then, seven attributes differentiating contemporary Native American architectures from mainstream architectures were identified: (1) an environmentalism ethic, (2) a ceremonial space, (3) circles or other simple geometrical shapes, (4) acknowledgement of the cardinal directions, (5) mimetic connection to the material culture of a tribal community, (6) involvement of Native people in some manner, no matter how tangential or trivial, and (7) normative statements by architects about the Indianness of their designs. These are not related to Original Instructions. They are related to the White Man's Indian, architectural post-modernism, tokenism, and self-conscious expressionism.

Architects are attempting to produce designs labeled Native American, but in so doing are perpetuating stereotypes and design methodologies which adversely affect efforts to both revive architectural tribalism and develop intertribal or Native American architectures. As laudable as an environmentalism ethic is, it alone does not make a design "Indian." It is, perhaps, an ethic all architectures, regardless of their location, should strive to achieve. Conversely, images of romanticized religiosity and child-like

simplicity, when invoked as "Indian," need not be replicated architecturally, particularly in designs for tribal communities. Their stereotypical nature, both noble and ignoble, trivializes tribal religions and insults Native intellects. Similarly, the uncritical appropriation of tribal material culture by non-tribal members is problematic. When this appropriation is from the past, as it most often is, images of "the old days" as a golden age lived by "real Indians" is perpetuated. Contemporary Native Americans and their lifestyles are viewed as degenerate, if considered at all. Yet at the same time, often as a result of legal, economic, social or psychological considerations, Native Americans are sometimes involved in the production of Native American architectures. Rarely accorded central decision making powers, such "consultants" at best influence designs, at worst serve as mere tokens with no stake in the encodement process of design or the production phase of architecture. In such situations, the architect as form-maker has full, creative, rein to express his or her artistry free from the traditions of the peoples for whom the design is intended.

So even though Krinsky (1994: 54,55) believes that Native American architectures are increasingly "responsive to Native American cultural concerns" and "are being designed with reference to Native American tradition," this survey suggests otherwise²². The ideological orientation of designers with reference to these traditions is one way to articulate between "unselfconscious" and "selfconscious" cultures. Analogous to Gowans' "traditional" or "historic" arts in the first case, and his "avant garde" or "High Style" art in the second, Alexander posits that "[u]nselfconscious cultures contain, as a feature of their form-producing systems, a certain built-in fixity-patterns of myth, tradition, and taboo which resist willful change", whereas "[s]elfconsciousness brings with it the desire to break loose, the taste for

individual expression, the escape from tradition and taboo, the will to self-determination" (Alexander 1979: 48, 59).

As one interviewee metaphorically put it, tradition can be "sprinkled" throughout a design—a little here and a little there—according to the whims of the architect. Seen in this light, tradition is like a condiment. It adds flavor to something already cooked. But traditions are not condiments. Original Instructions are like main ingredients. They go in before the cooking. They are the common matrix, the core substance, to which individuals add their personal flavorings.

Native American architectures that intend to be expressive of tribal or intertribal identities must be built on the foundation of a community's Original Instructions. Original Instructions are the genesis of tribalism, not something to be scattered about according to the tastes of politicians, scholars, artists or architects. As Mathew King (quoted in Wall and Arden 1990: 29), "a well-known Traditionalist spokesman of the Lakota people" says:

I know why you're here! White Man came to this country and forgot his original Instructions. We have never forgotten our Instructions. So you're looking for the Instructions you lost. I can't tell you what those were, but maybe there are some things I can explain. It's time Indians tell the world what we know... So I'm going to tell you what I know and who I am. You guys better listen. You got a lot to learn.

Orienting Notes

Persons who read and commented on portions of this chapter or previous writings related to this chapter include Crisca Bierwert, Henry Wright, John O'Shea, Neena Mitchell, Richard Ford, Roy Rappaport, and Tristine Smart.

Persons who provided experiences central to this study include Allan Quick, Carol Carlson, Dennis Manley, Doug Gann, Gayle Fritz, James Macintosh, June Howard, Lisa Young, and Wilda Wahpepah.

¹The choice of the term "primitive" is purposeful for two reasons. First, the uncritical use of the term "Indian" in academic and scholarly settings is itself primitive. Second, of the four authors mentioned, only Oliver did not employ the term, though he did discuss it.

²The idea of "survivals," of certain architectural forms continuing through time but whose functions were changed, was proposed by Waterman (1931, 1927) to explain why "religious" architectures are different from "domestic" architectures.

³The urbanization of tribal peoples, characterized by movement from their own communities to mainstream communities, was not solely the result of termination and relocation policies. Those two policies did, however, greatly accelerate the process.

⁴When Black Elk Speaks was reissued in paperback in 1961 it reached a large audience and became, especially among the youth, a classic. It wasn't until Neihardt was interviewed on Dick Cavett's television show in 1971, however, that the popularity of Black Elk Speaks really grew. As of 1972 it had been translated into eight languages. Today it enjoys a wide readership.

⁵Architectures that are not encoded with tribal messages are therefore either consciously or unconsciously encoded with non-tribal messages. As such, they have little if any relevance to tribal communities. Dennis Sun Rhodes (1989), a Northern Arapaho architect, writes that "Most of the contemporary buildings for American Indians have ignored the special Indian needs, for they have been based on the values of the dominant society." Similarly, Simon Ortiz (1979: 13-14), an Acoma author and poet, has written the following prose:

You've seen Mericano contractors work too;
they quickly slap together some cement walls
angrily nail up two by fours, all the time mad
about the weather, and then they haul away
a large amount of trash to the dump,

and the construction they've built looks
like a house which somebody else will buy
if they have the money.

⁶In summarizing the four functions, Gowans (1981: 462-463) stated that substitute images "provided pictures to serve as substitutes for material things, and as symbols for ideas." Those substitute images could then "be arranged in certain coherent sequences, so related to each other as to [illustrate] a story about something or record an event." Beautification "did not itself produce objects, but was a technique or skill of so refining and ornamenting [objects] as to produce something more intelligible, more 'sensibly' associated with human life and experience." Finally, historic arts were "used to support, defend, promote, attack or disparage abstract ideas and ideologies. They were . . . instruments of war for mankind's mind."

⁷Tribal architectures, as do all architectures, serve many functions and communicate many types of information. The point here is that, according to Gowan, the social function of architecture is to communicate social convictions.

⁸This communication system is based on Jones (1986: 11) who in turn based it on Jakobson (1960) and Eco (1979).

⁹Briefly, conceptualization is fundamental and primary. It is the predominantly mental activity of being aware of possible arrangements and organizations of space. This is the initial and necessary activity of architectural production. Planning is the operationalization of conceptualized spatial arrangements and organizations. Construction is the objectification/substantiation of the planned spatial arrangements and organizations. This activity produces built forms which in turn may enclose or bound space. Utilization is the performance of human activities within created spatial arrangements and organizations while maintenance refers to the upkeep of, mostly, the built forms. Finally, there are at least three types of abandonment: (1) change of form, spatial arrangement, or spatial organization, (2) destruction of the built forms, and (3) disregard or neglect.

¹⁰The compound word is derived from "ethno-, a combining form meaning 'race,' 'culture,' 'people,'" and "architectonics, the science of planning and constructing buildings" (Random House Dictionary of the English Language).

¹¹Derived in part from Ankerl (1981), spaces which humans inhabit may be categorized into four levels. These spatial categories include (1) biofactual, represented by the womb, (2) geofactual, represented by natural enclosures such as caves and canyons, (3) technological, which are constructed by humans, and (4) cosmological, represented by the universe.

¹²Compare with Kubler's (1962) tripartite division of the arts into envelopes (which included architecture), solids, and planes.

¹³Architectural codes comprise one component of a proposed framework for the production of tribal architectures. The other component is an architectural history of the Native American old and new worlds from which tribal communities may extract their individual architectural legacies (see

"AlterNATIVE Tribal Design Traditions" in chapter 5). Both components address tribal communities collectively and each community specifically.

¹⁴Rappaport's (1979: 173-221) analysis of "The Obvious Aspects of Ritual" is a central influence on the following discussion of the parallelism between ritual creation and spatial (architectural) creation.

¹⁵Powers (1982) convincingly argues that continuity and change are actually opposite poles of a continuum, with tribal (Oglala in his case) on one end and "white" on the other. Most individuals fall somewhere between the poles, and depending on the situation or circumstance, consciously or unconsciously gravitate toward one end or the other. In other words, acceptance of the values of either end of the continuum is a decision individuals make every day, and often more than once a day.

¹⁶This survey was made possible in part by grants from the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies and the Doctoral Program in Architecture, both at the University of Michigan.

¹⁷Zeisel (1981: 60) suggested that if one were "[b]eginning with little knowledge about your study object, you might choose to carry out a reconnaissance mission . . . to find out about it generally: its purposes, its parts, and the relations among its parts." As opposed to descriptive, theoretical, or action researches, diagnostic studies "offer insight into the structure and dynamics of a whole situation, possibly even setting the stage for further research" (Zeisel 1981: 60). This survey is intended to serve precisely this function.

¹⁸This research design was submitted to and approved by the Human Subjects in Research Review Committee of the College of Literature, Science, and the Arts at the University of Michigan.

¹⁹Zeisel (1981) and Smith (1980) served as the primary references for developing and conducting the "focused" interviews: "You can use a focused interview with individuals or groups to find out in depth how people define a concrete situation, what they consider important about it, what effects they intended to have in the situation, and how they feel about it" (Zeisel 1981: 137).

²⁰In order, the six activities and questions related to them are: (1) Concept: Who initially foresaw the need for a particular building or design, and when? What was that need in response to? (2) Planning: When were designers hired? (3) Construction: When did construction begin? When did/will it end? What was the name of the construction company? (4) Utilization: When did/will the building open? (5) Maintenance: Have there been any remodelings, major repairs, or renovations? and (6) Abandonment: Did the building close or was it demolished?

²¹Though there are six components to the communication model, only five of them were analyzed. The "receiver" component was dropped from analysis due to its ubiquitous assumption of being "all the visitors" to each building. This is not the case in all architectures, but none of the interviewees claimed their architectures communicated differently with subsets of visitors.

²²Based on Krinsky's research, four ways that "traditional concerns have been incorporated into Native American architectures" are: (1) literal appropriation of "traditional" building types, plans, elevations, materials, details, and decorations, (2) symbolic or expressive interpretation of "traditional" building types, plans, elevations, materials, details, and decorations, (3) replication of "traditional" construction processes, and (4) advocacy of an environmentalism ethic (Krinsky 1994: 55-57). Points #1 and #3 use tradition as a stifling influence. Invention and adaptation is prohibited. By perpetuating only those products and processes that existed in the past, designers of contemporary Native American architectures are faced with the logical impossibility of finding, for examples, a traditional prototype for an airport or a traditional precedent for construction teams comprising technically trained, full time, specialized, workers. An environmentalism ethic, or what Krinsky refers to as an "emphasis on natural materials or a connection to nature," is basically a more sophisticated argument that Native American architectures are the products of non-cultural determinants. As with all such arguments, they are in no way specific to Native Americans. However, it is true that point #2 does encompass a creativity based on tribally specific tradition. What is excluded or ignored, though, is space.

CHAPTER 3: MOVING

Our people are visionaries. A spiritual leader by the name of Black Elk had a vision. He foresaw that the seventh generation would bring a spiritual renaissance, a rebirth of our culture, our language, our ceremonies, but mainly our spirituality. And it is here today where we have people who will fulfill the prophecy (Justin Deegan, quoted in McKosato 1995: A1).

A renaissance is taking place among Native American peoples. This renaissance is not of a material nature. It is a spiritual renaissance, a retrieving and reviving of our original covenant with the Creator (Eddie Benton-Banai, quoted in Wall and Arden 1990: 50).

Today, in the Native American new world, the written word contributes to the continuation of this spiritual renaissance. It was the spoken word, however, that originally created tribally specific cosmoses from the unordered chaos of this universe. And those words became the Word for their respective tribes: "the Word, in fact, becomes a sort of primary force, in which all being and doing originate" (Cassirer 1946: 45). Through the Word--their Original Instructions or "covenant with the Creator"--people organized themselves and related themselves to each other and to the cosmos, their lands and skies. Those Words, recited in myths and expressed in rituals, "served numerous social functions, including the promotion of group unification or one-heartedness, the recitation of important knowledge, and the reinforcement of group values" (Dissanayake 1988: 153). In a tribal context, they were "designed to impose upon individuals unforgettable patterns of tribally essential knowledge and explanation" (Dissanayake 1988: 154). What is

tribal, then, has its origins in a sacred source--Original Instructions. And those Instructions "do not tell of chronological time past, but of processes that are eternally happening. The same processes are recurring now and are to recur in other future cycles" (Brown 1982: 50). They represent a reality that "is not timeless in the sense that it never changes, but it is timeless in that it is a changing reflection in our corporeal world of the incorporeal or transcendent reality" (Versluis 1992: 23); and that reality which appears to be "immutable and eternal is the Sacred as such (Nasr 1989: 76).

Tribalism, then, has its origins in that which is sacred, and "The Sacred as such is the source of Tradition and what is traditional is inseparable from the sacred" (Nasr 1989: 76). Tradition, defined as "a body of accepted and acceptable ways of performing [an] activity with its own rules or code" (Dissanayake 1988: 160), is infused with sacrality through its "rules or code" which derive from the Word, the Original Instructions of a tribe. What is traditional, therefore, and what is tribal, are those activities encoded with the Word. Through the Word, chaotic space is ordered into tribally specific cosmological space. Similarly, codification of the Word in architectural codes enables architectural media to be inscribed with tribally specific traditional referents. Architectures so encoded are traditional "not because of [their] subject matter but because of [their] conformity to cosmic laws of forms, to the laws of symbolism, to the formal genius of the particular spiritual universe in which it has been created" (Nasr 1989: 254). Such architectures constitute a renaissance of architectural tribalism, a renaissance related to the spiritual renaissance Deegan and Benton-Banai mention above, and the broader Native American renaissance mentioned in chapter 1.

Having suggested that architectural codes are the key component in a tribal architectures renaissance, in a retraditionalization/respiritualization of

the production processes of architectures designed for tribal peoples, this chapter uses the theoretical framework outlined in chapter 2 to develop an architectural code for the Ponca Tribe of Nebraska which is then tested through designs for a hypothetical Ponca interpretive center. The Ponca architectural code was developed following an idealized process for formulating, implementing, and evaluating tribal architectural codes. That process, which conceivably may be replicated by future researchers, is diagrammed in figure 3.1 below. After discussing the idealized process which served as the research design for this study, the formulation and implementation of a Ponca architectural code will be discussed. Then, in chapter 4, the Ponca interpretive center design solutions are evaluated.

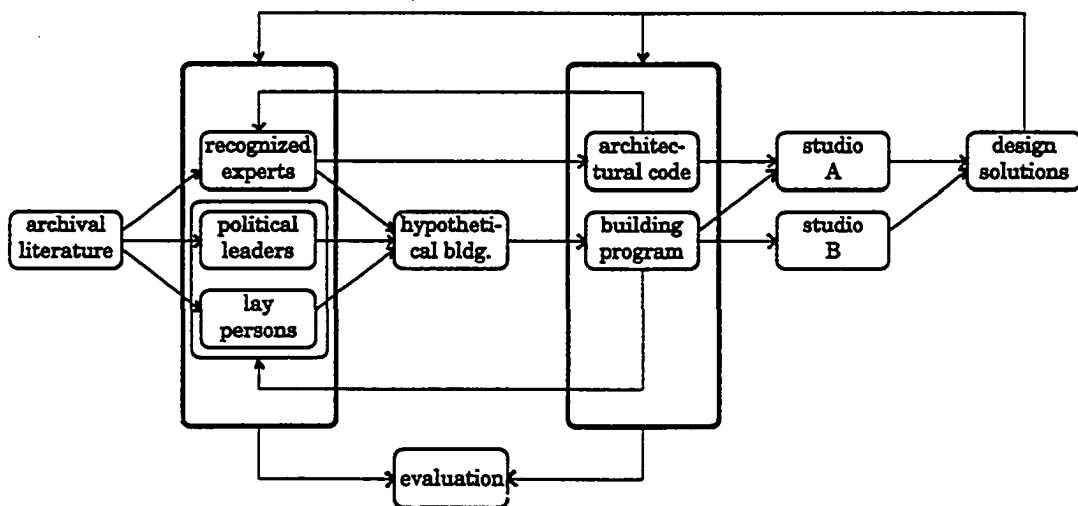


Figure 3.1. Idealized Process for Testing Tribal Architectural Codes

Conceptually, the first step in formulating a tribal community's architectural code would be to compile a historical timeline of that community--from emergence into the Native American old world to

contemporary conditions in the Native American new world. This (fore/back)grounding would provide a basis from which to conduct interviews with tribal members, interviews which would inform and shape both the architectural code and the spatial and functional requirements of the hypothetical test building. The timeline could also be shared with contact persons and tribal governing offices.

Before conducting the interviews, however, representatives of the tribal community should be contacted, the project explained to them, and their willingness to participate ascertained. Without consent of official tribal representatives--usually the tribal council--the project should be abandoned. If it would not be relevant to tribal peoples today, then it has little if any basis to incorporate the use of tribal lands and spiritual beliefs, or to advocate the perpetuation of tribal communities. Once consent was given, a stratified sample of lay persons, political leaders, and recognized cultural experts, all members of the selected tribal community, would be interviewed. While all three sample populations would be involved in choosing the hypothetical building, recognized experts alone would provide input into the architectural code.

Because the code would be derived from the tribe's Original Instructions, it would be bound up with the sacred, the esoteric. One does not typically ask a lay person to divulge esoteric knowledge or to explicate sacred and traditional activities. Persons with this knowledge and ability within tribal communities are stewards of tribalism; they are tribal elders. "In our way of life the Elders give spiritual direction. The wisdom of thousands of years flows through their lips" (Mathew King, quoted in Wall and Arden 1990: 33). But in the Native American new world, "we also realize that many, not all, of our Elders have fallen asleep, forgotten, or have never

known our rightful spiritual heritage. Therefore, it is up to us who have, in whatever measure, the teachings, philosophy, and traditions, including the rituals, to work for their revival and continuance" (Eddie Benton-Banai, quoted in Wall and Arden 1990: 51). Elders with such spiritual knowledge and attitudes are the recognized tribal experts whose contributions, particularly with regard to formulation of the architectural code, should be actively solicited¹. Their involvement would ensure that the code in particular, and the project in general, would be rooted in the bedrock of tribalism--traditional spiritual beliefs.

Political leaders, on the other hand, are versed in the day-to-day governing of the tribe. They are elected by popular vote and have influence on present and future tribal decisions. And lay persons, though not elected to tribal office or possessing special esoteric knowledge, do represent the majority of tribal members. Through the ballot box they can influence the composition of elected tribal positions and, indirectly, the political orientation of tribal decisions. These two groups--political leaders and lay persons--would be centrally involved in choosing a hypothetical building to be designed and in determining its functional requirements. "Architecture, to state the obvious, is a social act--social both in method and purpose" (Kostof 1985: 7). And because "tribal culture is essentially collective, and its domain therefore essentially public" (Langer 1953: 97), the building type chosen should be tribal and public instead of individual and private.

Research into the general functional requirements of the chosen building type, together with input from the tribal community (particularly political leaders and lay persons), would be combined into the "building program," a list of spatial and functional requirements for a particular building within a specified environmental context. Such a program of

functional requirements would be the basis upon which one group of designers would produce individual designs for the hypothetical building. A separate group of designers would similarly produce designs, except that in addition to the program, they would also be provided an architectural code for that tribal community.

Architectural codes should systematize relationships between cosmological referents and tribalism messages and should facilitate the transcription of these mythic referents to architectural media. Geertz wrote that a religious system is an ordered cluster of sacred symbols--dramatized in rituals and related in myths--that store ontological and cosmological meanings (Geertz 1957: 422-424). Analogously, an architectural code should be a set of symbolic concepts derived from rituals and myths that embody cosmogonical and cosmological meanings². The idealized architectural code used for this study would be comprised of four spatial concepts (centering, orienting, moving, arranging) and seven iconological categories (numbers, colors, shapes, animals, plants, time, forms) which would be articulated in tribally specific formats through analysis of tribal myths. The intent being that architectural codes would promote a renaissance of architectural tribalism, of architectures that embody the traditional convictions--the Original Instructions--of a tribal community and that persuade community members to support, defend, promote, and perpetuate those Instructions.

The two studios, or groups of designers, would provide an opportunity to test whether or not an architectural code encourages production of such meaningful architectural solutions. One studio, in a manner similar to contemporary professional architectural practices, would design the chosen building to meet the specified spatial and functional requirements. The other studio would design the same building using the same requirements; but they

also would have access to the tribal architectural code. Comparisons between the two studios would provide insights into the effect of the architectural code on design solutions, whereas comparisons within each studio would demonstrate the variability and diversity of design solutions in response to their given criteria. These comparisons would be conducted by the researcher. The tribal community, however, along with the researcher, would evaluate all design solutions. Again, this would require planning with official tribal representatives. It also would provide interviewees an opportunity to see three-dimensional products based in part on their earlier words, to know that their participation had tangible ramifications. Community members in general, as well as the interviewees, would be provided an opportunity to see and comment on the design solutions. The designs, then, would serve as feedback to the community, and community comments would serve as feedback to the designers.

Developing a Ponca Architectural Code³

Whereas figure 3.1 (see page 64) represents an ideal process for formulating, implementing, and evaluating a tribal architectural code, figure 3.2 (see page 69) depicts the 1993 process of developing, implementing, and testing a Ponca architectural code. Seven months passed between first contact with the tribe (26 April 93) and a concluding visit by tribal members (22 November 93) with the two architecture studios.

The Ponca Tribe of Nebraska--also known as the Northern Ponca Tribe--was "terminated" by the United States Congress on September 5, 1962. In 1966 the acting Secretary of the Interior implemented the termination Act of September 5, 1962 and removed 442 Poncas from the tribal rolls, dispossessed them of 834 acres of land, and ended their

entitlement to federal services provided to Indians. By the stroke of a pen, there were no more Northern Poncas⁴. But on October 31, 1990, then president Bush signed into law the Ponca Restoration Act. And by the stroke of his pen, federal recognition of the Ponca Tribe of Nebraska was restored.

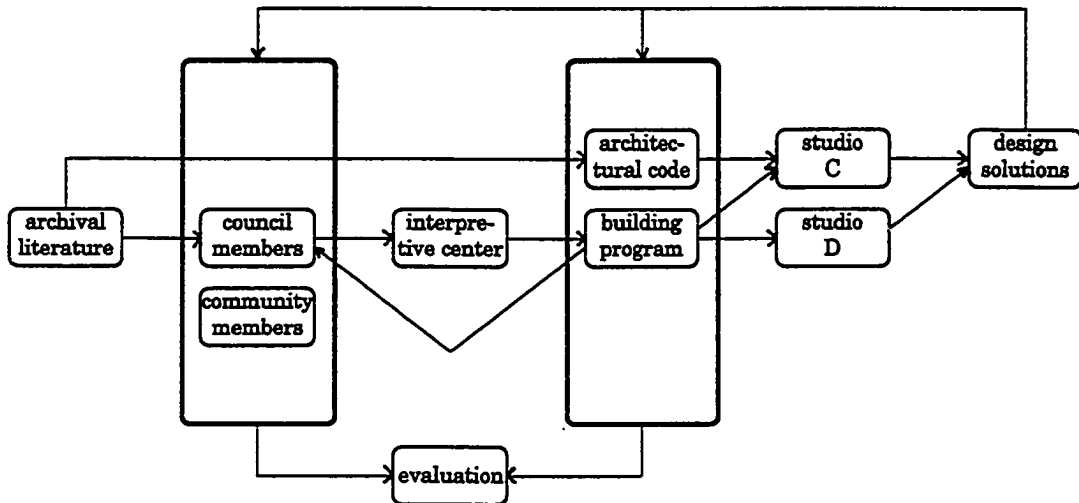


Figure 3.2. Actual Process of Testing a Ponca Architectural Code

Termination was a disastrous experiment by the federal government, it "was a doomed policy from its inception primarily because it was both morally and legally indefensible" (Senator Inouye, quoted in Grobsmith and Ritter 1992: 8). The effects on Ponca tribal members were real: "Our pride and respect was thrown out the window along with our heritage . . . Rejection is a painful and psychological experience, knowing that your skin, personality and emotions are INDIAN and you can't prove it." "We are now at a loss as to who we are. Our cultural background has suffered a painful death. How can the government say to me I am not Ponca by the movement of a pen? How can the government tell me, I am no more?" (tribal members from South

Dakota and Washington, respectively, quoted in Grobsmith and Ritter 1992: 10).

Yet Poncas were hopeful: "I think we need to try to preserve our heritage before it's gone from us forever. I'm proud to be an Indian and very proud to say I'm Ponca. I would like to learn my language and my children to learn it" (tribal member from Washington quoted in Grobsmith and Ritter 1992: 10). "It is unrealistic to think that all cultural and spiritual ways will resume in full force after twenty-seven years of being terminated. It will be a slow rewarding experience to bring back to all the Northern Ponca a choice to know their language, crafts, ceremonies, spiritual ways, and other cultural ways" (Chytka 1990: 191). Because of the evident desire to "relearn all of our cultural and spiritual ways [and] to be able to teach our children the respect and knowledge that once would have been theirs automatically" (Chytka 1990: 191), the Ponca Tribe of Nebraska was approached with a request to participate in this study of architectural tribalism.

Before approaching the Ponca tribe, this study was reviewed and approved by the Human Subjects in Research Review Committee of the College of Literature, Science, and the Arts at the University of Michigan. Then a bibliography of Ponca source materials was compiled (see appendix D) from which a brief open-ended historical timeline was begun (see appendix E). These materials, as well as research conducted in specialized archives⁵, were shared with tribal council members when this study was presented and their participation requested.

After obtaining consent from the tribal council, a list of lay persons, political leaders, and recognized cultural experts should have been compiled. Efforts to identify recognized cultural experts--the pivotal sample population of the tripartite stratified tribal community--were, however, unsuccessful.

The chairperson of the tribe's culture committee, though, was centrally involved with this study, but by her own reckoning her knowledge of sacred and traditional activities was quite limited. In response to the absence of cultural experts, and the similar functions political leaders and lay persons samples served in this study, it was decided not to stratify interviewees between political and lay populations. Therefore, instead of a stratified sample of three distinct populations, political leaders alone provided input into the building choice and its spatial and functional requirements.

After consultation with political leaders of the tribe, a Ponca interpretive center was decided upon as the hypothetical building to be designed. Usually such centers are somewhat like a museum. But our conception of it was much broader. For instance, in addition to museum exhibition spaces, we considered a library/archive for tribal records (past and future), a meeting room for community functions, offices for the tribal government, a day care center, and a public restaurant—a truly tribal and public building. It was further decided that the interpretive center would be designed on land owned by the tribe, land upon which a community center built in the early 1900's still stood and adjacent to a cemetery within which many Poncas were buried. The building type and site, then, was chosen in collaboration with tribal political leaders.

Without assistance from recognized cultural experts—tribal elders with traditional and spiritual knowledge—the Ponca architectural code was developed entirely from archival materials⁶. It was grounded in tribal rituals and incorporated those myths that established Ponca identity, that describe the core of Poncaness.

WE'WACPE. This name was applied to the tribal religious rites and is significant of their object. The definition of this term can not be given in a word; *we'wacpe* means "something to bring the

people into order and into a thoughtful composure" (Fletcher and La Flesche 1972: 596)⁷.

The Ponca architectural code (see appendix F) was intended to assist graduate architecture students in creating designs with a thoughtful order, a Ponca order. There were four Ponca religious rites that properly could be termed *we'wacpe*: Turning the Child, Feast of Soldiers, Conferring War Honors, and Sun Dance⁸. It was during these ceremonies that the people came together and camped in a prescribed order⁹. The resultant village layout was called *hu'thuga*, their tribal circle. These four religious rites united the Ponca people, and by enacting them Poncas distinguished themselves from all other peoples, Native and non-Native. Therefore, from these rituals a Ponca architectural code was derived to assist students in encoding their design solutions with meanings specific to Poncas, to assist them in the production of Ponca architectures.

The code included a "legendary account" of how the people "thought to make themselves *u'shkon*, limits or bounds within which to move, and regulations by which their actions were to be governed" (Fletcher and La Flesche 1972: 47). At that time they constructed two pipes "to be used in establishing friendly relations with other tribes" (Fletcher and La Flesche 1972: 47) and seven more pipes "for the keeping of peace within the tribe" (Fletcher and La Flesche 1972: 48). This account, "[o]btained from chiefs and other prominent Ponca", illustrates the importance of thought, "emphasiz[ing] the vital fact that better conditions are always attained by the exercise of thought, and not by magical interferences" (Fletcher and La Flesche 1972: 610). It also illustrates the efficacy of words. After obtaining an ash sapling with which to make the pipes,

an eagle came and soared above where the council sat. He dropped a downy feather; it fell, and balanced itself in the center of the cleared

space. This was the white eagle. The leader said, "This is not what we want;" so the white eagle passed on (Fletcher and La Flesche 1972: 47).

The leader knew that the white eagle's feather was not the proper type, so said so, and the white eagle flew on. Afterwards, bald and spotted eagle representatives offered feathers, but it was a feather from the fourth eagle-- "the eagle with the fantail"--that the leader knew was proper and accepted. Another example of the power of thought and words in the Ponca old world is that when someone had made trouble in the tribe and was to be punished, one of the seven intratribal pipes, the chief's pipe, was smoked by all the chiefs:

each chief put his mind on the offender as the leader took the pipe to clean it. He poured some of the tobacco ashes on the ground, and said, "This shall rankle in the calves of the man's legs." Then he twirled the cleaning stick in the pipe and took out a little more ashes, and, putting them on the earth, said, "This shall be for the base of the sinews, and he shall start with pain" (in the back). A third time he twirled the cleaning stick, put more ashes on the earth, and said, "This is for the spine, at the base of the head." A fourth time he twirled the cleaning stick in the pipe, poured out the ashes, put them on the ground, and said, "This is for the crown of his head." This act finished the man, who died soon after (Fletcher and La Flesche 1972: 48).

Thoughts, words, and actions: all were integrated at the beginning, at the time Poncas demarcated their domain and cosmocized¹⁰ their customs. And through *we'wacpe* rites which "hold the people together by the bond of a common belief and the enjoyment of its ceremonial expression" (Fletcher and La Flesche 1972: 596), Poncas renewed their Poncaness.

The four spatial concepts and seven iconological categories that comprised the Ponca architectural code were discussed with reference to the *we'wacpe* rituals and the layout of the *hu'thuga*. Whereas the rituals constituted a human enactment of spiritual conceptions, the ceremonial camp constituted an architectural (in its broadest meaning) manifestation of those same conceptions. Ritual and architecture were both inextricably linked to spiritual conceptions which in turn were informed by the Original

Instructions of Poncas. Both "were institutional in character and were so recognized by the tribe" and impressed "in the popular [Ponca] mind the importance of self-control, of composure, and of submission to authority" (Fletcher and La Flesche 1972: 596). As such, the code is bound up with tribal rituals, tribal architectures, tribal spirituality, and tribal authority.

Implementing the Ponca Architectural Code¹¹

In order to test the effect of the architectural code on design solutions, two separate design classes were recruited to participate in a design "sketch problem." The design classes were graduate architecture studios at the University of Michigan. The three instructors (one studio had two instructors) were told the intent of this research and agreed to participate along with the students enrolled in their studios. The challenge of the two week sketch problem was to design an interpretive center for the Ponca Tribe of Nebraska that was expressive of tribal identity, evoked pride from tribal members, and encouraged non-members to learn about Poncas, both in the past and in the present (see "The Challenge" in appendix G). The students were informed that their designs would be transported to and displayed at tribal headquarters in Niobrara, Nebraska, and that tribal members would afterwards visit them in their studios at the University of Michigan. They were not told initially that only one studio would have a Ponca architectural code, or even that such a code existed.

The original intent was that both studios would work simultaneously on their designs for the Ponca interpretive center, thereby minimizing confounding variables. The three instructors agreed a two week time period was sufficient for the project, and a schedule was established. But on the day the studios were to begin, one instructor decided his studio would begin the

project after the other studio had finished, and that two weeks was too short a period of time. Therefore, one studio began the design process on 10 September and the other studio on 24 September. The studios met Monday, Wednesday, and Friday afternoons for four hours, and each allocated a minimum of eight class periods to the project. On 13 October, there was a public exhibition of the projects in the Art and Architecture building at the University of Michigan. Two weeks later the projects were transported to the Ponca tribal headquarters building in Niobrara, Nebraska, and displayed from 29 October to 12 November. The design solutions were then transported back to the University of Michigan where, on 22 November, the Chairwoman of the Ponca Tribe of Nebraska, Deborah Wright, and the Chair of the tribe's culture committee, Donna Wendzillo, met with the student designers and discussed the interpretive center designs (see chapter 4 for a complete discussion of the design solutions).

It would have been preferable to have an equal number of students in both studios. But students themselves chose which studios to register for and enroll in. The desire that each studio be treated independently, combined with the staggered starting dates, negated the possibility of temporarily reassigning students equally between the two studios. Based on student enrollment, then, one studio had three students, the other 14.

A corpus of information, sufficient to produce architectures steeped in Ponca history and culture, was made available to all 17 students. This included the sketch problem document (see appendix G), a coursepack¹², source materials on reserve in the Art and Architecture library (see "The References" in appendix G), contextual photographs keyed to 7.5 minute USGS maps for the site and surrounding areas, a site plan, and photographs of the site and existing community center. These materials enabled students

to familiarize themselves with Ponca history and culture, the hypothetical interpretive center, the environmental context of the Ponca homelands, and, in more general terms, with Native American architecture. The depth and breadth of these materials exceeded that made available to most, if not all, academic and professional designers of architectures for tribal communities¹³.

Whereas this corpus of materials established a common ground for both studios, there were two factors that might differentially influence the designs from each studio: (1) the presence or absence of the Ponca architectural code, and (2) the studio instructors. As was to be expected, and this held for the students and instructors in both studios, an on-going concern was to present Poncas as contemporary people living in today's world with modern conveniences. Do the people really need air-conditioning? Will visitors be arriving on horses? Is it reasonable to use furniture that is not lightweight or portable? Are bodies still placed on scaffolds for burial? These and similar questions indicated the general knowledge of students and instructors in both studios pertaining to Native Americans today.

Studio D (documents only) was comprised of three students and began the design process first. Due in large part to the disposition of the instructor, this studio spent much of the official class time talking, either to each other or to non-studio persons. The instructor had a relaxed pedagogy, and as the project liaison, i was consulted often and involved in most studio decisions. Though they did not have the Ponca architectural code, these students seemed to be concerned with trying to express tribal identity, yet this often took the form of a generic "Indian" architecture. Similarly, the instructor presented a slide show during the third class meeting that had no reference to Poncas in particular, or even the Plains in general. It did, however, deal

with the Southwest, with Anasazis, Hopis, and Pueblos, not to mention ghost towns and Old Tucson. Perhaps the connection was "Indians" on the one hand, and the past on the other. Still, this studio did engage themselves with the task of expressing identity (either Ponca or "Indian") through architectures, though sometimes their efforts gravitated toward caricature or stereotype.

Studio C (code plus documents) was comprised of 14 students and two instructors. The personality of one of the instructors dominated this studio. In fact, it was he who decided to postpone and lengthen the project. His pedagogy was uncompromising¹⁴. Studio decisions were solely his. Similarly, a handout by the instructor mentioned above¹⁵ contained the following text:

Lest you forget, your designing task is very much a "spiritual" voyage. Words of caution: (1) give fullest attention to crafting the whole (of your idea)--don't get lost in the mechanics, (2) metaphorically--after all is said and done--remember, you are alighting a "feather on the landscape" and bringing to life a receptor of good relations.

And what suggestions did he provide for the "spiritual voyage" of "crafting an idea"?

1. How does your idea engage the earth?
2. How does your idea embrace the sky?
3. How does your idea encourage (amplify) the southern breezes?
4. How does your idea respect the northern winds?
5. How does your idea welcome sun?
6. How does your idea reflect the moving waters?

The challenge, remember, was to design an interpretive center for the Ponca Tribe of Nebraska that was expressive of tribal identity, that evoked pride in tribal members, and that promoted an understanding of Poncas, both in the past and the present. A Ponca architectural code, derived from the spiritual origins of Poncas, was provided studio C to assist them in meeting that challenge. Instead of the code, students were provided a set of questions

concerning environmental forces; instead of the challenge, they were encouraged to embark on a spiritual quest. Unsurprisingly, their designs generally appeared more concerned with personal expressionism than with tribal or even "Indian" identity.

As articulated in chapter 2, the focus on environmental forces when dealing with Native American architecture has a long and continuing legacy, a legacy that cannot support architectural tribalism. It obliterates tribal identities and even the existence of tribal members. Researchers alone are not perpetuating this legacy. The survey of contemporary architects, again in chapter 2, demonstrates that professional designers too emphasize environmental forces when designing architectures for Native communities. In fact, an "environmentalism ethic" was one of four attributes they ascribed to "spirituality," the others being a ceremonial space, use of simple, primary geometries, and input from Native consultants. When the sacred is removed from discussions of spirituality, there are no traditions, there can be no tribalism. As such, and in total agreement with Brown (1982: 48), "It seems to me that we are faced today with a pervasive process, on a global scale, of detraditionalization or despiritualization."

Implementation of the Ponca architectural code did not go as planned. Neither was it developed in the ideal fashion. Recognized cultural experts were not identified and so the resultant code did not have the type of input only such persons can provide. Yet a code was produced, a code with deep roots in Ponca spiritualism. And if procedures had been in place to enforce adherence to the code, a truer test of its influence on the processes of architectural design would have been achieved. Instead, the two studio approach facilitated a study of the impact design instructors wield throughout the design process and provided vivid testimony to the

ramifications of their actions. Though pedagogy lies outside the scope of this work, some of its effects will be examined in the next chapter. For purposes of implementing the Ponca architectural code, it is enough to say again that even when a method to encode tribally specific messages exists, designers will not utilize it unless and until they are required to do so. Spiritual authority, and submission to it, is essential to a renaissance of architectural tribalism in the Native American new world.

MOVING NOTES

Persons who read and commented on portions of this chapter or previous writings related to this chapter include Crisca Bierwert, Henry Wright, John O'Shea, Neena Mitchell, and Richard Ford.

Persons who provided encouragement either directly or indirectly over the course of this study include Aldyth Steel, Amy Locklear, Bill Green, Carole Minear, Mike Wemhoff, Rasmi Schoonjdeg, Rita Hodge and Nizhoni and Shibabe, and Stanley Tigerman.

¹"Seldom in the historical spotlight, these ordinary community members somehow managed to pass cultural traditions to the next generation, despite the political and cultural oppression surrounding their lives. . . . What survives of native heritage we owe to them--the 'cultural sovereignty activists'--who believed that the death of the culture also meant the death of the people" (Buffalohead 1992: 197).

²Williamson and Farrer (1992: 280) suggested that "non-Western views that combine cosmogony and cosmology into an integrated whole" be referred to as "cosmovision." "Cosmovision incorporates what anthropologists have termed *cosmogony* (accounts of the physical creation and ordering of the universe) and *cosmology* (ideational accounts of the philosophical nature of, and theories about, the universe)."

³The development of this Ponca architectural code was made possible in part by grants from the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies, the Doctoral Program in Architecture, and the Museum of Anthropology, all at the University of Michigan. Also, much of the research was conducted at the Newberry Library in Chicago, Illinois, while on an Indian Voices in the Academy Fellowship sponsored by the Newberry Library's D'Arcy McNickle Center for the History of the American Indian.

⁴In the eyes of the federal government, there no longer existed a Northern Ponca Tribe. Therefore, again in the eyes of the federal government, no individual could certify membership in the Northern Ponca Tribe. The Ponca Tribe of Oklahoma, the Southern Poncas, however, were not terminated.

⁵Namely, these were the Newberry Library in Chicago, Illinois, the Nebraska State Historical Society in Lincoln, Nebraska, and the University Archives of the University of Nebraska in Lincoln, Nebraska.

⁶Arthur Amiotte, a Lakota Sun Dance leader apprentice, comments on the modern practice of consulting written records: "I have studied the published and unpublished manuscript materials. This is a phenomenon that we will

see occurring more and more in the future, as young Native Americans search for a deeper and more profound understanding of their contemporary culture by studying written records" (Amiotte 1987: 75).

⁷*We'wacpe* is a *Dhe'giha* word, the language spoken by Poncas, Omahas, Kansas, Osages, and Quapas. Though Fletcher and La Flesche are writing about Omahas in particular, "Omaha and Ponca speech is the same" (Jablow 1974: 93). It represents one of four *Dhe'giha* dialects, each of the other three tribes speaking their own dialect.

⁸The following sources provide accounts of each ceremony: Turning the Child (Fletcher and La Flesche 1972: 44-45); Feast of Soldiers (Fletcher and La Flesche 1972: 309-310); Conferring War Honors (Fletcher and La Flesche 1972: 439-441); Sun Dance (G. Dorsey 1905: 62-88).

⁹Fletcher and La Flesche (1972: 44) state that for the Poncas "[t]here was only two ceremonies during which . . . 'the people must make the *hu'thuga* complete": Turning the Child and the Feast of Soldiers. In a section titled "The Ponca Ceremony of Conferring War Honors," however, they quote "an old and leading man, whose honor count was next to highest in the tribe" as saying: "When the ceremony [of Conferring War Honors] was to take place the people were ordered to camp in the order of the gentes and to make the *hu'thuga* complete" (1972: 439). And George Dorsey (1905: 71), in describing the Ponca Sun Dance, wrote "the time and place of the ceremony having previously been announced to the tribe, they aim to move camp and have formed the camp-circle by evening of the day before that set for the beginning of the ceremony." Though Dorsey did not use the term *hu'thuga*, the camp-circle he described was made special for a tribal ceremony. There were four ceremonies, then, when the *hu'thuga* was made complete. Furthermore, it was so organized during tribal buffalo hunts.

¹⁰The term "cosmocize" is borrowed from Eliade and refers to the process of incorporating something into the cosmos and "is equivalent in the final instance to consecrating it" (Eliade 1988: 119).

¹¹The implementation of the Ponca architectural code was made possible in part by the College of Architecture and Urban Planning at the University of Michigan and by three of its faculty members: Gerhard Olving, James Chaffers, and Robert Metcalf.

¹²The coursepack consisted of two documents. The first was the 1991 edition of a booklet distributed by the United States Department of the Interior Bureau of Indian Affairs titled *American Indians Today: Answers to Your Questions*. It responds to general questions concerning Native Americans past and present plus has a good list of resources and a bibliography. The second document was Nebraska State Historical Society's Educational Leaflet #2 titled *Omaha and Ponca Tribes*. It provides basic historical and cultural information concerning the two tribes in an easy to read 5 page leaflet.

¹³This statement is based on my personal experiences (1) as a student while earning a bachelor and master degree in architecture, (2) as an architecture design instructor at two universities, (3) as an architectural designer in a Native American owned and operated design firm that dealt exclusively with reservation projects, and (4) as a researcher studying the design processes of

contemporary architects who have designed or are designing Native American architectures.

¹⁴For example, even though (1) the project document stated that the existing community center could be incorporated into the design solutions (see "The Program" in appendix G) and (2) i informed the studio that tribal members had told me how important the existing community center was to them, he still banned the photographs of that building from the studio, informing the students that it was not Ponca architecture and that they were to ignore it.

¹⁵Over the course of the sketch problem, students in studio C were given handouts which, in turn, were brought to my attention by the students themselves. The instructor did not mention that he had distributed them.

CHAPTER 4: ARRANGING

Discussing Design Solutions

Authority and submission, rules and regulations. The 17 design solutions from the two architecture studios described in chapter 3 will be discussed in three contexts: the designs themselves, local community responses to them, and interviews with the student designers and their instructors. Each context has its own authority, its own rules and regulations.

In academic design studios, the instructor has the responsibility to judge whether or not a student sufficiently fulfills the course requirements. Through rules and regulations, the instructor articulates those requirements that relate to general studio concerns such as attendance and adherence to due dates. These general requirements must be respected throughout the duration of the studio, regardless of how many separate projects are undertaken. Other requirements, though, are project specific and constitute the minimum criteria students must satisfy in order to fulfill each project's objectives. These project objectives are articulated in project documents, or programs. As such, project authority resides in project documents whereas studio authority is vested in the instructor. Students who deviate from either source of authority are, in essence, usurping authority.

In addition to instructor, project, and student authority, there also was--in this study--the authority inherent in the community for whom the

design solutions were intended. That community was centered around the town of Niobrara, Nebraska. In particular, those community members who are members of the Ponca Tribe of Nebraska were the intended audience. And the Ponca architectural code was the primary vessel in which their authority was vested. The code embodied rules and regulations to assist student designers in the production of Ponca architectures, of architectures that respect the authority of the Original Instructions of the Northern Ponca Tribe. This community context will be discussed after discussion of the designs themselves.

Student Designs

As stated earlier, project authority rests in the project document. And the explicitly stated criteria in that document are its rules and regulations. These criteria may serve as an objective measure of submission to project authority. In the case of the Ponca interpretive center, criteria were derived from portions of the sketch problem document (see "The Program" and "The Requirements" in appendix G) and each of the 17 design solutions were then evaluated with reference to the presence or absence of those criteria. The higher the number of criteria present in a design solution, the greater that solution's adherence to authority--project authority. Conversely, the higher the number of project criteria absent from a design solution, the greater that solution's adherence to an authority other than the project's--most probably student or designer authority. Figure 4.1 (see page 85) lists the 34 Ponca interpretive center project criteria and indicates whether they were absent (A) or indeterminate (O) for each project.

Looking at the absent criteria first: fifteen of the 17 design solutions (88%) ignored the 30 x 40 inch foam core format and the two receptionist/

| Legend | |
|--------|--------------------------------|
| A | Absent Criteria |
| O | Indeterminate Presence/Absence |

Design 1
Design 2
Design 3
Design 4
Design 5
Design 6
Design 7
Design 8
Design 9
Design 10
Design 11
Design 12
Design 13
Design 14
Design 15
Design 16
Design 17

Requirements

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Conceptual Diagram | A | | | | | | | A | A | A | | | | | | | | A |
| Written Statement | A | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | A |
| Site Plan | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| @ 1:20 Scale | A | A | | | | | | | | | | A | A | A | | A | A | |
| Floor Plan | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| @ 1:20 Scale | | | | A | A | | | | | | O | A | A | | | | | |
| Elevation | | | A | A | | | | | | | | A | | A | A | A | A | |
| @ 1:20 Scale | | | O | O | A | | | | | | O | O | A | O | O | O | O | |
| Section | | | A | | | | A | | | | | | | | | | | |
| @ 1:20 Scale | | | O | A | A | O | | | | | O | A | A | | A | | | |
| Model | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| @ 1:20 Scale | | | | A | A | A | | | | | A | A | | | | | | |
| Foam Core Board | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | A | |
| @ 30 x 40 Inches | A | A | | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A |
| Tribal Government | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 Receptionist/Secretary Spaces | A | A | | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | A |
| 7 Offices | | | | | | | | | | | | O | A | | | | | |
| Council Room | | | | | | | A | | | | O | A | | | | | | A |
| Exhibition | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Permanent Exhibition | | | | | | | | | | | | O | | | | | | |
| Temporary Exhibition | | | | | | | | | | | | O | | | | | | |
| Support Space | A | | | A | | | | | | | A | O | | A | A | A | A | A |
| Repository | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Documents Room | | | | A | | | | | | | | O | | | | | | |
| Audio/Visual Room | A | A | | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | O | A | A | | A | | | |
| 2 Study Spaces | A | A | | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | O | A | A | | | | | |
| Restaurant | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Dining Area | | A | | | | | | | | | | O | | | | | | |
| Kitchen Area | | A | | | | | | | | | | O | | | A | | | |
| Day Care | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Day Care Facilities | | | | | | | | | | | | O | | | | | | |
| Outdoor Activity Space | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Activity Area | A | A | | A | | | A | | | | O | A | | | | | | |
| Public Amenities | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Parking for 16 Cars | A | A | | A | A | A | A | A | A | A | O | A | A | A | A | A | A | A |
| Drop-Off Area | A | A | | A | A | | A | | A | | O | A | A | A | A | A | A | A |
| Trails/Paths | A | A | A | A | A | A | | | A | A | O | A | A | A | | A | | |
| Lobby | A | A | | A | | | | | | | O | | A | | | | | |
| Gift Shop | A | A | | A | | | | | | | A | O | | | A | | A | |
| Toilets | A | A | | A | A | | A | | A | | A | O | A | | A | | | |
| Mechanical Space | A | A | | | | | A | A | | | A | O | A | | A | A | A | A |

Figure 4.1. Design Solutions Submission to Project Authority

secretary areas; 13 of the solutions (76%) did not have an audio/visual room in the repository or parking for 16 cars; 12 solutions (71%) were missing the two study areas in the repository as well as the public trails/paths; and rounding out the top seven absent criteria, the public drop-off area was missing in 65% of the designs.

On the other hand, a site plan, a floor plan, and a model were three requirements fulfilled by all 17 design solutions. Sixteen of the 17 solutions (94%) met the foam core board requirement, plus had both permanent and temporary exhibition spaces and a day care facility. Two more requirements--a written statement and a section drawing--were included by 15 (88%) of the design solutions, as were the seven tribal government offices, the repository's documents room, and the dining room of the restaurant.

Of the 34 criteria, 24 (71%) were fulfilled by nine or more of the 17 solutions, but only 3 (18%) were fulfilled by all the design solutions. Not one of the 17 solutions, however, met all 34 requirements. In fact, only 6 (35%) met at least 24 of the 34 criteria. In descending order, those six solutions met 33 (97%), 30 (88%), 29 (85%), and 26 (76%) of the criteria, with two solutions fulfilling 24 (71%) criteria.

It is obvious that student designers largely ignored the authority vested in the sketch problem document. Not one of their design solutions fulfilled the 34 criteria. But was this failure to respect to the document's authority equally evident in both studios? Or was one studio more accepting of project authority than the other?

The statistics are revealing. Of the six design solutions most successful in fulfilling the criteria, three were from each studio. Of the top four solutions, two were from each studio. Of the top two, both were from the same studio. And that studio (studio D) was the studio with only three

students. The design solutions of those three students, then, placed first, second, and fifth (tie) in most successfully fulfilling the project criteria; in submitting to the authority of the sketch problem document. The probability that the three studio D students would place in the top five is just 1.5%, and in the top six the probability nearly doubles yet is still only 2.9%. In other words, the two studios differed significantly in following project authority.

Because the 17 student designers were assumed to be similarly disposed to deviating from rules and regulations, the differential submission to project authority exhibited by the two studios was directly influenced by either (1) the presence or absence of the Ponca architectural code or (2) the studio instructors. These two factors, articulated in the previous chapter, were further explored in interviews with the student designers and their studio instructors and will be discussed after presentation of the community responses.

Community Responses

Again, community authority was vested in the Ponca architectural code. To a lesser degree, it was also evident in all materials that presented authoritative information specific to the Ponca tribe. Those materials included the coursepack and reserved references (see "The References" in appendix G), as well as portions of the project document. Because those materials--unlike the architectural code--were available to all 17 student designers, some degree of community authority was present in both studios. Students and instructors, however, were obviously at liberty to disregard or deviate from it according to their individual intuitions.

The community, though, was provided an opportunity to evaluate the design solutions and thereby reassert their authority through the ballot box.

After consulting with tribal officials, the 17 designs were transported to and exhibited in the Ponca tribal headquarters building in Niobrara, Nebraska. An article printed in the local newspaper (see the first page of appendix H) invited community members to see the exhibition and to vote on their most and least favorite designs between 1 November and 12 November 1993.

When community members visited the exhibition, they were given a voting ballot (see the second page of appendix H) that was intended to appeal to a wide spectrum of visitors. For each of the 17 design solutions, voters were asked to color in one of three faces: a smiley face (good design), a straight face (ok design), or a frowning face (not so good design). Space was also provided so they could explain their votes. Three questions--age, sex, tribal affiliation--rounded out the ballot.

The 17 designs were arranged around the perimeter of a large room in the tribal headquarters building. The models were randomly placed on tables with their corresponding foam core boards leaning from the tables to the walls directly behind them. Large-sized numbers were then assigned in sequential order clockwise around the room and affixed to both the model and board of each design. "The Program" section of the sketch problem document, without square footage suggestions, was posted for visitors to read (see appendix I). Upon arrival, visitors were handed a ballot by a secretary and a pencil to mark with. After completing their voting, a slotted box was provided so they could deposit their ballots themselves.

There were 35 ballots cast. Based on information provided on the ballots, the voters ranged in age from 14 to 74; thirteen were tribal members, 8 of them Poncas; and women outnumbered men 19 to 13 (3 did not provide this information). The number of design solutions receiving votes on each ballot varied widely--from one to all 17. In order to facilitate statistical

analysis, design solutions were awarded three points for a smiley face, two for a straight face, and one for a frowning face (see figure 4.2 on page 90 for raw data). Descriptive statistical data from the ballots is provided on the last page of appendix H. This includes the number of votes each project received and the minimum, maximum, mean, and standard deviation of those votes.

One design solution clearly was favored by the community. It appeared on all 35 ballots (the next highest was 28 votes), it had the highest mean score (2.8 out of 3.0), the lowest standard deviation (.45), the greatest quantity of comments (20, the next highest being 12), and the most favorable comments (see appendix H). Interestingly, this solution also exceeded all others in fulfilling the project criteria identified above. Simultaneously, then, that design solution satisfied 33 of the 34 criteria plus was voted "most favorite" by community members. Was this coincidence? Or was there a positive correlation between adherence to project authority and favorable response from the community?

To examine this correlation, the top six design solutions in fulfilling project criteria were ranked in order (two tied for fifth with 24 of 34 criteria). Then the community's mean score ranking of those same design solutions was recorded. The results were startling.

| Design Number | Project Criteria | Ballot Score |
|---------------|------------------|--------------|
| 3 | 1 | 1 |
| 6 | 2 | 3 |
| 9 | 3 | 4 |
| 10 | 4 | 8 |
| 11 | 5 | 5 |
| 16 | 5 | 2 |

Again, one design (#3) was ranked first in both contexts. Amazingly, the top six projects in terms of submission to the authority of the project document

| Legend | |
|-------------|--------------|
| A = 0 - 21 | Years of Age |
| B = 22 - 38 | Years of Age |
| C = 39 - 55 | Years of Age |
| D = 56 + | Years of Age |

| | Age | Sex | Tribal Member | Ponca Member | Design 1 | Design 2 | Design 3 | Design 4 | Design 5 | Design 6 | Design 7 | Design 8 | Design 9 | Design 10 | Design 11 | Design 12 | Design 13 | Design 14 | Design 15 | Design 16 | Design 17 |
|-----------|-----|-----|---------------|--------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Ballot 1 | D | W | N | | 2 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 2 |
| Ballot 2 | B | W | Y | Y | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | |
| Ballot 3 | D | M | N | | 2 | 2 | 3 | | | 3 | | | 3 | 2 | 3 | | | | | | |
| Ballot 4 | B | W | N | | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 |
| Ballot 5 | A | W | N | | 2 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 |
| Ballot 6 | A | W | N | | 1 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| Ballot 7 | C | W | N | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 1 |
| Ballot 8 | | M | N | | | | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ballot 9 | C | M | Y | Y | | | 3 | | | | | | | | 2 | | | | | | |
| Ballot 10 | C | W | Y | Y | | | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ballot 11 | A | W | N | | 2 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 |
| Ballot 12 | D | M | N | | | | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ballot 13 | C | M | N | | 3 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| Ballot 14 | B | M | Y | Y | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 |
| Ballot 15 | A | W | N | | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 3 |
| Ballot 16 | | M | N | | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 2 |
| Ballot 17 | A | M | | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 |
| Ballot 18 | A | W | N | | | | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ballot 19 | C | | | | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Ballot 20 | C | | | | 2 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 1 |
| Ballot 21 | B | M | N | | | 2 | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ballot 22 | B | M | N | | 2 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 2 |
| Ballot 23 | D | M | Y | Y | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 1 |
| Ballot 24 | | M | Y | Y | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Ballot 25 | A | W | N | | 3 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Ballot 26 | A | W | Y | | 1 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| Ballot 27 | B | W | Y | | 2 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Ballot 28 | | | Y | | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 |
| Ballot 29 | | W | Y | | | | 3 | | | | | | | | | | 3 | | | | |
| Ballot 30 | B | W | Y | Y | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 2 |
| Ballot 31 | B | M | Y | Y | 3 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 2 |
| Ballot 32 | D | W | N | | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | | | 3 | | | | | | | | |
| Ballot 33 | | | | | | | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ballot 34 | A | W | Y | Y | 2 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| Ballot 35 | | | | | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 |

Figure 4.2. Community Voting on Design Solutions

were ranked in the top eight most favorite solutions as judged by the community's mean score, five of them ranking first through fifth. If, on the other hand, the top five ballot mean scores were ranked initially, the similarity was even stronger.

| Design Number | Project Criteria | Ballot Score |
|---------------|------------------|--------------|
| 3 | 1 | 1 |
| 16 | 5 | 2 |
| 6 | 2 | 3 |
| 9 | 3 | 4 |
| 11 | 5 | 5 |

There did appear to be a positive relationship between fulfilling project criteria and a favorable response from members of the recipient community. A quick glance at the other end of the rank ordering further bore this out. The design solution voted least favorite by community members had the second lowest standard deviation, was the only solution without a smiley face vote, and was ranked next to last in terms of fulfilling project criteria¹.

Appearances, though, can be misleading. Therefore, the rank orderings of all 17 design solutions were compared using Spearman's measure to determine if there was indeed a positive relationship between adherence to project criteria and favorable community response. The principle of Spearman's measure is "taking the differences of ranks, squaring these differences and then adding, and finally manipulating the measure so that its value will be +1.0 whenever the rankings are in perfect agreement, -1.0 if they are in perfect disagreement, and zero if there is no relationship whatsoever. . . . Tied ranks are computed by giving each tied score the arithmetic mean of the scores that would have been received had there been

no ties" (Blalock 1979: 434). The rank orderings for the 17 designs and the squared differences are presented below.

| Design Number | Project Criteria | Ballot Score | Diff ² |
|---------------|------------------|--------------|-------------------|
| 3 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| 6 | 2 | 3 | 1 |
| 9 | 3 | 4 | 1 |
| 10 | 4 | 8 | 16 |
| 11 | 5.5 | 5 | 0.25 |
| 16 | 5.5 | 2 | 12.25 |
| 7 | 7.5 | 6 | 2.25 |
| 8 | 7.5 | 9 | 2.25 |
| 1 | 9 | 11 | 4 |
| 5 | 10.5 | 10 | 0.25 |
| 15 | 10.5 | 14 | 12.25 |
| 4 | 13 | 16 | 9 |
| 13 | 13 | 14 | 1 |
| 14 | 13 | 7 | 36 |
| 17 | 15 | 14 | 1 |
| 2 | 16 | 17 | 1 |
| 12 | 17 | 12 | 25 |

The sum of the squared differences is 124.5 which yields a .847 value for Spearman's measure². Recalling that a +1.0 value would result from two rankings in perfect agreement, .847 suggests a strong positive relationship; a relationship, in fact, that is significant above the .005 level.

There is a strong positive relationship, then, between fulfilling project criteria and a favorable response from the community. In other words, project authority and community authority were interrelated. But what about subsets of the community, particularly tribal members, did this pattern hold true for them too? To test this, the rank orderings of design solutions by eight subsets of voters were each first compared to the rank ordering of the designs by all voters and then to the rank ordering of design solutions by project criteria. These comparisons too were conducted using Spearman's measure. Figure 4.3 (see page 94) indicates the rank order for all design

solutions by the age, sex, and tribal affiliation of voters. It also provides the value for Spearman's measure and the level of significance for the correlation between each rank ordering and (1) the rank ordering of all voters and (2) the rank ordering by project criteria. The only correlation that fell below a .025 level of significance was that between the oldest age category and project criteria. Due to the extremely small number of votes for each design solution (modal number was 2), this correlation is suspect. Based on the other calculations, it appears that neither age, sex, nor tribal status of voters affected their decisions as to which designs they liked. Furthermore, the rank orderings of design solutions by voters from each of these categories exhibited a significant, positive relationship to the number of project criteria present in each design solution.

The implications of this relationship are intriguing. For some reason(s) community members responded favorably to those design solutions which satisfied the project criteria. Yet their written comments (see appendix I) did not indicate a deep concern for programmatic issues. Instead, their comments reflected a desire for detailed information--"Its not detailed enough to understand," "Hard to understand concept," "Needs explanation," "Not enough information"--and an appreciation for clear presentations of that information: "Very descriptive--easy to visualize," "Its explained in great detail, can be understood," "Good poster and model," "It's planned out good, it's shown well on paper." It is tempting to posit that those design solutions most clearly explained were also the best understood and most appreciated. To do so, though, requires a positive relationship between project criteria and clarity of explanation, a relationship for which there are no data for

| | Poncas | Tribal Members | Women | Men | Age A (14 - 21) | Age B (26 - 36) | Age C (39 - 50) | Age D (60 - 74) |
|-----------|--------|----------------|-------|-----|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Design 1 | 10.5 | 11.5 | 12 | 11 | 14 | 11 | 11 | 10.5 |
| Design 2 | 16.5 | 16.5 | 17 | 17 | 17 | 17 | 15 | 14 |
| Design 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 6 |
| Design 4 | 9 | 8.5 | 16 | 14 | 15.5 | 16 | 17 | 14 |
| Design 5 | 10.5 | 11.5 | 9 | 11 | 7 | 10 | 11 | 9 |
| Design 6 | 6.5 | 5 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 10.5 |
| Design 7 | 2.5 | 3 | 7.5 | 3 | 5 | 6 | 7.5 | 14 |
| Design 8 | 6.5 | 8.5 | 7.5 | 8.5 | 13 | 9 | 5 | 7.5 |
| Design 9 | 13 | 10 | 4 | 8.5 | 9.5 | 4 | 1 | 1 |
| Design 10 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 7.5 | 4.5 |
| Design 11 | 6.5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 5 | 9 | 4.5 |
| Design 12 | 13 | 14.5 | 15 | 11 | 15.5 | 12 | 11 | 1 |
| Design 13 | 15 | 14.5 | 13.5 | 14 | 11.5 | 14 | 15 | 14 |
| Design 14 | 6.5 | 7 | 11 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 1 | 7.5 |
| Design 15 | 13 | 13 | 13.5 | 16 | 9.5 | 14 | 13 | 14 |
| Design 16 | 2.5 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 2 | 5 | 1 |
| Design 17 | 16.5 | 16.5 | 10 | 14 | 11.5 | 14 | 15 | 17 |

| Voters | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Spearman's Measure | .775 | .839 | .933 | .943 | .852 | .627 | .855 | .615 |
| Level of Significance | .005 | .005 | .005 | .005 | .005 | .025 | .005 | .025 |

| Project Criteria | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Spearman's Measure | .700 | .789 | .908 | .765 | .762 | .847 | .702 | .414 |
| Level of Significance | .010 | .005 | .005 | .005 | .005 | .005 | .010 | .100 |

Figure 4.3. Rank Ordering of Design Solutions by Voters

evaluation. The data do support, however, the suggestion that both project authority and community authority were vested in the project document. This suggestion is fully considered after the student and faculty interviews are discussed.

Student and Faculty Interviews³

Interviews with student designers and their instructors were conducted between 11 October and 27 October 1993. The 20 interviews were carried out in the Art and Architecture building at the University of Michigan after the Ponca interpretive center design solutions were completed but before they were transported to Niobrara, Nebraska, for exhibition. Interview format was very similar to that of the survey of tribal architectures design methodologies described in chapter 2. Students were asked what types of messages they intended to send through their designs and what the referents for those messages were. Then, using their models and drawings, they were asked to indicate the design manifestations of their verbal intentions. Which architectural media were used and in what ways? Furthermore, those students who received the Ponca architectural code (studio C) were asked specifically about the code: Did they or did they not use it? And why?

The studio instructors, on the other hand, were asked about their teaching philosophies. How do they teach design? How should studios be conducted? Then they were asked about this project specifically. Was their methodology influenced by the nature of the Ponca interpretive center project? What made the design solutions Ponca? And finally, for the two instructors in studio C, a question about the Ponca architectural code: What was their impression of the utility of the code?

Interviewees were given the same introductory letter and consent form sent to participants in the tribal architectures design methodologies survey (see appendix A). They were likewise told that their responses were confidential, would eventually be rendered anonymous when follow up was no longer needed, and would be summarized with the responses from other interviewees for statistical purposes. They could also choose to receive a draft and/or final compilation of this portion of the study dealing with their interviews.

As with the survey in chapter 2, each discrete communication intention mentioned by the interviewees was recorded, even if all components of the communication model were not identified. Notes were taken in pencil during the interviews and then typed on a computer in a narrative format. After all communication intentions with regard to the 17 design solutions were recorded, they were grouped into the two studios and the frequency of each of the 27 partitions, or recording units, compiled, along with that partition's percentage of communication intentions recorded for the communication component of which it is a part. This information is presented in figure 4.4 (see page 97).

Collectively, 118 messages were identified as being encoded into the 17 designs, not one of which pertained to regionalism. The percentages for the other five types of messages were as follows: 19% tribalism, 2% intertribalism, 14% Indianism, 48% naturalism, and 18% aestheticism. Considering their challenge was to design a Ponca interpretive center "that is expressive of tribal identity" and "evoke[s] pride from tribal members and encourage[s] non-members to learn about Poncas, both in the past and the present" (see "The Challenge" in appendix G), the low percentage of tribalism messages was unexpected. Compared with the survey results in chapter 2,

| | Studio C | Studio D | Total | Percentage |
|-----------------------------------|----------|----------|-------|------------|
| Messages | | | | |
| Identity | | | | |
| Tribalism | 16 | 6 | 22 | 19 |
| Intertribalism | 2 | | 2 | 2 |
| Style | | | | |
| Indianism | 15 | 1 | 16 | 14 |
| Regionalism | | | | |
| Naturalism | 48 | 9 | 57 | 48 |
| Aestheticism | 21 | | 21 | 18 |
| Senders | | | | |
| Designer | 151 | 30 | 181 | |
| Tribal Member | | | | |
| Referents | | | | |
| Tribal | | | | |
| Original Instructions | 2 | | 2 | 2 |
| Tribal Architectures | 3 | 3 | 6 | 6 |
| Tribal Details | 11 | 4 | 15 | 16 |
| Intertribal | | | | |
| Intertribal Architectures | 12 | 6 | 18 | 19 |
| Intertribal Details | 2 | | 2 | 2 |
| Non-Member Native Consultants | | | | |
| Non-Native | | | | |
| Vernacular Architectures | 1 | | 1 | 1 |
| Dominant Mainstream Architectures | | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Personal Beliefs of the Designer | 42 | 1 | 52 | 52 |
| Media | | | | |
| Architectural | | | | |
| Architectural Spaces | 5 | 2 | 7 | 9 |
| Built Forms | 30 | 13 | 43 | 57 |
| Spatial Relationships | 19 | 3 | 22 | 29 |
| Non-Architectural | | | | |
| Landscaping | 3 | | 3 | 4 |
| Workers | | | | |
| Codes | | | | |
| Architectural | | | | |
| Mimetic Spaces | 2 | | 2 | 4 |
| Mimetic Built Forms | 3 | 2 | 5 | 9 |
| Mimetic Spatial Relationships | 4 | 1 | 5 | 9 |
| Non-Architectural | | | | |
| Intermedia Translations | 6 | 3 | 9 | 16 |
| Geometrical | 10 | 2 | 12 | 21 |
| Personal/Intuitive | 18 | 5 | 23 | 41 |
| Mimetic Landscaping | | | | |

Figure 4.4. Frequency of Communication Intentions for Design Solutions

however, it was higher than the percentage of tribalism messages (12%) architects encoded their projects with. Student designers and practicing architects were similar in that both groups inscribed their designs largely with naturalism messages (48% students and 35% architects). But whereas architects stressed self-sufficiency, climatic responsiveness, geometrical simplicity, and an environmentalism ethic in their naturalism messages, student designers focused on just two of those attributes: climatic responsiveness and an environmentalism ethic. Grouped into identity (tribalism and intertribalism) and stylistic (Indianism, naturalism, and aestheticism) concerns, 20% of student messages referred to identity and 80% to style, a slight improvement (from an architectural tribalism perspective) from the surveyed architects.

Ninety-four referents were recorded: 2% Original Instructions, 6% tribal architectures, 16% tribal details, 19% intertribal architectures, 2% intertribal details, 1% vernacular architectures, 1% mainstream architectures, and 52% personal beliefs of the designers. Grouped, the results were 24% tribal, 21% intertribal, and 54% non-Native. Compared to the surveyed architects, this represented an important development and a disturbing legacy. The percentage of tribal referents must increase in order for a renaissance of tribal architectures to occur. By definition, tribal architectures are encoded with messages whose referents are tribally specific. Therefore, the increase from 18% of tribal referents encoded by architects to 24% by students was promising. That increase, however, was accomplished entirely by a decrease in intertribal referents, thereby allowing the status quo of non-Native referents (51% architects and 54% students) to actually increase.

The three architectural media accounted for 96% of communication media used by student designers: architectural spaces 9%, built forms 57%, and spatial relationships 29%. Students also employed the landscape as a message medium 4% of the time. Compared with architects, the students' dramatic increase in the use of spatial relationships (5% to 29%) and architectural spaces (5% to 9%) as message media was largely the result of an impressive decrease (81% to 57%) in their reliance on built forms as the medium of choice for encoded messages. As suggested in chapter 2, and supported in chapter 3, tribalism messages are expected to be encoded predominantly in spatial relationships and secondarily in architectural spaces. Therefore, an increase in tribalism messages should correspond with an increase in spatial relationships and architectural spaces being encoded with those messages. Likewise, relational and spatial codes should experience similar increases.

Of the six types of codes students used to inscribe their messages onto architectural media, the three mimetic architectural codes were employed 21% of the time: 4% spatial, 9% formal, and 9% relational. An intermedia translation code was used in 16% of the cases, a geometrical code 21%, and in 41% of the cases the students' intuition was what organized the inscription of architectural media with intended messages. As expected, relational (6% to 9%) and spatial (2% to 4%) codes witnessed increases while formal codes (29% to 9%) saw a significant decrease. From an architectural tribalism perspective, these are positive developments. From the same perspective, the increase (from 29% to 41%) of personal intuition as a dominant means of inscribing architectural media with meanings is troubling.

Based on these interviews, the proposed Ponca interpretive centers were more likely to be inscribed with messages about environmental factors

(48%) than with messages pertaining to Poncas (19%). More of those messages referenced the students' personal beliefs (52%) than all other referents combined and students usually inscribed their personal, environmentalism messages in built forms (57%) based on what looked or felt right to them (41%). Such a composite design methodology is quite similar to that of the architects surveyed in chapter 2, reinforcing the bleak outlook for architectural tribalism in the Native American new world.

The composite design methodology espoused by the studio instructors mimics that of the students and the architects. Two of the three instructors suggested Poncaness could be achieved by encoding messages pertaining to climatic responsiveness or an environmentalism ethic, both of which are subsumed by naturalism. Like the other two surveyed groups, the instructors indicated their personal beliefs would be the referents for their messages and that their personal intuitions would inform their inscription of those meanings onto communicative media--landscaping and built forms were each mentioned. Interestingly, two of them also said that the users would make the design solutions Ponca, that the "designs will be Ponca by the people who use it, who assign meaning to it." In other words, the transmission medium for messages pertaining to Poncaness would be a human being, a potential user of the interpretive center. Thus, we had a situation in which architecture instructors advocated the encoding of tribal meanings by the users of the proposed designs, not by the designers. And because this project was hypothetical, there would never be users and therefore the design solutions could never be Ponca. Fortunately, some students did take seriously the challenge to design Ponca architectures.

As in chapter 2, a non-frequency (presence-absence) tabulation of interview data is provided in figure 4.5 (see page 101) in an effort to minimize

| | Studio C | Studio D | Total | Percentage |
|-----------------------------------|----------|----------|-------|------------|
| Messages | | | | |
| Identity | | | | |
| Tribalism | 11 | 3 | 14 | 29 |
| Intertribalism | 2 | | 2 | 4 |
| Style | | | | |
| Indianism | 9 | 1 | 10 | 20 |
| Regionalism | | | | |
| Naturalism | 12 | 3 | 15 | 31 |
| Aestheticism | 8 | | 8 | 16 |
| Senders | | | | |
| Designer | 14 | 3 | 17 | |
| Tribal Member | | | | |
| Referents | | | | |
| Tribal | | | | |
| Original Instructions | 2 | | 2 | 5 |
| Tribal Architectures | 2 | 1 | 3 | 8 |
| Tribal Details | 8 | 2 | 10 | 25 |
| Intertribal | | | | |
| Intertribal Architectures | 5 | 2 | 7 | 18 |
| Intertribal Details | 2 | | 2 | 5 |
| Non-Member Native Consultants | | | | |
| Non-Native | | | | |
| Vernacular Architectures | 1 | | 1 | 3 |
| Dominant Mainstream Architectures | | 1 | 1 | 3 |
| Personal Beliefs of the Designer | 11 | 3 | 14 | 35 |
| Media | | | | |
| Architectural | | | | |
| Architectural Spaces | 4 | 2 | 6 | 17 |
| Built Forms | 13 | 3 | 16 | 46 |
| Spatial Relationships | 8 | 2 | 10 | 29 |
| Non-Architectural | | | | |
| Landscaping | 3 | | 3 | 9 |
| Workers | | | | |
| Codes | | | | |
| Architectural | | | | |
| Mimetic Spaces | 9 | 2 | 11 | 31 |
| Mimetic Built Forms | 2 | | 2 | 6 |
| Mimetic Spatial Relationships | 3 | 1 | 4 | 11 |
| Non-Architectural | | | | |
| Intermedia Translations | 4 | 2 | 6 | 17 |
| Geometrical | 6 | 2 | 8 | 23 |
| Personal/Intuitive | 8 | 2 | 10 | 29 |
| Mimetic Landscaping | | | | |

Figure 4.5. Frequency of Recording Units for Design Solutions

biases. It also serves to smooth the data. Surprisingly, by looking at the design solutions themselves it is evident that students encoded their designs with tribalism messages nearly as often as with naturalism messages. In other words, 14 of the 17 design solutions were encoded with tribalism messages and 15 of the 17 design solutions were encoded with naturalism messages. This is a tremendous improvement from the 31 architectural designs, only nine of which were encoded with tribalism messages while 25 of them were encoded with naturalism messages.

Evaluating the Ponca Architectural Code

Of central importance in evaluating the potential of the Ponca architectural code (see appendix F) to assist designers in the production of Ponca architectures were interviews with students and faculty in studio C, the studio with the Ponca architectural code. Having been derived from Ponca Original Instructions--the ultimate Ponca authority--the code represented a genesis of Poncaness, a source for Ponca referents. If the Ponca architectural code was instrumental in the production of Ponca architectures, then studio C would have produced more Ponca architectures than studio D. In fact, the opposite was true. Proportionally speaking, the studio without the code (studio D) attempted to encode more Ponca messages than did the studio with the code (38% to 16%).

Of the 14 design solutions from studio C, ten (71%) were explicitly intended to be inscribed with at least one tribalism message. Those tribalism messages, however, did not necessarily result from student access to the Ponca architecture code. In fact, students reacted quite differently to the authority of the code. Some viewed it as a "cookbook," a "prescription for a building" that if followed closely "would stifle creativity" and "limit

inspiration." Others found some usefulness in the code: it provided a "good introduction" for an "understanding of Ponca customs and stories," providing "initial ideas" and "connotations" for "establishing the design." Yet even these students "reinterpreted" the code so as to enable them to "do [their] own thing." Such an attitude provided them the opportunity to sprinkle Poncaness across their designs, to spice up their otherwise Poncaless projects. Borrowing an analogy from chapter 2, those students viewed the code as a condiment instead of the main ingredient it must be if we were to see Ponca architectures.

One student even claimed to have produced a design neither Ponca nor "Indian," but instead "a compositionally correct design that housed the Ponca interpretive center." Another claimed there was "no way to do Poncaness" and so sought to achieve a design "of this land;" a quintessential example of a naturalism message. Not only did studio C ignore the code, nearly half of them also ignored the stated challenge of the interpretive center project. How could this happen? How could 29% of studio C not encode a single tribalism message into their designs--and half of those refuse to even try--while 100% of studio D encoded such messages?

This study suggests that the difference between the two studios in their efforts to produce Ponca architectures was due to their adherence to different sources of authority. Those four sources were project authority, community authority, studio authority, and personal authority. Project authority was vested in the project document; community authority primarily in the Ponca architectural code and secondarily in available reference materials; studio authority in the studio instructors; and personal authority in the students themselves. Project authority and community authority were specific to the Ponca interpretive center whereas studio authority was unique

to the instructors of each studio. If students did not respect to any of these three sources of authority, then they were in essence exerting their own personal authority.

It was posited earlier that all 17 students were similarly disposed to deviating from rules and regulations⁴. But because their instructors determined whether or not they received a passing grade, and since all 17 students received passing grades, then it can be assumed that they submitted to some minimum standard of studio authority. Therefore, the students themselves were not a source of authority that might have contributed to the difference between the two studios in their efforts to produce Ponca architectures.

It also was established earlier, through fulfillment of project criteria and voting by community members, that studio D submitted more fully to project and community authority than did studio C. Therefore, in the absence of submission to personal, project, and community authority, studio C must have submitted to studio authority more fully than did studio D.

When asked about studio pedagogy in general, studio D instructor said he was inclined to "let the students do what they want, to not push a particular direction or approach." Similarly, both studio C instructors mentioned enrichment of students' experiences and skills--the personal development of each student--in response to the same question. One of them also mentioned that students "should design for the hopes, desires, and functional needs of the client group," issues he believed were addressed in the project document. Considering the fact that studio C designers largely ignored the project document and the Ponca architectural code, it is evident that this instructor did not have as great an influence on studio C students as did the other studio C instructor. In fact, he was actually an adjunct

instructor whereas the other instructor was the official full time studio instructor. In order to distinguish between the three instructors, then, the adjunct instructor in studio C will henceforth be referred to as Instructor A, the official full time instructor of studio C as Instructor C, and the instructor of studio D as Instructor D.

With regard to the Ponca interpretive center, however, the instructors for the two studios differed significantly. Instructor C believed that by paying more attention to the environmental setting ("sun, sky, wind, water, truth"), students would increase their probability of "magically" or "accidentally" achieving Poncaness⁵. Instructor D too believed that "by addressing environmental issues and functional relationships one could produce a good building." But he felt the students were "obligated to make an architectural statement," a symbolic "design for an emerging nation." In other words, Instructor D alone stressed the challenge of the Ponca interpretive center project.

Concerning the Ponca architectural code, Instructor C stressed "each student's interpretation," stating that "personal translations are more likely to chance upon resonance" [by which was meant design solutions the Ponca community would like] than would unquestioned incorporation of the code. "Even with the code you are guessing" at Poncaness, he said, and therefore it was preferable that students ground their guesses within their own personal intuitions. Interestingly, Instructor A said "the code would help with making designs Ponca" if it was "respected by designers." He went on to say that the students did not respect the code, that they ignored it.

We arrive again, then, at the fact that in the absence of procedures to enforce adherence to the Ponca architectural code, a true test of its potential to assist in the production of Ponca architectures is not possible. The

centrality of respect for the community authority vested in the Ponca architectural code is as clear as a comet streaking across the night sky. In this case, the studio authority exercised by Instructor C exerted more negative influence on the production of Ponca architectures than all the positive influences the architectural code and project documents possessed. The authority of Ponca tribalism was usurped and tribal traditions disrespected.

In the absence of respect, and the presence of refusal to submit, traditions sanctioned by tribal authority will not be perpetuated, regardless of rules and regulations.

Arranging Notes

Persons who read and commented on portions of this chapter or previous writings related to this chapter include Henry Wright, John O'Shea, Neena Mitchell, and Richard Ford.

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¹Actually, in terms of criteria not met, design #2 ranks first whereas in terms of criteria met it ranks 16th. This is due to the fact that design #12 drawings were so sparsely labelled that only 12 of the 34 criteria could be judged. Therefore, though design #12 has only eight criteria present, it has but four criteria absent.

²The formula involves multiplying the sum of the squared differences by 6, then dividing by the product of the number of cases (17 in this instance) multiplied by the square of the number of cases minus 1 (16 in this case). The resultant is then subtracted from 1 to give Spearman's measure.

³My thanks to the students (Adriene N. Jackson, Analise Pietras, Andrew Michajlenko, Brian S. Gill, Christin C. Barrett, Jesse T. Adkins, Kitty Kukulprasong, Madeleine Sun, Maurice L. Charbonneau, Naphan Komarapajkul, Phillip W. Blase, Richard C. Boone, Russell L. Baltimore, Sam Gargarello, Scott A. Martin, Steve Donoghue, Tiffany Nash) and the faculty (Gerhard Olving, James Chaffers, and Robert C. Metcalf) for their participation in this study.

⁴The self-selection of studios by students might have introduced some inter-studio bias. That was mitigated somewhat by the fact that students rank ordered their preference of available studios and then an administrative assistant in the College of Architecture made the studio assignments.

⁵Incidentally, and recalling that the Ponca architectural code was formulated from those "tribal rites and ceremonies classed as We'wacpe," it is interesting to note that those rites and ceremonies "were religious in character and singularly free from anything that could properly be called magical" (Fletcher and La Flesche 1972: 602).

CHAPTER 5: ECHOING

Once a woman fell from the sky. The woman who fell from the sky was neither a murderer nor a saint. She was rather ordinary, though beautiful in her walk, like one who has experienced freedom from earth's gravity. When I see her I think of an antelope grazing the alpine meadows in mountains whose names are as ancient as the sound that created the first world (Harjo 1994: 5).

Architecture, viewed as a communication medium, is eminently suited to the long-term communication of messages. Many of those messages, having been encoded by designers, are self-referential: they reference the designer.

"Many designers," according to Lang (1987: 239), "take the position that their contribution to society is their aesthetic philosophy as exhibited in their work." This is the fine art legacy of architecture: architecture as self-referential art. But even though "most buildings do bear the hallmark of their creators, a study of architectural history also indicates that what an architect does is very much affected by the nature of the society of which he or she is a part" (Lang 1987: 221). And contemporary western society is preeminently occupied with technology. Architecture too is closely allied with technology, and the result has been that "a global architectural style reflecting the state of the art at the moment of design has begun to replace local and traditional styles" (Hardison 1989: 2). But what Hardison views as "the disappearance of regional and parochial identities and the emergence of

a global consciousness" can be countered from within those regional and parochial communities. From their viewpoint,

architecture is a public art because it crystallizes [their] public realm, shared social values, and long-term cultural goals. It is hence very much more involved with explicit social content than the other arts. Whereas music or painting can be relatively apolitical and unconnected with the milieu in which they are produced, architecture is utterly implicated in the public realm. This entails its taking on a responsibility towards communication and even rhetoric. It must by nature help explain and dramatize certain social meanings (Jencks 1973: 30-31).

This dissertation suggests that the communicative and rhetorical functions of architecture, particularly tribal architectures, may be addressed through architectural codes which crystallize shared tribal values and long-term tribal goals. As such, architectural codes may assist tribal communities in counteracting the universalizing momentum of contemporary mainstream architectural practices. Some of the future potentialities of architectural codes will be discussed after their theoretical underpinnings are revisited.

Evaluating Architectural Codes

Architectural codes can provide tribal communities with a way to produce new and previously inconceivable architectures in the Native American new world that differentiate tribal communities from each other and from the dominant culture. Architectural codes are based on tribally specific concepts and symbolisms that perpetuate and three-dimensionally manifest a tribal community's cultural beliefs. Those beliefs are bound up with spirituality, tribal spirituality, which in turn is inseparable from the landscapes and skylines of the Native American old and new worlds. As such, architectural codes are intimately related to tribal communities, their lands and their spirituality.

Tribal spirituality resounds with the sound of cosmogonic and cosmological myths¹. Those myths tell of the primordial ordering of chaotic universal space, the conception of tribal worldviews, the cosmocizing of chaos. They are generative in that tribal worlds were ordered, or created, and as such, they may be perceived as constituting a paradigm of creation. The same generative principles that order cosmic space inform architectural codes. In turn, those codes may be employed to order architectural spaces. In so doing, architectural spaces are cosmocized, are incorporated into cosmic space². Tribal spirituality reverberates with cosmic meanings and--through architectural codes--so too do tribal architectures.

Each tribe's traditional spirituality has central convictions which differentiate it from all others, tribal and non-tribal. In the Native American new world, the expressive act of embodying those convictions, which it is the responsibility of tribal architectures to do, is simultaneously a confrontational act in opposition to the other convictions. In other words, contemporary expressions of tribal identities, whether through rituals or architectures, constitute protest movements. To assert tribal identity is to shun a universal identity, to resist detribalization. That resistance is protest. In addition to advocating tribalism, the rhetoric of those protest movements also attempts to persuade tribal members to reassert their community's traditional beliefs, their spiritual convictions³. Thus, the spiritual function of tribal architectures is to embody and explain a community's generative principles while enclosing a place for their re-creation.

Interestingly, the creative qualities of generative principles could conceivably engender various interpretations for each set of Original Instructions. In other words, within a given tribal community spiritual leaders may be vying for followers--conducting cosmic competition, if you will.

People support and return to those leaders who satisfy their spiritual needs through ritual performances. Each spiritual leader would not, however, possess a unique corpus of myths, a singular cosmology, but would instead share a majority of the cosmogonic and cosmological myths of that tribal community. None of them would be questioning their tribal community's cosmic plan, their Original Instructions. What each spiritual leader would be doing is manifesting, or more accurately, interpreting and then substantiating those generative myths in their own particular manner.

What this allows is that a given community's Original Instructions may be interpreted in different ways. Consequently, there is no one correct formulation of a tribal community's architectural code. This holds spatially and temporally. At any given time and place, a given set of Original Instructions may be creatively interpreted and codified--and not just once. The viability and longevity of each codification will be determined by members of the tribal community, not by the interpreters themselves or by outside experts. Furthermore, if a particular codification falls into disrepute or in some way loses its followers, it is not necessarily abandoned forever. In some other time or place it may be resurrected and enjoy community support.

Any community of people who agree to accept--not necessarily believe--a given set of Original Instructions or a set of generative principles they "invent" themselves, may codify them in an architectural code. In so doing, such communities are tribes (in a spiritual as opposed to political sense) and therefore may participate in a renaissance of architectural tribalism.

Architectural codes assist designers in creating architectures that fulfill the responsibilities of tribal architectures: to embody and explain tribalism. To be efficacious, though, designers must respect the authority of the code; they must agree to accept the code and to work within its

descriptive dictates. To do otherwise would be to produce architectures that resonate with the sound of someone else's creation. Tradition, we will recall, is "a body of accepted and acceptable ways of performing [an] activity with its own rules or code" (Dissanayake 1988: 160). Architectural codes constitute the acceptable rules of design which must be accepted (followed) to produce architectures which are tribally specific. Therefore, through architectural codes tribal communities can establish their own design traditions; tribal design traditions which are alternatives to those of the mainstream establishment.

AlterNATIVE Tribal Design Traditions⁴

If architectural codes metaphorically are encapsulated in the heads of comets, and the elliptical legacies of tribal architectures flow from the tails of comets, then tribal design traditions are the comets themselves, in their totality. Each design tradition is unique in embodying its own Original Instructions, yet all embody the creative matter inherent in those generative principles. And that cosmic connection is what unites the multitude of comets, each streaking around its unique elliptical orbit.

Whereas architectural codes link architectural media with cosmic referents, design traditions link architectural designers and tribal communities with the production of architectures. This change in the production of architectures within tribally controlled lands must follow "major changes in the power structure of society and the concomitant arrival of new types of patrons, new professional roles, and new world views" (Lang 1987: 221). Therefore, alterNATIVE tribal design traditions suggest a theoretical basis from which to reconceptualize the role and function of the

tribal, professional, and academic communities that orbit tribal architectures.

First and foremost, tribal communities themselves must reassert their inherent authority to determine the nature of their built environments. This is an exercise of tribal self-determination, of tribal sovereignty. "Each building reflects, to a greater or lesser extent, the values of the different client groups. The more powerful clients--often those controlling the financial resources--are the ones whose values are most clearly reflected or the ones who say whose values should be reflected" (Lang 1987: 229). Using the Ponca architectural code as a model, tribal communities could develop and codify their own architectural codes and--most importantly--assert their authority by requiring designers to follow them. In so doing, each tribal community would regain control of architectural production and ensure the encodement of tribal values into their architectures. Future architectures within tribal lands would thereby once again resonate with tribalism. Through the exercise of their authority, tribal communities can promote a renaissance of architectural tribalism in the Native American new world.

Drastic changes are required of professional designers as well. In the absence of change and in the presence of architectural codes, architects who refuse to respect tribal authority should no longer be employed by tribal communities. A renaissance of architectural tribalism necessitates the production of architectures that symbolize and edify tribalism; and it is the responsibility of architects to design such architectures. "Architecture crystallizes specific cultural values, and not others, and the architect, as opposed to, say, the sociologist or engineer, has been delegated to this role by society" (Jencks 1973: 372). AlterNATIVE tribal design traditions will assist architects in fulfilling this function in a tribal context, a function often

dismissed or ignored by contemporary professional (see Chapter 2) and academic (see Chapter 4) designers. But unless or until designers submit to the authority of tribal traditions, they cannot and will not produce truly tribal architectures⁵.

Finally, the academic community. Few if any North American academic institutions offer courses pertaining to the history, design, study, or teaching of tribal architectures. Even educational institutions that predominantly address Native American issues, such as tribal colleges or the Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe, New Mexico, have yet to develop programs centrally concerned with tribal architectures. This being the case, perhaps the time has come for the establishment of new institutions dedicated to all aspects of Native American architectures⁶. Whether in new or existing institutions, academic programs pertaining to any aspect of Native American architectures will require a theoretical basis relevant to Native Americans collectively and individual tribal communities specifically.

Within the academic community there are two disciplines that may potentially develop or strengthen existing ties to tribal architectures: anthropology and architecture. Though both disciplines are in some ways concerned with the past, present, and future, each may heuristically be assigned the time period with which it is centrally concerned: anthropology with the past and architecture with the present. Again, this is simply a heuristic alignment. The point being that whereas anthropology is primarily concerned with the there-and-then, and architecture with the here-and-now, this study is primarily oriented toward the where-and-when of a tribal architectures renaissance. And like the past-present-future continuum, architectural tribalism is inseparable from anthropology and architecture.

The incorporation of a paradigm of creation into a communication model suggests new research trajectories in anthropology and architecture. In both fields the centrality of cosmology to the signaling and maintaining of community boundaries points to relationships between material and ideological studies. Archaeologically, this approach has its most likely impact in the emerging study of shape grammars, space syntax, and other inquiries into two-dimensional relationships between and among architectural media. If cosmic order is indeed embodied in spatial organization, then aggregations of architectural spaces may be compared spatially to study cosmological similarities and differences. It may even be possible to trace the evolution of cosmic traditions using archaeological data⁷.

Another trajectory of academic research would be a comprehensive architectural history of the Native American old and new worlds. Such a history would encompass the architectural legacies of all tribal communities. It would begin temporally and spatially with the first settlers of the Native American old world and then identify the spatial and temporal appearances of all major tribal communities. The extent of each community's spatial domain and influence could be mapped over time, along with influences exerted on them from other cultural groups, tribal and non-tribal. Concurrently, a diachronic and comprehensive listing of spatial designs could be compiled for each tribal community, from brush shelters to entire cities. Developed in this manner, the architectural history of Native America would not perpetuate the static, insular and ahistorical interpretation of tribal architectures many classification systems present. Instead, it would represent something akin to a dynamic cultural geography of the Native American old and new worlds, articulating the historical distribution of tribal communities, their architectures and spatial boundaries within defined

temporal periods. It would provide a diachronic database comprised of architectural legacies which individual tribal communities could incorporate into their own architectural codes.

Leaving aside the truly hypothetical situation of a Native American academy of architecture, history of Native American architectures courses can and should be developed. These courses rightfully belong in all North American schools of architecture. Courses pertaining to the architectural history of any geographical area of North America should also include relevant units on Native American architectural history. Architectural design courses too could benefit. Students, for instance, might work with tribal communities in formulating architectural codes and then, using those codes, design actual buildings. They would be testing the practical applications of the architectural code while at the same time producing viable designs. As well, the theoretical model of tribal architectures presented in Chapter 2 provides for historical analyses of Native American architectures at deeper levels of meaning than purely superficial decoration. The model also promotes critical reappraisal of previous analyses. Studies such as these, besides being conducted at schools of architecture, may also take place at tribal colleges which, due to their location, often have better access to Native American old and new world architectures.

Though their relative emphases will shift, academic, professional, and tribal communities each play vital roles in a renaissance of architectural tribalism. In the relative absence of literal examples of such architectures, architectural codes provide a theoretically modelled foundation from which each community can build. To produce tribal architectures, a designer must respect tribal authority; just as to "create a lasting public work, [an] architect must believe and act for a social reality that transcends his own history"

(Jencks 1973: 212). Talented designers who exercise their creative abilities for personal aggrandizement while producing designs for tribal communities "have reached the ironic position of having what may well be the most inventive and excitingly formal architecture ever produced, with surely the most ridiculous content" (Jencks 1973: 371). Following Oliver (1977: 36), "one could hope for a situation where our knowledge of the importance of sign and symbol in [tribal architectures] is no longer so minimal; where we are in a position to regard with respect and understanding the importance of the building in representing the values of the culture through the embodiment of its symbolism. . . Better still, the people themselves will be able to determine the [architecture] which embodies their own symbol-systems without suffering the decisions made by designers for them. . . . We may eventually encourage the expression of group identity through symbols in [tribal architectures]. . . . Then perhaps there may be less dissatisfaction on the part of the community as a whole with the decisions of architects, and the gap between the professional designer and the community, whose environment he largely determines, may be narrowed."

A tribal architectures renaissance, then, may have ramifications beyond merely spatial production. Through the creation of architectures that signal and maintain cosmic boundaries, the use and maintenance of those architectures by community members may be encouraged. Furthermore, the process whereby those architectures are produced--ethnoarchitectonics--requires that tribal communities reassert their inherent sovereignty, that they exercise their authority. Moreover, by viewing tribal communities as spiritual associations, urban intertribal communities are placed on the same basis as federally recognized tribes, at least for architectural purposes. Thus, this study is relevant to tribal peoples today, has applications within tribally

controlled lands, assists in perpetuating tribal communities, and is not at variance with their traditional spiritual beliefs.

Tribal design traditions approach perigee by advocating new and self-confident traditions within the tribal, professional, and academic orbits of Native American architectures. The genesis of these traditions reverberate with the cosmic sounds of creation. Those cosmogonic events radiate shock waves that dissipate in proportion to distance and time travelled. Tribal architectures, tuned to the harmonics of their community's creation, could revive and amplify those cosmic waves, reissuing them again and again. In so doing, the creative acts of tribal worlds are perpetuated and a renaissance of architectural tribalism in the Native American new world is begun.

Echoing Notes

Persons who read and commented on portions of this chapter or previous writings related to this chapter include Crisca Bierwert, Henry Wright, John O'Shea, Neena Mitchell, Renate Eigenbrod, Richard Ford, Sergei Kan, and Tristine Smart.

Persons who have greatly influenced my being and my thinking include Mom and Dad, Dicksy and Kent, Grandma and Grandpa, Grandma and Grandpa Smith, Amos and Lucy Ross, Gordon Scholz, Julie Zachau, and Rick Kuhl. Thanks to them and everyone else for their contributions to the completion of this study.

¹According to Langer (1953: 95), "Myths are figures of thought, not speech," and therefore the metaphor of sound might be inappropriate. Nevertheless, the generative qualities of myths are reinforced when she went on to say that they "are pregnant with unformulated ideas."

²"A sacred object or sound is an object or sound which bears the imprint of the Eternal and the Immutable in that physical reality which comprises outwardly the object or the sound" (Nasr 1989: 76). Therefore, since tribal architectures are encoded with cosmogonic content, they are sacred. Furthermore, "creation implies a superabundance of reality, in other words, an eruption of the sacred into the world. It follows that all construction or fabrication has the cosmogony as an exemplary model. The creation of the world became the archetype of each creative human activity, whatever its plane of reference" (Eliade 1988: 112).

³Though those convictions "rarely deal exclusively with dwellings, nevertheless descriptions of the house, its form, its origins, are woven into many of the myths which lie at the very root of culture; and wherever this occurs, not only is the architectural tradition made unassailable, but its constant repetition is assured (Alexander 1979: 47). By the fact that the repetition of the traditions is assured, so too must the repetition of the convictions be assured.

⁴Some of the following ideas are based in part on a paper written in 1989 and subsequently published (Howe 1991).

⁵Following Gowans (1981: 117): "No [tribal] architecture ever resulted, or ever can result, from designing for aesthetic impact *instead* of meaning." Then extending with Hardison (1989: 76), such architecture "grows out of native soil. It expresses religious and historical traditions specific to the culture in which it appears."

⁶The concept of a Native American Graduate School of Architecture has previously been advanced by Locke (1978).

⁷Unfortunately, in some tribal communities those architectures which most fully embody cosmic meanings are paradoxically the most ephemeral of their architectures. The Sun Dance lodges of most of the plains tribes are prime examples.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Introductory Letter and Consent Form

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this pilot survey of design methodologies used to produce tribal architectures. This survey is one part of my dissertation (tentatively titled Architectural Tribalism in the Native American New World). This letter will provide a little more information about the study and ask some administrative questions. Please keep this and i will pick it up when we meet.

The conceptual model that underlies this research is that of a communication system. Communication takes place when a sender transmits a message (that refers to something—it's referent) by way of some medium to someone. Architecture, viewed as a communication medium, is eminently suited to the long-term communication of messages that three-dimensionally manifest what we might call tribalism, or Native American identity. The intent of this survey is to explore messages of tribal architectures. Who is the sender of such messages? What types of messages are intended and what are their referents? Which architectural media are used? Who is the intended receiver(s)? In short, how would tribal architectures be operationalized within a communication model?

The survey will be conducted through interviews with the designers of past, present, and proposed tribal architectures from three geographic regions centered around the cities of Albuquerque, NM, Seattle, WA, and Omaha, NE. The plan is to visit tribal architectures in the three regions and interview their designers. i would also like to include annotation of design drawings as part of the interviews.

Therefore, my first request is for a copy of the floor plan and/or site plan for each project we will be visiting about. i will gladly reimburse the copying costs. Any other images would also be appreciated. If this is not possible, that is alright. We can still talk about your design methodology without the drawings.

The second request involves recognition for you, your firm, and your work. Since in most cases it is public information, it seems appropriate to name each building being discussed and the firm(s) or person(s) who designed it. Your personal participation, however, may be either kept confidential or fully recognized. Your choice will be respected.

Finally, the University of Michigan requires that i obtain your consent before conducting our interview. The form is on the back of this page and incorporates your choices to the above questions. There is also space to indicate other conditions you feel comfortable with. Thanks again for your assistance with my dissertation research, and i look forward to our meeting.

See you then,

Craig Howe / 1550 Plymouth Rd. #2 / Ann Arbor, MI 48105 / 313-996-8071

CONSENT FORM

I agree to voluntarily participate in a study titled Architectural Tribalism in the Native American New World. My responses to this survey are confidential and will be rendered anonymous when follow up is no longer needed unless indicated otherwise below. I may decide not to answer any question, and may terminate the interview at any time. It is my understanding that this interview should take no longer than an hour.

My personal participation will be:

Anonymous

Recognized

I wish to receive the following:

Draft of write-up

Copy of final write-up

Other conditions? (please indicate in space below)

My signature below indicates that i have read and understand the conditions presented above.

Signature of participant

Date

Printed name of participant

APPENDIX B: Contact Persons for Tribal Architectures

Contact Persons for Tribal Architectures

Andrew Acoya
 United States Department of the Interior
 Bureau of Indian Affairs
 Facilities Management and Construction Center
 Federal Office Building
 P. O. Box 1248
 Albuquerque, NM 87103
 505 766 2823
 Pueblo Indian Cultural Center (Harvey Hoshour, AIA
 (deceased), architect) and Oke-Oweenge Crafts
 Cooperative (Furgerson, Stevens, Mallory, and Pearl,
 Architects/Engineers).

Jerry Aria
 Arai/Jackson Architects and Planners
 1535 11th Avenue, Suite 300
 Seattle, WA 98122
 206 323 8800
 Daybreak Star Indian Cultural-Educational Center
 and Duwamish, Snoqualmi, Nisqually and
 Suquamish Longhouses.

Wallace Ashley
 Sinkpe Architects
 P. O. Box 4545
 Albuquerque, NM 87102
 505 865 0111
 Ici Mani Lodge.

Chris Boothby
 Stastny & Burke Architecture
 813 S.W. Alder, Suite 200
 Portland, OR 97205
 503 227 3176
 Museum at Warm Springs (Donald Stastny,
 Principal, and Chris Boothby, Project Architect).

Joseph C. Brawley
 University of Washington
 university Facilities Building FJ-05
 Seattle, WA 98195
 206 543 5200
 Pueblo of Zuni Arts and Crafts Building.

Joe Browning
 Ellis/Browning Architects
 560 Montezuma, Suite 202
 Santa Fe, NM 87501
 505 984 2344
 Native American Preparatory School.

John Conron
 P. O. Box 935
 Santa Fe, NM 87504
 505 983 6948
 Native American Preparatory School.

Jon Dick
 Yates-Hogan Architects, Inc.
 428 Sandoval
 Santa Fe, NM 87501
 505 988 1913
 Native American Preparatory School.

Lisette Ellis
 Ellis/Browning Architects
 560 Montezuma, Suite 202
 Santa Fe, NM 87501
 505 984 2344
 Native American Preparatory School (Project team:
 Barton Myers Associates Inc. in association with
 Ellis/Browning Architects (Barton Myers, John R.
 Dale, David Kim, Stuart Royalty, Ingaliil Wahlroos,
 Alan Murphy, Joe Browning, Lisette Ellis, David
 Milliken, David Vanstrom). Consultants: Steve
 Martino, landscape; Martin Yoklic, environmental
 energy; Chester Wright, cost; Steve Diamond,
 mechanical systems; Noreen Morioka, graphics;
 Dixie Noble, Native American consultant).

Brooks Gunsul
 Zimmer, Gunsul, Frasca Partnership
 320 S.W. Oak, Suite 500
 Portland, OR 97204
 503 224 3860
 Kah-Nee-Ta Resort. "Recognized with a design
 award from the American Institute of Architects, the
 Kah-Nee-Ta Vacation Resort has also been published
 in several local and national magazines. It was
 recently included in 'America's Grand Resort Hotels,'
 a survey of significant resorts throughout the United
 States, published by Pantheon Books."

James E. Harrington
 Jim Harrington and Associates
 2201 N. Camino Principal
 Tucson, AZ 85715
 602 886 6948
 Sif Oidak Community Center and Lake Valley
 Boarding School.

M. A. Hoistad
 College of Architecture
 University of Nebraska-Lincoln
 238 Architecture Hall West
 Lincoln, NE 68588
 402 472 9232
 Omaha Interpretive Center.

Dennis Holloway
 P. O. Box 1029
 Ranchos de Taos, NM 87557
 505 758 0225
 Poeh Public Cultural Center and Poeh Cultural
 Training Center.

Cliff Jackson
 Arai/Jackson Architects and Planners
 1535 11th Avenue, Suite 300
 Seattle, WA 98122
 206 323 8800
 Daybreak Star Indian Cultural-Educational Center
 and Duwamish, Snoqualmi, Nisqually and
 Suquamish Longhouses.

Johnpaul Jones
 Jones & Jones
 105 S. Main
 Seattle, WA 98104
 206 624 5702
 Makah De'Aht (Tribal Elders Activity Center) and
 Institute of American Indian Arts Campus Master
 Plan.

Marilyn G. Jones
 Suquamish Museum
 P. O. Box 498
 Suquamish, WA 98392
 206 598 3311
 Suquamish Museum.

Verna Kirkness
 1985 West Mall
 Vancouver, BC V6T 1Z2
 604 822 8940
 First Nations House of Learning Longhouse.

Gerold Klein
 Dana Larson Roubal and Associates
 400 Essex Court
 Omaha, NE 68114
 402 393 4100
 Omaha Tribal Headquarters Building, Colville
 Confederated Tribes Tribal Center, Hopi Daycare
 Building, Lower Sioux Community Center, and Little
 Eagle Ranch.

Sarah Landon
 Office of Museum Programs
 Smithsonian Institution
 Washington, DC
 202 357 3101
 American Indian Museums and Cultural Centers.

Joanne McCandless
 Clark Enerson Partners
 Lincoln, NE 68508
 402 477 9291
 John G. Neihardt Center and Lincoln Indian Center.

Larry McFarland
 Larry McFarland Architects, Ltd.
 2930 Arbutus Street, Suite 303
 Vancouver, BC V6T 3Y9
 604 733 1115
 First Nations House of Learning Longhouse and
 Native Education Centre.

Joel McHorse
 Rt. 11, Box 71, Pojoaque Pueblo
 Santa Fe, NM 87501
 505 455 2278
 Poeh Public Cultural Center and Poeh Cultural
 Training Center.

Brycene Neaman
 Yakima Indian Nation Museum
 P. O. Box 151
 Toppenish, WA 98948
 509 865 2800
 Yakima Indian Nations Cultural Heritage Center.

Charles G. Nelson
 Nebraska State Board of Examiners for Professional
 Engineers and Architects
 301 Centennial Mall South
 P. O. Box 94751
 Lincoln, NE 68509
 402 471 2021
 John G. Neihardt Center (Lawrence A. Enerson,
 FAIA, FASLA, architect).

Gregory D. Newport
Clark Enerson Partners
Lincoln, NE 68508
402 477 9291
John G. Neihardt Center.

Philip C. Norton
Bassetti, Norton, Metler, Rekevicz
2021 Third Avenue
Seattle, WA 98121
206 448 8668
Makah Cultural and Research Center.

Donald J. Stastny
Stastny & Burke Architecture
813 S.W. Alder, Suite 200
Portland, OR 97205
503 227 3176
Museum at Warm Springs (Donald Stastny,
Principal, and Chris Boothby, Project Architect),
American Indian Association of Portland Cultural
Center, and American Indian Council of Architects
and Engineers.

Wayne Swoboda
Lincoln Indian Center, Inc.
1100 Military Road
Lincoln, NE 68508
402 438 5231
Lincoln Indian Center.

Melvin Tafoya
Santa Clara Pueblo, NM
505 753 7326
Santa Clara Senior Community Center.

Robert D. Webb
Artic Slope Consulting Group, Inc.
500 Copper N.W., Suite 200
Albuquerque, NM 87102
505 243 8821
Santa Clara Senior Community Center and
Camelback Gaming Center.

Louis Weller
Louis L. Weller, Architects
401-D Alvarado S.E.
Albuquerque, NM 87108
505 255 8270
American Indian Council of Architects and
Engineers.

A. Robert Williams
Architecture Associates
1320 N. 16th Avenue, Suite C
Yakima, WA 98902
509 248 5020
Yakima Indian Nation Cultural Heritage Center.

Kramer Woodard
2227 Lead S.E.
Albuquerque, NM 87106
505 262 0373
X Marks the Spot.

Burke Wyatt
Wyatt/Rhodes Architects, Inc.
4524 N. 12th Street
Phoenix, AZ 85014
602 222 8815
American Indian Council of Architects and
Engineers.

Douglas T. Zacherle
Zac Design
520 Pike Street, Suite 1425
Seattle, WA 98101
206 461 6006
Colville Campus Development and Suquamish
Revitalization Project.

L. Kay Zovanyi
Zac Design
520 Pike Street, Suite 1425
Seattle, WA 98101
206 461 6006
Colville Campus Development and Suquamish
Revitalization Project.

APPENDIX C: Designs for Tribal Architectures

Designs for Tribal Architectures

American Indian Association of Portland Cultural Center
Portland, OR
Contact: Donald Stastny and Chris Boothby

Camelback Gaming Center
Tesuque Pueblo, NM
Contact: Robert D. Webb

Colville Campus Development
Contact: Douglas T. Zacherle and L. Kay Zovanyi

Colville Confederated Tribes Tribal Center
Contact: Gerold Klein

Daybreak Star Indian Cultural-Educational Center
United Indians of All Tribes Foundation
Box 99100
Seattle, WA 98199
206 285 4425
Contact: Clifford Jackson and Jerry Aria

Duwamish Longhouse
Contact: Clifford Jackson and Jerry Aria

First Nations House of Learning Longhouse
University of British Columbia
1985 West Mall
Vancouver, BC V6T 1Z2
604 822 8940
Contact: Larry McFarland

Hopi Daycare Building
Contact: Gerold Klein

Ici Mani Lodge
Crow Creek, SD
Contact: Wallace Ashley

Indian Pueblo Cultural Center
2401 Twelfth Street, NW
Albuquerque, NM 87102
505 247 4943
Contact: Andrew Acoya

Institute of American Indian Arts Campus Master Plan
Santa Fe, NM
Contact: Johnpaul Jones

John G. Neihardt Center
Bancroft, NE
402 648 3388
Contact: Joanne McCandless, Gregory D. Newport,
and Charles G. Nelson

Kah-Nee-Ta Resort
P. O. Box K
Warm Springs, OR 97761
503 553 1112
Contact: Brooks Gunsul

Lake Valley Boarding School
Lake Valley, NM
Contact: James E. Harrington

Lincoln Indian Center, Inc.
1100 Military Road
Lincoln, NE 68508
402 438 5231
Contact: Joanne McCandless and Wayne Swoboda

Little Eagle Ranch
Contact: Gerold Klein

Lower Sioux Community Center
Contact: Gerold Klein

Makah Cultural and Research Center
P. O. Box 95
Neah Bay, WA 98357
206 645 2711
Contact: Philip C. Norton

Makah De'Aht (Tribal Elders Activity Center)
Neah Bay, WA 98357
Contact: Johnpaul Jones

Museum at Warm Springs
P. O. Box C
Warm Springs, OR 97761
503 553 3331
Contact: Donald Stastny and Chris Boothby

Native American Preparatory School
Santa Fe, NM
Contact: John Conron, Jon Dick, Lisette Ellis and Joe
Browning

Native Education Centre
285 East 5th
Vancouver, BC
Contact: Larry McFarland

Nisqually Longhouse
Contact: Clifford Jackson and Jerry Aria
Oke-Oweenge Crafts Cooperative
San Juan Pueblo, NM
Contact: Andrew Acoya

Omaha Interpretive Center
Omaha Indian Reservation
Contact: M. A. Hoistad

Omaha Tribal Headquarters Building
Macy, NE
Contact: Gerold Klein

Poeh Cultural Training Center
Rt. 11, Box 27E
Santa Fe, NM 87501
505 455 3334
Contact: Joel McHorse and Dennis Holloway

Poeh Public Cultural Center
Rt. 11, Box 27E
Santa Fe, NM 87501
505 455 3334
Contact: Joel McHorse and Dennis Holloway

Pueblo of Zuni Arts and Crafts Building
P. O. Box 425
Zuni, NM 87327
Contact: Joseph C. Brawley

Santa Clara Senior Community Center
Santa Clara, NM
Contact: Melvin Tafoya and Robert D. Webb

Sif Oidak Community Center
North Romelik, AZ
Contact: James E. Harrington

Snoqualmi Longhouse
Contact: Clifford Jackson and Jerry Aria

Suquamish Longhouse
Contact: Clifford Jackson and Jerry Aria

Suquamish Museum
P. O. Box 498
Suquamish, WA 98392
206 598 3311
Contact: Marilyn G. Jones

Suquamish Revitalization Project
Contact: Douglas T. Zacherle and L. Kay Zovanyi

X Marks the Spot
Contact: Kramer Woodward

Yakima Indian Nation Cultural Heritage Center
P. O. Box 151
Toppenish, WA 98948
509 865 2800
Contact: Brycne Neaman and A. Robert Williams

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APPENDIX E: Ponca Timeline

Ponca Timeline

(dy:mn:year)

1200-1300 A.D.

Archaeological evidence indicates that tribes of the Dhegiha language group, such as the Poncas, appeared on the mid-western plains.

"Tradition is silent as to their movements from the Lake region south to the Ohio river" (Fletcher and La Flesche 1911: 72).

"The ancestors of the Omahas, Ponkas, Osages, Kansas, Kwapas, Winnebagos, Pawnee Loups (Skidi), and Rees, dwelt east of the Mississippi. They were not all in one region, but they were allies, and their general course was westward. They drove other tribes before them. Five of these peoples, the Omahas, Ponkas, Osages, Kansas and Kwapas, were then together as one nation. They were called Arkansa or Alkansa by the Illinois tribes, and they dwelt near the Ohio river" (Dorsey 1886: 215).

"At the mouth of the Ohio a separation occurred. Some went down the Mississippi, hence arose their name, "U-ga'-qpa (Oo-ga-khpa)" or Kwapa (Quapaw), meaning "the down-stream people." This was prior to 1540, when De Soto met the Kwapas, who were then a distinct tribe. The rest of the Arkansas ascended the river, taking the name of U-man'-han (Omaha), "those going against the wind or current" (Dorsey 1886: 215).

"The Omahas and their associates followed the course of the Mississippi till they reached the mouth of the Missouri, remaining for some time near the site of the present city of St. Louis" (Dorsey 1886: 215).

"Then they ascended the Missouri to a place called Tce-dun-ga a'-ja-be and Man'da-qpa'-ye by the Kansas, and Man-ta-qpa'-dhe by the Osages. This was an extensive peninsula on the river, having a high mountain as a landmark" (Dorsey 1886: 215).

"In the course of time they ascended the Missouri and established themselves at the mouth of the Osage river. The Iowas were near them; but the Omahas say that at that period they did not know the Otos and Missouris" (Dorsey 1886: 218).

"At the mouth of the Osage river the final separation occurred. The Omahas and Ponkas crossed the Missouri, resuming their wanderings....After crossing the Missouri they were joined by the Iowas" (Dorsey 1886: 218), either ascending the Chariton or Des Moines river.

"Tradition says that the Omaha after parting from the Quapaw followed the Mik'tonke river (the Des Moines) to its headwaters, and wandered northeast" (Fletcher and La Flesche 1911: 72).

"Dakota tradition tells of their meeting the Omaha near the Blue Earth and Minnesota rivers" (Fletcher and La Flesche 1911: 73).

Reached the Pipestone quarry.

"When they arrived at the Big Sioux river they built a fort. At that time the Yankton Dakotas...made war on the Omahas and their allies, defeating them and killing about a thousand warriors. This obliged the three tribes [Omaha, Ponca and Iowa] to abandon their habitat" (Dorsey 1886: 219).

"Reached the lake where the Omahas and Ponkas obtained their sacred pole. This is now called Lake Andes, and it is at the head of Choteau creek, Dakota. There the sacred pipes were given, according to the Omaha and Ponka traditions, and the present gentes were constituted" (Dorsey 1886: 219). "...but this identification has not been accepted by the best tribal authorities and traditions do not favor placing the act in the vicinity of this lake" (Fletcher and La Flesche 1911: 73).

"After these rites [connected with the Sacred Pole] had been instituted that the Omaha reached the vicinity of the Big Sioux, where on the banks of a small stream that flows in from the northeast they built a village. It was while there were living here that a disastrous battle took place (tradition does not say with whom), and as a result this village seems to have been abandoned, after the dead had been gathered and buried in a great mound, around which a stone wall was built" (Fletcher and La Flesche 1911: 73).

"In the vicinity of the upper Mississippi "We made peace with the Cheyenne. At that time the Ponca were with us, and the Iowa and Oto joined us in the peace." (Fletcher and La Flesche 1911: 73).

"Returned to the Big Sioux...where the river makes a loop, at a point where a small stream enters from a canyon...peace was made among the Arikara, the Cheyenne, the Omaha, the Ponca, the Iowa, and the Oto, and sought to be confirmed through the ceremony now known...as the Wa'wan" (Fletcher and La Flesche 1911:74).

"The finding of the [Sacred] Pole is said to have occurred while a council was in progress between the Cheyenne, Arikara, Omaha, Ponca, and Iowa, to reach an agreement on terms of peace and rules of war and hunting, and to adopt a peace ceremony" (Fletcher and La Flesche 1911: 218).

"Ascended the Missouri river till they reached White river (Ni-u'-ga-cu'-de). There the Iowas and Omahas remained, but the Ponkas crossed the Missouri near the mouth of the White river" (Dorsey 1886: 219).

The Poncas "went on to the Little Missouri river and the country near the Black hills" (Dorsey 1886: 219).

The Poncas "subsequently rejoined their allies [Omaha and Iowa] and all descended the Missouri on its right bank" (Dorsey 1886: 219).

"When they reached the mouth of the Niobrara river the final separation was made. The Ponkas remained there....The Ponkas did not occupy their new country unmolested. They had some fights with the Cheyennes and Comanches. These foes dwelt near a great lake in a sandy region (Pi-za'-ba-be-he) near the head of the Elkhorn river, Neb....After the Iowas and Omahas went south the Ponkas claimed all the northern part of Nebraska, along the Missouri River, as far as what is now Dakota county, where began the Omaha territory" (Dorsey 1886: 219-220).

1673

Located on the Missouri about the mouth of the Niobrara on Marquette's autograph map. This is the earliest historical mention of the Poncas (Pana).

By 1700

Poncas were found in what is now southern South Dakota and northern Nebraska. The area which came to be inhabited by the Poncas ran from the mouth of the White River in South Dakota to the southern boundary at the mouth of the Platte River in Nebraska. To the west, the Poncas hunted in the Black Hills. To the east, Sioux City, Iowa. Until termination, tribal population and activity centered around Ponca Creek and the Niobrara River in Knox County, Nebraska. By this date they had obtained horses (BAE, 159 (1955): 4).

- 12:12:1785 "The Ponca enter upon the historical scene...in the draft of a document written for, or by, Governor-General Estevan Miro" (Jablow 1974: 101).
- 1802 From Perrin Du Lac, 1802: "The Poncas nation, to which I walked from the Running River, contains three hundred and fifty warriors, notwithstanding the ravages of the smallpox. One of my crew had a pair of silver ear-rings, on which a young savage appeared to have fixed his heart. He offered him in exchange furs of more than twenty times their value. But no offer seemed sufficient, and no importunity could prevail. He waylaid the possessor, shot him in the neck with an arrow, and left him for dead. He stripped off the ear-rings, and proceeded with an air of satisfaction to me, and presented what he had offered for the trinkets, which were then suspended from his ears. As soon as I was informed of what had happened, I hastened to the spot, and found the sailor motionless, and almost dead; the arrow still remained in the neck. One of the savages extracted it from the wound, on which he laid a plant which he had previously masticated, and made some signs to implore, as he said, the aid of the great Manitou.
- "On my return I found the whole crew under arms, preparing to revenge themselves on the supposed murderer. I assured them that the wounded man would recover, and by this means rendered them more calm. The next day he was perfectly recovered, and therefore we judged it proper to embark, and ascended the Missouri as far as the White River, which I had fixed as the boundary of my voyage" (Nasatir 1952: 710-711).
- 1804 Met by Lewis and Clark when their population, estimated at 200, had been greatly reduced by smallpox.
- 1812 Aided British in the War of 1812 (Foreman 1946: 26-27).
- 1817 Treaty of friendship with United States of America.
- 1825 Treaty of friendship with United States of America.
- 1829 Population about 600.
- 1842 Population about 800.
- 1857 "Smoke-maker had a drum. One summer day, when it was out-of-doors, it began to beat when no one was near it. So Smoke-maker meditated and prophesied, saying, 'Twenty-two Pawnees shall be killed.' In the fight that ensued, Big Head was wounded in the neck. The Pawnees were defeated, and the infant son of Smoke-maker was brought to the battle-field, where his feet were placed on the necks of two Pawnees: hence his name, Nan-ba'wa-tan', *Trod on two*. This occurred in 1857" (Dorsey 1888: 73).
- 1858 Treaty with United States which ceded lands.
- 1865 Treaty with United States which ceded lands.
- 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty between the United States and the Sioux ceded nearly all of the land which had been set aside for the Poncas to the Sioux. "Up to this time the Poncas and Sioux were amicable, but a dispute grew out of the cession of lands, and the Sioux made annual raids on the Poncas until the enforced removal of the tribe to Indian Territory took place in 1877. Through this warfare more than a quarter of the Poncas lost their lives" (Dorsey and Thomas 1910: 278-279).
- 1871 First visited by Dorsey. Population 747.

- 1876 Under the general appropriation bill, \$25,000 was authorized for the Secretary of the Interior to remove the Poncas to the Indian Territory of Oklahoma.
- 12:04:1877 An order was issued for the removal of the Poncas and the United States Indian Inspector executed it in April and May.
- 1878 One third of the Ponca Tribe died as a direct result of the removal.
- 1879 By that winter, Chief Standing Bear's son died and 66 Poncas set out to bury the body on the aboriginal lands. By spring, the group was taken into custody by General George Crook. A federal judge ruled that chief Standing Bear and his group were "persons" under the U.S. Constitution and that no legal authority existed for their forcible removal to the Indian Territory of Oklahoma.
- 1880 The displacement...from lands owned by them in fee simple attracted attention, and a commission was appointed by President Hayes...to inquire into the matter" (Dorsey and Thomas 1910: 279).
- 1881 A Senate Committee reported to President Hayes that the Poncas should be allowed to remain on 26,236 acres of land in Knox County, Nebraska. Pursuant to the Congressional recommendations, Standing Bear and his followers, approximately 225, became the Northern Ponca Tribe of Nebraska and resettled their homeland. Approximately 600 Poncas stayed in Oklahoma.
- 1887 The land holdings of the Northern Poncas were greatly decreased by the General Allotment Act (24 Stat. 388; 25 U.S.C. 331 et seq). The Northern Poncas lost thousands of acres through sales to non-Indians under terms of the Allotment Act and subsequent legislation. Lands were also lost due to tax forfeiture.
- 1906 Population 833; 570 in Oklahoma and 263 in Nebraska.
- 1953 Congress adopted the policy of "termination" of Indian tribes. H. Con. Res. 108, 83rd Congress, 1st Session, 67 Stat. B132.
- 05:09:1962 The Northern Ponca Tribe of Nebraska was technically terminated under the Act of September 5, 1962 (76 Stat. 429; 25 U.S.C. 971-980). The Act divided the tribal assets of the Northern and Southern Ponca and terminated the trust relationship with the Northern Ponca.
- 1965 The Ponca Tribe by Howard published.
- 1966 Acting Secretary of the Interior implemented the Act of September 5, 1962 and removed 442 Ponca from the tribal rolls, dispossessed them of 834 acres and ended their entitlement to federal services provided to Indians.
- ?? The 100th Congress expressly repudiated and repealed the termination policy (P.L. 100-297).
- 1975 The Ponca People by Cash published.
- 11:10:1989 Senator Exon introduced S. 1747, the Ponca Restoration Act.
- 28:03:1990 Senate Select Committee held hearings on the legislation.
- 18:07:1990 Senate Select Committee passed the bill (P.L. 101-484).

- 13:09:1990 The House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee held hearings on S. 1747 and ordered the bill reported to the House on September 26, 1990.
- 31:10:1990 President George Bush signed into law the Ponca Restoration Act.
- 1991 Omaha and Niobrara groups split over location of tribal headquarters and which council would be the legal representative (*News From Indian Country*, Vol. 6, No. 22 (Late November 1992): 11).

APPENDIX F: Ponca Architectural Code

CONFIDENTIAL

A Ponca Architectural Code

WE'WACPE. This name was applied to the tribal religious rites and is significant of their object. The definition of this term can not be given in a word; *we'wacpe* means "something to bring the people into order and into a thoughtful composure."¹

This architectural code is intended to assist you in bringing your design into a thoughtful order, a Ponca order. There were four Ponca religious rites that properly could be termed *we'wacpe*: Turning the Child, Feast of Soldiers, Conferring War Honors, and Sun Dance. It's only during these ceremonies that the people came together and camped in a prescribed order. The resultant village layout is called *hu'thuga*, their tribal circle. It is these religious rites that united the Ponca people and through which they distinguished themselves from all other peoples, Native and non-Native. Therefore, from these rituals we have derived spatial and iconological concepts, and your use of them will encode your designs with meanings specific to Poncas. In other words, they will assist you in producing Ponca architecture.

There remains the story of when the Poncas organized themselves as a people. At that time they constructed two peace pipes to govern relations with other tribes and seven more pipes to govern relations within their tribe. The story is as follows:

The Peace Pipes

The people came across a great water on rafts—logs tied together—and pitched their tents on the shore. While there they thought to make themselves *u'shkon*, limits or bounds within which to move, and regulations by which their actions were to be governed. They cleared a space of grass and weeds so that they could see one another's faces, and sat down, and there was no obstruction between them.

While they were deliberating they heard the hooting of an owl in the timber near by, and the leader, who had called the people together, said, "That bird is to take part in our action; he calls to us, offering his aid." Immediately afterward they heard the cry of the woodpecker and his knocking against the trees, and the leader said, "That bird calls and offers his aid; he will take part in our action."

The leader then addressed the man he had appointed to act as servant, and said, "Go to the woods and get an ash sapling." The servant went out and returned with a sapling having a rough bark. "This is not what we want," said the leader. "Go again, and get a sapling that has a smooth bark, bluish in color at the joint" (where a branch comes). The servant went out, and returned with a sapling of the kind described.

When the leader took up the ash sapling, an eagle came and soared above where the council sat. He dropped a downy feather; it fell, and balanced itself in the center of the cleared space. This was the white eagle. The leader said, "This is not what we want;" so the white eagle passed on.

Then the bald eagle came swooping down as though making an attack upon its prey, balanced itself on its wings directly over the cleared space, uttering fierce cries, and dropped one of its downy feathers, which stood on the ground as the other eagle's feather had done. The leader said, "This is not what we want;" and the bald eagle passed on.

Then came the spotted eagle and soared over the council and dropped its feather, which stood as the others had done. The leader said, "This is not what we want;" and the spotted eagle passed on.

The eagle with the fanlike (imperial eagle, *Aquila heliaca* Savigny) then came, and soared over the people. It dropped a downy feather which stood upright in the center of the cleared space. The leader said, "This is what we want." The feathers of this eagle were those used in making the peace pipes, together with the other birds (the owl and the woodpecker) and the animals, making in all nine kinds of articles. These pipes were to be used in establishing friendly relations with other tribes.²

The Organization of the Tribe

When the peace pipes were made (those for "establishing friendly relations with other tribes"), seven other pipes were made for the keeping of peace within the tribe. These pipes were also used to prevent bloodshed. If one man should kill another, in such a case the chiefs were to take a pipe to the aggrieved relatives and offer it to them. If they refused four successive times, then the chiefs said to them, "You must now take the consequences; we will do nothing, and you can not ask to see the pipes," meaning that if trouble should come to any of them because of their acts taken in revenge they could not appeal for help or mercy.

When these seven pipes were finished they were taken to be distributed among the different bands of the tribe.

The first band to which the pipe bearers came was the *Waca'be*. They were found to be engaged in a ceremony that did not pertain to peace, but rather to the taking of life. The *Hi'cada* sat in a tent with red-hot stones, and had on their heads wreaths of cedar branches. The pipe bearers passed them by, and even to this day they are reminded of this occurrence by the other bands saying, "You are no people; you have no peace pipe!"

The next band the pipe bearers came to was the *Thi'xida*. To them a pipe was given, and they were to have charge of the council which elected chiefs.

Next they came to the *Ni'kapashna*, and to them a pipe was given, and they were to have the management of the council of war and also the direction of the people when they went to hunt the deer, so that order might be preserved in the pursuit of that game.

The *Pon'cuxti* and the *Monkon'* were reached next, and a pipe was given them.

The *Washa'be* were next, and a pipe was given them. This band, together with the *Monkon'*, were given charge of the tribal buffalo hunt—the direction of the journey, the making of the camps, and the preservation of order. From these two bands the two principal chiefs must come.

When the pipe bearers reached the Wazha'zhe the latter were divided, and there were trouble and murder between the factions. So, instead of giving them a flat-stemmed pipe, they gave them one with a round stem, ornamented. Because of the feud there was carelessness, and to this day there is a dispute as to the division to which the pipe for the maintenance of peace was presented.

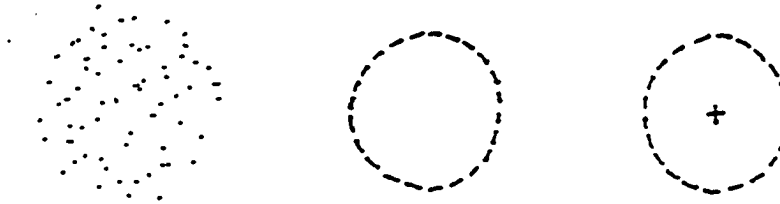
When the pipe bearers reached the Nu'xe, they gave them a pipe and an office in the buffalo hunt.

Each band had its pipe, but there was one pipe which was to belong to the chiefs. This could be filled only by the leading chiefs, and was to be used to punish people who made trouble in the tribe. It was placed in charge of the Montkon' band.

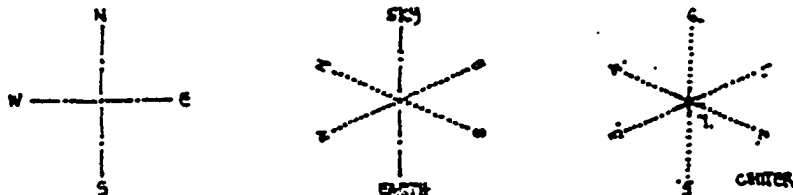
When a man was to be punished, all the chiefs gathered together and this pipe was filled by the leader and smoked by all the chiefs present. Then each chief put his mind on the offender as the leader took the pipe to clean it. He poured some of the tobacco ashes on the ground, and said, "This shall rankle in the calves of the man's legs." Then he twirled the cleaning stick in the pipe and took out a little more ashes, and, putting them on the earth, said, "This shall be for the base of the sinews, and he shall start with pain" (in the back). A third time he twirled the cleaning stick, put more ashes on the earth, and said, "This is for the spine, at the base of the head." A fourth time he twirled the cleaning stick in the pipe, poured out the ashes, put them on the ground, and said, "This is for the crown of his head." This act finished the man, who died soon after.³

With this background, the architectural code will now be presented. There are four spatial concepts (centering, orienting, moving, arranging) and seven iconological categories (numbers, colors, shapes, animals, plants, forms, time) that comprise this Ponca architectural code. Each will be discussed with reference to the we'wacpe rituals and the layout of the hu'thuga.

CENTERING: The use of circular forms in ritual movement and the hu'thuga imply the existence of a center, a point around which people move and build. But the pivot point is not just declared. First, the ground is prepared, smoothed, cleared, made ready. As stated in the legend above, "They cleared a space of grass and weeds so that they could see one another's faces, and sat down, and there was no obstruction between them." Once prepared, ritual centers are then marked in some manner. When constructing the peace pipes, eagle feathers occupied the center, while when Turning the Child and Feast of Soldiers, both of which took place in tents, "the fire was always in the center."⁴ But the hu'thuga did not have a physical marker of its center unless or until the center of a ritual was also the center of the hu'thuga (as in the Sun Dance and when Conferring War Honors). Then the center of the hu'thuga was occupied by the sacred pole (Sun Dance) or a sacred pack (Conferring War Honors). In some sense, the closer things are to the center the more sacred they are. For instance, secret or sacred tents were erected within the arc of the other tents which comprised the hu'thuga.



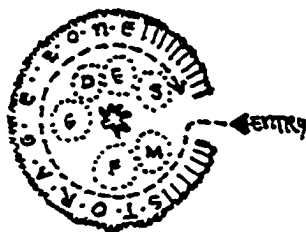
ORIENTING: This concept puts a given space in good relation to the larger environment, even the universe. There may be both celestial and terrestrial components. Celestially speaking, Poncas recognized four cardinal directions and at least two others. While praying, the four winds, the earth, and the sky were addressed with a pipe. Then it was puffed a seventh time without moving it. This represented the individual at the intersection of three axes: east-west, south-north, ground-sky. When Turning the Child, east was the initial direction faced, then south, west was third, and finally north. Evidence has not been found of orientation to solar or lunar events, nor were prominent terrestrial landmarks figured in alignments. But a strong east-west axis was evident in the Sun Dance. There, a pole from the tent of each dancer, with calico or cloth streamer attached to its top, was planted in a row outside the entrance of the Sun Dance lodge on axis with the center pole.



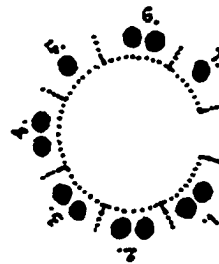
MOVING: Motion began in the east: "In the real beginning Wakon'da made the Wazha'zhe--men, women, and children. After they were made he said 'Go!' So the people took all they had, carried their children, and started toward the setting sun."⁵ East, then, was both the first direction addressed ritually (see Orienting), and the direction from which one entered spaces. The entrance to the hu'thuga was from the east. So too with the Sun Dance lodge. And as when Turning the Child, movement within the Sun Dance lodge was sunwise from the east. Inside a dwelling, a guest "must never pass between a host and the fire."⁶



ARRANGING: Whereas orienting is concerned with bringing spaces into relation with the larger outside environment, arranging is inwardly focused. It is concerned with the proper location of activities within a given space, be it the hu'thuga or the dwelling. In both situations, the three key elements of entrance, center, and place of honor were organized, respectively, along an east to west axis. Diagrammatically, a dwelling had four concentric zones. The outermost was storage, in front of which was a zone for circulation, or movement within the lodge. A third zone was comprised of the habitation areas which in turn encircled the innermost zone, the central fire pit. The hu'thuga, on the other hand, was an ordained arrangement of the seven Ponca gentes. Since each gens had taboos, special haircuts for their boys, unique markings on their arrows, and certain duties or responsibilities, the characteristics of the hu'thuga circle varied with one's place in it. The seven gentes, and available information about them, are presented in the accompanying table by their hu'thuga location, beginning just south of the eastern entrance and moving around sunwise. Note that the Pon'caxti, the real or original Poncas, are located on the western portion of the hu'thuga, opposite the entrance, in the place of honor.



- M: mother
- F: father
- G: guest
- D: daughters
- E: elders
- S: sons



- Hu'thuga
1. Waza'be
 2. Thi'xida
 3. Bi'kapihna
 4. Pon'caxti
 5. Waha'be
 6. Waha'zhe
 7. Du'ke

| Gens | Translation | Taboo | Haircut | Arrows | Duties | Notes |
|----------------------|---|--|--|--|---|--|
| Waca'be | black bear | fat of the black bear | | | led in worship of the Thunder-being | fire gens |
| Ili'cada | the stretch of the legs when running | birds climbing trees | right side shaved, the other side not | shaft red 1/2 length of feathers | kept first thunder ceremony songs | were involved in taking of life ceremony so didn't get a pipe; at death went to thunder village and their voice is the thunder; were wearing cedar wreaths |
| Thi'xida | | | | | | wind gens |
| Thi'xida | (meaning lost) | red palpi; blood of buffalo | notched roach with one tuft on each side | black, where the feathers fastened; finely painted red | kept two sacred packs used when Conquering War (Yonori); presided at election of chiefs; cured head aches; led in war | |
| Inghon' elinocckeweh | to dwell with the puma, with the peace pipes | green of blue paint | notched roach with one tuft on each side | black, where the feathers fastened; finely painted red | | |
| Ni'kapashna | a man's skull | | | | had charge of war pipes and directed the council of war; supervised all hunting of deer | wind gens |
| Taha'oon li'azhi | do not touch deer skin | deer | only a fringe around the head, everything else shaved | | | were buried with deer moccasins |
| Tecin'de li'azhi | do not touch buffalo tail | buffalo tail | only a fringe around the head, everything else shaved | | | |
| Pon'cauti | | | | | | buffalo gens |
| Pon'cauti | real or original Ponca | buffalo head | four tufts, one at forehead, one at back of neck, and on each side above ear | | kept two pipes: their gens' and the chief's pipe; regulated buffalo hunt; kept tradition of finding the eastern pole | |
| Mon'kon | myftery or medicine | buffalo head | four tufts, one at forehead, one at back of neck, and on each side above ear | | directed feast of Soldiers and Tumplof pipe | earth gens |
| Washa'be | a dark object, like a sunset at the horizon | skin of buffalo calf | two tufts, one on the forehead and one at the nape of the neck | | regulated people during tribal buffalo hunt; provided one of the two principle chiefs | same name as subdivision of Housh gens (Omaha) in com ritual; earth gentes along with Mon'kon; buffalo gens |
| Washa'zbe | name for Osage tribe | | | | provided tribal herald | dispute as to which subdivision had custody of pipes; pipe was round, stemmed and ornamented, not flat-stemmed like the other; perhaps water gens; perhaps servant of subsquatic powers along with Necta or Owl people (who no longer exist) |
| Washa'zbe | a snake after shedding old skin and in full power | snakes; crawling things by other than the door | 8 lock at the forehead, one at the back of the head, and one over each ear | | trem snake bites | |
| Washa'zheude | WY Washa'zbe | snakes; crawling things by other than the door | 8 lock at the forehead, one at the back of the head, and one over each ear | | trem snake bites | |
| Nu'xe | ice, hail | male buffalo | | | regulated buffalo hunt | buffalo gens |

ECHOING:

Numbers

| | |
|----|---|
| 2 | Two types of peace pipes. Two intertribal peace pipes. Two halves to the hu'thuga, a sky half and an earth half. "The Ponca...regarded all life and the preservation of all forms as the result of the union of the sky and the earth forces, and believed the combining of these two opposite and differentiated cosmic powers symbolically set forth to man a law he must obey, a course he must follow, if he would secure the continuation of his own life and the perpetuation of his tribe." ⁷ |
| 4 | The most important ritual number. Four cardinal directions. Four Sun Dance sacred tents. Four directions when Turning the Child. Four parts to the Feast of the Soldiers. Four eagles dropping their feathers when making the peace pipes. Four days duration of Sun Dance. Four men who were Thunders. Four stages in life. Four medicine words. |
| 6 | Six directions of ritual address (4+2). Six war honors. |
| 7 | Important number with political and social ramifications in addition to ritual ones. Bands of the Ponca tribe. Seven intratribal peace pipes. Seven golden eagle feathers on the red peace pipe. Seven directions addressed when praying (4+2+1). Seven tribal council members. |
| 8 | Possibly eight bands of the tribe. |
| 9 | Nine peace pipes (2+7). Nine articles used in making the peace pipes. |
| 12 | Black eagle feathers on the blue peace pipe. |
| 16 | Sixteen drops of soup during Feast of Soldiers (4+4+4+4). |

Colors

| | |
|--------|---|
| Black | Tip of feather represents smoke-blackened tent tops. War honor feathers meant an enemy touched (highest honor). |
| Blue | Color of one Sun Dance sacred tent. Seen as a dark shade of green, essentially the same color. On peace pipes represented the heavens and skies. |
| Green | Color of one Sun Dance sacred tent. Color of hair of one old man Thunder. |
| Red | Color of one Sun Dance sacred tent. Color of hair of one old man Thunder. War honor feathers meant an enemy killed. On peace pipes symbolized the half light of the coming day. |
| White | Color of hair of one old man Thunder. |
| Yellow | Color of one Sun Dance sacred tent. Color of hair of one old man Thunder. |

Shapes

| | |
|--------|--|
| Circle | Represent night. The shape of the hu'thuga. |
| Cross | Four winds. |
| Star | Four-pointed (with circle in center) represents day. |

Animals

| | |
|------------|--|
| Buffalo | Skin used for tents. During tribal hunting of buffalo, the people formed the hu'thuga. Very important animal. |
| Crow | Could direct the people in finding enemies and game (food). |
| Deer | Shoulder blade used to cut grass. Skins tried for tents long ago but unsuccessfully. Leg bone used as awl. |
| Duck | Head used in construction of peace pipes. Associated with the life-giving powers of water. |
| Eagle | Associated with war and the destructive powers of the thunder and attendant storms. Feathers used in construction of peace pipes, as well as to indicate war honors. |
| Elk | Skins tried for tents long ago but unsuccessfully. |
| Owl | Feathers used in construction of peace pipes. Appreciated for skill in night hunting. |
| Puma/Lynx | Peace pipes wrapped in their hide. |
| Rabbit | Fur used in construction of peace pipes. |
| Snake | Rawhide effigy thrown into a tent would cause the recipient to get snake-bit. |
| Wolf | Could direct the people in finding enemies and game (food). |
| Woodpecker | "His strong bill breaks into wood and digs food out. He is a good bird since he seeks only food." Head used in construction of peace pipes. |

Plants

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Ash | Stems of peace pipes. |
| Car-tail | Used in construction of peace pipes. |
| Cedar | Linked with the destructive agencies, thunder, lightning, war. |
| Cottonwood | Used as Sun Dance pole. Mystic names taken from the cottonwood are found in Thi'xida and Ni'kapashna, the two war gentes. |
| Sage | Wore during Sun Dance. Offered at center pole of Sun Dance. Used as ground cover in sacred tents during Sun Dance. |
| Sweet grass | Used on center stone when Turning the Child. |
| Tobacco | Offering at center pole of Sun Dance. Smoked at all rituals. |
| Willow | Used as Sun Dance pole (or else cottonwood) because hard to kill. |

Time

| | | |
|-----------|-------------------------------|---|
| January | <i>Ma-spa</i> | Snow thaws. |
| | <i>Mi-nuxe-datede</i> | Moon when (even) kerosene freezes. |
| | <i>Daxte-ma-naga</i> | Deer paw the snow (in search of food). |
| February | <i>Miga-ikiagdegde-ke-mi</i> | Moon when the ducks come back and hide. |
| | <i>Waxigoma-waeko-mi</i> | Water stands in pond moon. |
| | <i>Me-ma-naska</i> | Moon when the snow melts. |
| March | <i>Istukiada</i> | Sore-eyes (because of snow glare). |
| April | <i>Nazista</i> | Rains. |
| May | <i>Me-pahaga</i> | Summer begins. |
| June | <i>Maste-pahaga</i> | Hot weather begins. |
| July | <i>Me-oskaska</i> | Middle of summer. |
| August | <i>Wadapipize</i> | Corn is in silk. |
| September | <i>Apa-hota-mi</i> | Moon when the elk bellow. |
| October | <i>Tade-masade-u-zi</i> | They store food in caches. |
| November | <i>Osni-ohage</i> | Beginning of cold weather. |
| December | <i>Ma-de-ohage-sniade-ake</i> | Beginning of cold weather. |
| | <i>Ma-de-oskaska</i> | Middle of winter. |
| Spring | <i>Me-pahaga</i> | Beginning of summer. |
| Summer | <i>Me or Nuge</i> | Summer. |
| Fall | <i>Tagakda</i> | When leaves fall. |
| Winter | <i>Ma-de</i> | Snow. |

Forms

| | |
|-----------------|--|
| Grass houses | Built long ago in the east. |
| Bark houses | Second type of structure in the east. |
| Skin houses | Tried elk and deer, but both became unmanageable under the influence of sun and rain. However, when buffalo hides used, they worked very well. |
| Earth lodge | Adopted from Arikaras. |
| Canoes | When near the great lakes birch bark canoes were made and used. |
| Scaffolds | Used for burials when ground frozen. |
| Sun Dance lodge | |

¹Fletcher and La Flesche, *The Omaha Tribe*, p. 596.

²These two pipes, unlike the other seven made at that time, were not intended to be smoked. They did not have bowls.

³Fletcher and La Flesche, *The Omaha Tribe*, p. 67-68.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 334.

⁵Fletcher and La Flesche, *The Omaha Tribe*, p. 49.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 334.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 140.

APPENDIX G: Sketch Problem Document

TWO WEEK SKETCH PROBLEM: A PONCA INTERPRETIVE CENTER

The Challenge

The Ponca Tribe of Nebraska has agreed to work with us toward the design of a hypothetical interpretive center. The site is tribal land near the confluence of the Niobrara and Missouri rivers in northern Nebraska.

The challenge is to design a multi-functional facility that is expressive of tribal identity. The design should evoke pride from tribal members and encourage non-members to learn about Poncas, both in the past and in the present. Due to the nature of a two week time frame, emphasis will be placed on conceptualization and schematic design. Your designs will be taken to tribal headquarters in Niobrara, Nebraska, for viewing and comment by the local community. In addition, we hope that a couple tribal members will be able to come here to Ann Arbor later in the term and talk about their community's responses to your designs.

The Ponca Tribe of Nebraska

Oral traditions say that the Poncas, along with the Omahas, Kansas, Osages and Quapaws, were one nation who dwelt east of where the Ohio and Mississippi rivers join. They were called Arkansa or Alkansa by the Illinois tribes.

At the Ohio and Mississippi confluence a separation occurred. The Quapaws went down stream while the rest of the Arkansas went up the Mississippi, taking the name U-man'-han (Omaha), "those going against the wind or current." The combined Omaha group then ascended the Missouri river to the mouth of the Osage river where another separation occurred.

The Osages settled at the mouth of that river, while the Kansas continued upstream. The remaining two Arkansa groups, Poncas and Omahas, crossed the Missouri and were joined by an ally, the Iowas. These three tribes traveled north to the Pipestone quarry in what is now southwest Minnesota and then on to the Big Sioux river where they built a fort.

The fort, however, was attacked by Yankton Dakotas and the three allies lost perhaps as many as a thousand fighters. The survivors fled southwestwardly toward the Missouri river. On the way they received their sacred pipes and formalized their governmental system.

After reaching the Missouri river, they turned upstream to the mouth of the White river. There the Iowas and Omahas remained while the Poncas crossed the Missouri and continued to the Black Hills. Eventually they returned to the Missouri and joined again with the Iowas and Omahas. The three tribes then descended the Missouri to the mouth of the Niobrara river where the Poncas settled, the Omahas and Iowas continuing downstream.

The first historical mention of Poncas was in a document written for, or by, Governor-General Estevan Miro of Mexico in 1785. Various explorers visited them, including Lewis and Clark in 1804, when their population was estimated at only 200, in part due to smallpox epidemics.

The Ponca tribe signed four treaties with the United States government. The first two, in 1817 and 1825, were treaties of friendship. The final two, in 1858 and 1865, ceded large tracts of land to the United States. Incredibly, in 1868 the U. S. government "accidentally" ceded the remaining Ponca lands to Sioux tribes without consulting the Ponca tribe. Therefore, in 1877 the Poncas were forcibly marched from northern Nebraska to Indian Territory, or what is now Oklahoma. This Ponca "trail of tears" resulted in the deaths of a third of their tribal members. In nineteen short years the Poncas went from control of their large aboriginal land area to forced removal to foreign territory and loss of all their northern lands.

In 1879, chief Standing Bear and 66 Poncas set out to bury the body of the chief's son on their aboriginal lands in Nebraska. They were arrested and brought to court in Omaha where a federal judge ruled that chief Standing Bear and his followers were "persons" under the U. S. Constitution and that no legal authority existed for their forcible removal to the Indian Territory of Oklahoma.

A Senate Committee reported to President Hayes in 1881 that the Poncas should be allowed to remain on lands in Knox County, Nebraska, their aboriginal homeland. Pursuant to Congressional recommendations, Standing Bear and his followers, then numbering around 225, became the Northern Ponca Tribe of Nebraska and resettled their homeland. Approximately 600 Poncas stayed in Oklahoma.

Congress adopted a policy of "termination" of Indian tribes in 1953, which resulted in the Northern Ponca Tribe of Nebraska being technically terminated in 1962. Tribal assets of both the Northern and Southern Poncas were divided and the government to government trust relationship with the Northern Poncas was ended. The federal government no longer recognized a Northern Ponca Tribe. However, in 1990, Congress reversed itself and restored federal recognition to the Northern Ponca Tribe. It is this tribe with whom we will be working.

The Site

Since restoration as a federally recognized tribe in 1990, the Ponca Tribe of Nebraska has made their initial land purchase. It is 160 acres of land that holds a community center built in the early 1900's and an earlier cemetery within which tribal members have been and continue to be buried. The land is approximately three miles west and two miles south of Niobrara, Nebraska. Our site represents about half of this land. It is bordered on the east and south by a gravel road, and the west and north by rolling hills of grass and crops. The site slopes west to east, with over 100 feet of elevation change over its half mile length. Due to a bend in its courseway, the Niobrara river is about a mile east of the site and also a mile and a half south, its mouth at the Missouri just four miles north.

The Program

Tribal Government: These offices will enable visitors and elected tribal officials to interact, if in no other manner than attending or viewing Council meetings (something like council chambers in city, county, state or federal governments). Just by the presence of the tribal offices visitors will be made aware that the Ponca Tribe of Nebraska continues to thrive, thereby negating some of the dangers of "fossilization" inherent in museums. Provide space for:

- 2 Receptionists/Secretaries
- 7 Offices
- Council room for seven members (could be in existing community building)

Exhibition: This includes space for permanent displays and temporary exhibit space for traveling and community developed exhibitions. Exhibition materials might be acquired from community members, local and distant museums, and repatriated materials from any source. Those materials considered okay for public viewing will be shown, while those deemed more personal or private could be housed in the repository.

- Permanent exhibition space 2800 sf
- Temporary exhibit space 1200 sf
- Curatorial/storage/work space 3000 sf

Repository: In keeping with the broader vision of the interpretive center, space is required to house and protect materials from the past, present and future. Such materials might include treaties and other tribal government documents, photographic materials, video collections, and audio recordings. There could also be an area to house sacred objects.

- Documents room 600 sf
- Audio/visual room for listening to and viewing materials
- Study space for two persons

Restaurant: The kitchen facilities will serve a 40 seat table service restaurant, the day care, banquets in the existing community building, and get-togethers outdoors in the activities space. It would generate income for the center.

- Dining area 600 sf
- Kitchen area 400 sf

Day Care: Like the tribal offices, the day care facilities would add life to the interpretive center. Employees could be near their children, plus the day care could generate income by serving the local community as well. Provide space to accommodate 12 children (not more than 100 sf per child).

Outdoor Activity Space: This space would definitely connect the interpretive center with the surrounding landscape. Activities requiring food preparation could be accommodated by the kitchen facilities of the restaurant. This space might be used for tribal, family, or simply public purposes. Provide an area around 200 feet in diameter.

Public Amenities: These are the spaces and places for public use, or provide for the control of such use. They occur both indoors and outdoors.

| | |
|----------------------------|----------------|
| Parking for 16 cars | |
| Drop-off area for visitors | |
| Walking trails/paths | |
| Lobby | |
| Gift shop | 400 sf minimum |
| Circulation/toilets/HVAC | 30% of nsf |

The Requirements

Similar to a competition entry, we have strict minimum requirements and standardized formats. Please adhere to them as it will facilitate the transportation of your designs to Niobrara and their comprehension once there. The first five of the following six minimum requirements, then, should be presented on one 30 x 40 inch (vertically oriented) foam core board:

1. Conceptual diagram and written statement explaining your design.
2. Site plan 1" = 100'
3. Floor plan 1" = 20'
4. Elevation 1" = 20'
5. Section 1" = 20'
6. Model 1" = 20' (not to exceed 24 inches in any dimension)

The Schedule

- 10 Sept: Hand out project statement.
- 13 Sept: Preliminary conceptual ideas.
- 15 Sept: Preliminary schematic design with in-studio peer crits toward end of class.
- 17 Sept: Schematic design with in-studio peer crits toward end of class.
- 20 Sept: Work hard.
- 22 Sept: Work really hard.
- 24 Sept: Public exhibition of projects.

- ?? Oct : Take projects to Ponca Agency in Niobrara for community comments.
- ?? Nov: Tribal members come to Ann Arbor and visit with us about your designs.

The References

Coursepack available in Art and Architecture copy center.

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APPENDIX H: Community Balloting Results

Niobrara Tribune, Vol. 108, No. 27 (October 28, 1993): 16.

Ponca Tribe seeks design input

What should the ideal Ponca Interpretive Center look like? You can help decide by voting on architectural designs at the Ponca Tribal Headquarters building in Niobrara.

The seventeen designs were produced by graduate students of architecture from the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor during two weeks of intensive work earlier this fall. Their efforts are part of a study of Native American architecture being conducted by Craig Howe, a doctoral student at the University of Michigan. The Ponca Tribe agreed to work with him and tribal officials have assisted with the study.

The proposed Interpretive Cen-

ter would be located southwest of Niobrara near the old Ponca Agency and cemetery on land belonging to the Ponca Tribe. They include space for Tribal offices, a museum, restaurant, and child care.

The public is invited to see the exhibit and to vote on their most and least favorite design. The designs will be on display November 1 to November 12 and open to the public from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m., Monday through Friday. Ballots will be provided and final results posted at the Tribal offices.

For more information contact the Ponca Tribal offices at 857-3391 or Craig Howe at 313-996-8071.

BALLOT

Welcome. This is your ballot to vote on the 17 Ponca Interpretive Center designs. For each design please color in one of the three faces. If you feel the design is good, color in the smiley face ☺. If you feel the design is ok, then color in the straight face ☹. And if the design is not so good, color in the frowning face ☹. After making your vote, it would be helpful if you would indicate why you voted as you did. We hope you enjoy the design exhibition.

1. ☺ ☹ ☹ Why? _____
2. ☺ ☹ ☹ Why? _____
3. ☺ ☹ ☹ Why? _____
4. ☺ ☹ ☹ Why? _____
5. ☺ ☹ ☹ Why? _____
6. ☺ ☹ ☹ Why? _____
7. ☺ ☹ ☹ Why? _____
8. ☺ ☹ ☹ Why? _____
9. ☺ ☹ ☹ Why? _____
10. ☺ ☹ ☹ Why? _____
11. ☺ ☹ ☹ Why? _____
12. ☺ ☹ ☹ Why? _____
13. ☺ ☹ ☹ Why? _____
14. ☺ ☹ ☹ Why? _____
15. ☺ ☹ ☹ Why? _____
16. ☺ ☹ ☹ Why? _____
17. ☺ ☹ ☹ Why? _____

Please answer the following questions:

What is your age?

Are you a woman or a man? W M Circle W if you are a woman, or M if you are a man.

Are you a tribal member? Yes No

If so, which tribe?

Thank you for answering these questions and for voting on the 17 designs. We would appreciate hearing any more comments you care to share on the back of this ballot. Thanks again.

Written Comments by Community Members

At the Ponca Tribal Headquarters building in Niobrara, Nebraska, your 17 projects were arranged around the perimeter of a large room. Your models were randomly placed on tables with your boards leaning from the tables to the walls directly behind them. Visitors voted on the attached ballot. Though comments were not required, quite a few people did take the time to write a sentence or two to explain their vote. All of the comments for each of your projects are presented below.

Project number:

1. Doesn't seem rooms would fit. The model doesn't look completed. Its not detailed enough to understand. They all look good. Has nice look. Neat design, good texture. Modernized but ugly. Great idea. Nothing really to it.
2. Too complicated. Don't seem rooms would fit. Looks more like a sculpture than a building. Neat outside but would it really work. Hard to understand concept. Doesn't look practical--too abstract. Would it end up working as a building. Too space aged. Hard to visualize, but beautiful idea. Too complicated and different.
3. Favorite. My favorite. Poster matches and very colorful. Like the architectural design. Be fulfilling for the land. It is practical and a beautiful design. It's the only one that isn't extravagant...It's beautiful. It's easy to see and accessible. Looks very practical. The best. This building would best (of the 17) "blend" to the natural beauty of this area--not attempt to be a work of "art" on its own. Very descriptive--easy to visualize. Looks modern and colorful display. It's explained in great detail, can be understood. Good spacing of rooms. Nice modernized, lots of space. Realistic. I like this one because it's in a circle, a part of it like the circle of life. Lots of work, very nice. Like the layout. Perfect.
4. Too small. Don't get on how it works. Diagram is confusing. Did not understand concept. Hard to understand. Almost looks unfinished. I like the synopsis. Because it's too fine.
5. Good poster and model. Good texture, and has good concept. Modern form and influence. Too large when it don't have to be.
6. Like the circular design and not many steps...Don't care for plain triangular sculptures. I like it to all be connected. My favorite. Has a lot of detail. Looks artistic, and looks like lots of time was spent. Circular style. Very neatly done.
7. Don't like long open walkway. I don't like the walkway. Has modern useful appearance. Good plan, looks effective. Roomy.
8. Like the way the floors are divided up. Looks something like a bridge. Put together nicely. Looks difficult, good texture. Very architectural.
9. Looks native--the best. Conforms to much of general public's knowledge of tradition. Teepee idea is neat and simple. Like design--looks Native American (N S E W Directions). Just doesn't look right. My favorite--excellent concept. Has different look. It's planned out good, it's shown well on paper. Now that's what a tribal hall should look like. Modern; like design. Native American influence. Too old fashioned.
10. Child care is too close to chambers/no windows. Interesting "Respect". Good depth and texture. Nice idea and layout. Large enough for tribe.
11. Too many floors. Too many levels. Described in good detail. Simple, economical. Perfect and roomy.
12. Because it don't have a poster on how it works. No explanations. I don't understand the layout. Needs explanation. Interesting. Good detail, I think would work good. Interesting structure. Different, but likable. Open space--not in our weather.
13. Too spread out. Too spread out. Has good look. It looks simpler, wouldn't take as much time. Too large for it's area.

14. Outdoor activity space is good. Too long--prevents interactivity. Great activity space. It's modern, can tell what it is. Ponca's were farmers and this reminds of a windmill. Good layout, lots of potential for socializing, culture. I just think it's neat.
15. If it was more detailed, I would like it. Not right. Not enough information. Kind of hard to understand. Nice layout. It's just OK.
16. The Memorial Walk is neat idea. I like the memorial walk. The best too. One of my favorites. Needs more color so it's more noticed. Good job, I like it.
17. Need an elevator. Need an elevator!! Won't fit in with nature. Too many floors. Too many stairs or elevators. Looks unordinary, weird looking. Too expensive looking (not that the Ponca's don't deserve it, but your money could be used for other things). Out of this world.

General:

They all look good.

Although I would vote for the more traditional form in the architecture, I realize the more modern designs would afford a reason to learn more about the Ponca history and traditions.

Where are the parking areas?

I think each separate function probably needs it's own entrance.

Great display of work and ideas.

These are all good designs, they have good color, texture, and contrast. Some are harder to understand but could be understood with more color. I think this plan will be real effective and I hope you guys decide to go through with it.

Presented below is some statistical data from the ballots. A smiley face was three points, straight face two, and frown one. Statistically speaking, there was no difference between age groups (25 being the split age), sex, or whether or not a person was a member of a tribe as to project preference. There were 35 voters aged 14 to 74. Thirteen were tribal members, 8 of them Poncas. Of the 35, 19 were women, 13 men, and 3 provided no information.

| No. | Student | Votes | Minimum | Maximum | Mean | Std Dev |
|-----|------------------------|-------|---------|---------|--------|---------|
| 13. | Adriene N. Jackson | 25 | 1 | 3 | 1.7600 | .59722 |
| 16. | Analise Pietras | 25 | 1 | 3 | 2.6000 | .70711 |
| 5. | Andrew Michajlenko | 26 | 1 | 3 | 1.9615 | .72004 |
| 7. | Brian S. Gill | 25 | 1 | 3 | 2.2000 | .64550 |
| 9. | Christin C. Barrett | 27 | 1 | 3 | 2.3704 | .79169 |
| 4. | Jesse T. Adkins | 26 | 1 | 3 | 1.6923 | .73589 |
| 12. | Kiti Kukulprasong | 25 | 1 | 3 | 1.8400 | .85049 |
| 15. | Madeleine Sun | 25 | 1 | 3 | 1.7600 | .72342 |
| 3. | Maurice L. Charbonneau | 35 | 1 | 3 | 2.8286 | .45282 |
| 2. | Napathan Komarapajkul | 28 | 1 | 2 | 1.5714 | .50395 |
| 17. | Phillip W. Blase | 25 | 1 | 3 | 1.7600 | .77889 |
| 10. | Richard C. Boone | 26 | 1 | 3 | 2.1538 | .61269 |
| 8. | Russell L. Baltimore | 25 | 1 | 3 | 2.0400 | .78951 |
| 6. | Sam Gargarello | 27 | 1 | 3 | 2.5185 | .70002 |
| 11. | Scott A. Martin | 27 | 1 | 3 | 2.3333 | .73380 |
| 14. | Steve Donoghue | 26 | 1 | 3 | 2.1923 | .63367 |
| 1. | Tiffany Nash | 27 | 1 | 3 | 1.8519 | .66238 |

APPENDIX I: Ponca Interpretive Center Program

TWO WEEK DESIGN: A PONCA INTERPRETIVE CENTER

The Program

Tribal Government: These offices will enable visitors and elected tribal officials to interact, if in no other manner than attending or viewing Council meetings (something like council chambers in city, county, state or federal governments). Just by the presence of the tribal offices visitors will be made aware that the Ponca Tribe of Nebraska continues to thrive, thereby negating some of the dangers of "fossilization" inherent in museums. Provide space for:

2 Receptionists/Secretaries
 7 Offices
 Council room for seven members (could be in existing community building)

Exhibition: This includes space for permanent displays and temporary exhibit space for traveling and community developed exhibitions. Exhibition materials might be acquired from community members, local and distant museums, and repatriated materials from any source. Those materials considered okay for public viewing will be shown, while those deemed more personal or private could be housed in the repository.

Permanent exhibition space
 Temporary exhibit space
 Curatorial/storage/work space

Repository: In keeping with the broader vision of the interpretive center, space is required to house and protect materials from the past, present and future. Such materials might include treaties and other tribal government documents, photographic materials, video collections, and audio recordings. There could also be an area to house sacred objects.

Documents room
 Audio/visual room for listening to and viewing materials
 Study space for two persons

Restaurant: The kitchen facilities will serve a 40 seat table service restaurant, the day care, banquets in the existing community building, and get-togethers outdoors in the activities space. It would generate income for the center.

Dining area
 Kitchen area

Day Care: Like the tribal offices, the day care facilities would add life to the interpretive center. Employees could be near their children, plus the day care could generate income by serving the local community as well. Provide space to accommodate 12 children (not more than 100 sf per child).

Outdoor Activity Space: This space would definitely connect the interpretive center with the surrounding landscape. Activities requiring food preparation could be accommodated by the kitchen facilities of the restaurant. This space might be used for tribal, family, or simply public purposes. Provide an area around 200 feet in diameter.

Public Amenities: These are the spaces and places for public use, or provide for the control of such use. They occur both indoors and outdoors.

Parking for 16 cars
 Drop-off area for visitors
 Walking trails/paths
 Lobby
 Gift shop
 Circulation/toilets/HVAC

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