

Space as Strategy: The Implementation Architecture of the Federal Indian Boarding School Policy

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A thesis

submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

Master of Urban Planning

University of Washington

2025

Committee:

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Program Authorized to Offer Degree:

Urban Design and Planning

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Abstract

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This study explores the history of the United States' Federal Indian Boarding School program from a policy perspective, the architectural design of the early school sites and buildings, and issues in contemporary historic preservation planning regarding management of the system's sites. A review of the history of the Federal Indian Boarding School system documents its origins in federal legislation authorizing partnerships between the US government and private religious organizations to operate schools for the purpose of the civilization of Native children through assimilation. This inquiry traces one line of the history from New England to Hawai'i to Virginia to Pennsylvania, documenting the implementation architecture including the administrative logic that informed the organizational structure and the strategic use of the built environment in the evolution of the early schools from experiment to prototype to pilot, enabling the replicability and scalability of the system over time. Analysis of the policies and the use of architectural design as dual implementation strategies yield findings that are used to generate recommendations for contemporary historic preservation approaches contributing to the acknowledgement, documentation, and reconciliation of this history toward the self-determination of Native communities.

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DEDICATION AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Dedication

To the children, for your strength.

Acknowledgements

To my community and all the other Native communities who hold this legacy, my intent is that this work contributes to a growing body of literature that makes this history impossible to ignore and accessible as instruction. To those I interviewed, thank you for sharing your time, for encouraging me to keep going, and for trusting me with your stories and knowledge. To my advisors Dylan Stevenson and Manish Chalana, for your expertise, for being here so I could research with and learn from others who understand, and for believing in the importance of this work. To Michael Aronowitz, for your steadfast encouragement of all my big ideas over all these years and for everything you have held so that I could take the time to pursue this one; I am forever grateful to and for you. To Erica Sklar, for all the difficult and important conversations that have sharpened my thinking and softened my edges, for helping me prioritize my safety, and for walking beside me so I didn't have to go alone. To Rachel Mendoza-Shnider, for listening, for allowing me to just be - only and exactly as I was, and in that, for knowing me. To Rebecca Ehrlichman Blume, for believing in me, for your unfailing support and protection, and for all the joy and warmth you brought to every hard day. To Marcela Sotela Odor, for holding space for me to become, for being both a fierce and gentle witness to this journey, and for your wise counsel and deep care. To Jodi Sandfort, for seeing in me what I couldn't, for nurturing and challenging me in profound ways, and for always treating me like I belong in the university. To my ancestors who stand behind me, particularly my uncle for how you lived embodying relationship to our place, and mostly my mom for showing me what courage looks like and for your unconditional love. To my children, for your beautiful minds and big hearts; you are everything we dreamed of.

STATEMENT OF POSITIONALITY

As a kanaka maoli (Native Hawaiian) researcher, I understand the history and legacy of this subject in particular ways, namely in how it lives in my mind, heart, and hands, and thus needed to approach this work in particular ways to account for the safety and well-being of all those closely involved in the research process. In conducting this research, I held kanaka principles of relationality and care as best as I could working within the constraints and demands of the academic institution.

My advisor Dylan Stevenson insisted that I could not undergo this work without a safety plan in place, and that has been critical to my own well-being in this process. In forming this plan, I considered how to ensure accountability to myself, to my community, to the communities affected by this history, and to the future; how to identify when the learning was too painful and what to do when I reached that point; how to hold the intention of the work in integrity without doing harm; and what expectations were reasonable.

This resulted in some simple but powerful commitments: that I would explain what I was thinking, feeling, and doing, and oli (chant) to ask for permission before proceeding; that I would absolutely not, under any circumstances, study pictures of the children or read detailed accounts of their experiences; that I would stop when there were tears, with no exceptions; and that I would prioritize my care by walking, swimming, journaling, and calling upon those above who I had identified to support this journey.

Clarity of my purpose in undertaking this work - simply care, not outcome - was as important in the beginning as it has been throughout this process, as was the intention of rooting in the kanaka principle ua mau ke ea o ka 'āina i ka pono (the life of the land is perpetuated in righteousness) as a reminder of my relationship to my place. Through pono (right) relationship comes the learning that is needed. Showing gratitude as kuleana (responsibility) closes the circle.

Wilma Mankiller's words (from her introduction to the 2005 Symposium on American History that bears her name) hold true

As always, we need only to look back to the past to see our future. We have endured war, removal, loss of land, resources, and rights, and wholesale attempts to assimilate us, and yet we continue to have strong, viable Indigenous communities. If we have managed to hold onto a robust sense of who we are despite the staggering amount of adversity we have faced, how can we not be optimistic? We acknowledge the hardships of the past without dwelling on them. Instead, we look to the future with the same faith that kept us together thus far. The Mohawks speak for all when they say, 'It is hard to see the future with tears in your eyes.' With no tears in our eyes, we accept our responsibility to make sure those who come after us will always know what it means to be descendants of the original people of this land called America.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABCFM	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
ACHP	Advisory Council on Historic Preservation
AMA	American Missionary Association
BIA	Bureau of Indian Affairs
BIC	Board of Indian Commissioners
Carlisle	Carlisle Indian Industrial School
DOI	Department of the Interior
FIBS	Federal Indian Boarding Schools
Hampton	Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute
HPF	Historic Preservation Fund
National Register	National Register of Historic Places
NABS	Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition
NHPA	National Historic Preservation Act
NPS	National Park Service
NTHP	National Trust for Historic Preservation
OIA	Office of Indian Affairs
SHPO	State Historic Preservation Officer
TCP	Traditional Cultural Properties
THPO	Tribal Historic Preservation Officer
US	United States

INTRODUCTION

Between 1819 and 1969, the United States (US) government operated or supported 417 boarding schools across the country (Newland, 2024) and inspired 109 others that were privately funded (Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition [NABS]), all of which directly targeted Native¹, Alaska Native, and Native Hawaiian children for the purpose of assimilation. The origins of the Federal Indian Boarding School (FIBS) program can be traced from New England to Hawai‘i to Virginia between 1820-1878, and finally to Pennsylvania, where the Carlisle Indian Industrial School was established in 1879. These early years of the FIBS program became the model for the large-scale system to come. Legislation coupled with architectural design shaped the environment so that these schools could function through a logic of elimination, removing Native children from their communities to assimilate them into settler colonial society with the intention of genocide.

The FIBS policies were a strategy to solve the settler colonialists’ most significant problem. An 1883 report quoted the Secretary of the Interior who said that the implementation of boarding schools was a measure that promises to settle in a satisfactory way the “Indian Problem”, and answers once for all the question so often asked, ‘What shall we do with the Indians?’ If allowed to continue in idleness, [the Indian] will continue in vice and savagery. (Teller, 1883)

The FIBS policies were designed and implemented as the solution. The power of these policies cannot be understated. They shaped three distinct eras in Indian² Law: the Treaty Era (1778-1871), Removal Era (1830-1850), and Reservation Era (1850-1891). Indian Law refers to the governing legislation concerning the relationship between the US government and Tribes, and Native people. It includes legal and administrative frameworks in a variety of areas such as sovereignty, treaties, and land management. The

¹ The term *Native* is used to describe communities that hold an identity and cultural experience prior to colonial contact and influence.

² The term *Indian* is used in historical and contemporary society by the US government to describe the group and individuals in legal trust relationship with the US government.

FIBS policies are a complex web of strategic political agendas from the Civilization Fund Act of 1819 through the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887.

Scholarly literature on the boarding school history in the US is relatively minimal but has increased significantly over recent decades as advocacy efforts for social reform have called for acknowledgement, investigation, and reconciliation. Most of the literature about the FIBS system is concerned with individual and collective experiences of the children and administrators at specific schools. Though emerging, the literature to date is limited in topic areas such as the policy field that was built to implement the program, the architectural design and construction of the school sites and buildings, and the impacts and opportunities of the larger FIBS system regarding the historic preservation of its built environment. There are even fewer publications at the intersection of these topic areas.

There is a demonstrated need for research and analysis of the robust archival documentation of FIBS policies and architectural plans around its implementation as a change-making strategy. This study asks the following research questions:

- What was the administrative logic used by the United States government in the implementation of the Federal Indian Boarding School program?
- How was architectural design used intentionally for the construction of controlled space in the Federal Indian Boarding School program?
- On what basis might preservationists use accurate documentation of the intended use of policy and architecture in the Federal Indian Boarding School system to inform viable historic preservation options for its tangible and intangible remnants?

The purpose of this inquiry is to document the intent and administrative logic of the FIBS policies and the use of architectural design as an implementation strategy for the elimination of Native people by the US government. Research and documentation of this understudied area will provide policymakers and preservationists with accurate information to inform decisions regarding the management of these sites

and buildings. The goal of this three-part study is to contribute to the gap in the literature at the intersection of policy, the built environment, and the field of historic preservation in the FIBS program.

An implementation analysis of the relevant legislation will include the Civilization Fund Act of 1819, which authorized federal resources for the civilization of Native people; the Indian Removal Act of 1830, removing Native people from their ancestral land to the West; the establishment of trust responsibility in US Supreme Court case *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* in 1831; the Indian Appropriations Act of 1851, which established the reservation system; Grant's Peace Policy in 1869, which authorized the forced assimilation of Native children through education; and the Dawes Severalty Act in 1887, which divided Native lands into individual agricultural allotments. Then, an architectural analysis of the sites and buildings in the early FIBS program will include Lahainaluna Seminary in Hawai'i which was established in 1831, Hilo Boarding School which was established in Hawai'i in 1836, Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute's Indian Program which was established in Virginia in 1878, and Carlisle Indian Industrial School which was established in Pennsylvania in 1879. Finally, an implementation analysis of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966 will examine the current field in which preservationists practice. Accurate documentation of the implementation architecture in the FIBS program will shape recommendations to aid policymakers and preservationists in the management of its built environment including engagement process recommendations with, by, and for Native communities. Most importantly, this study aims to contribute to their self-determination.

Both deductive and inductive research approaches are used in this study. A deductive approach is used in the policy and architectural analyses to determine the formulation of the pattern that exists as implementation strategy. An inductive exploratory research approach is then used to make sense of those patterns given the information gathered in site visits and interviews related to the historic preservation recommendations. Theoretical and interpretive frameworks are applied as a lens to both approaches to hold the dissonance across the topic area. Within the context of settler colonial theory, Tribal sovereignty shapes the ontology of the FIBS program as it relates to the administrative logic and the epistemology as

it relates to understanding the use of the built environment in implementation strategy. This creates a paradigm through which to analyze the findings to inform preservation practices within the legal and administrative framework of Tribal governance.

Policy is powerful. It endures across time and shifting contexts. At its most basic level, policy is the way the government solves problems. The policy process includes problem identification, policy design, adoption, implementation, and evaluation (see Figure 1). To solve the self-identified “Indian Problem”, the United States (US) government passed a series of legislations to enact policies to shape the political and physical environment for Native people. Intentions are often explicitly detailed in the language of these legislative documents and provide clear blueprints for policy implementation.

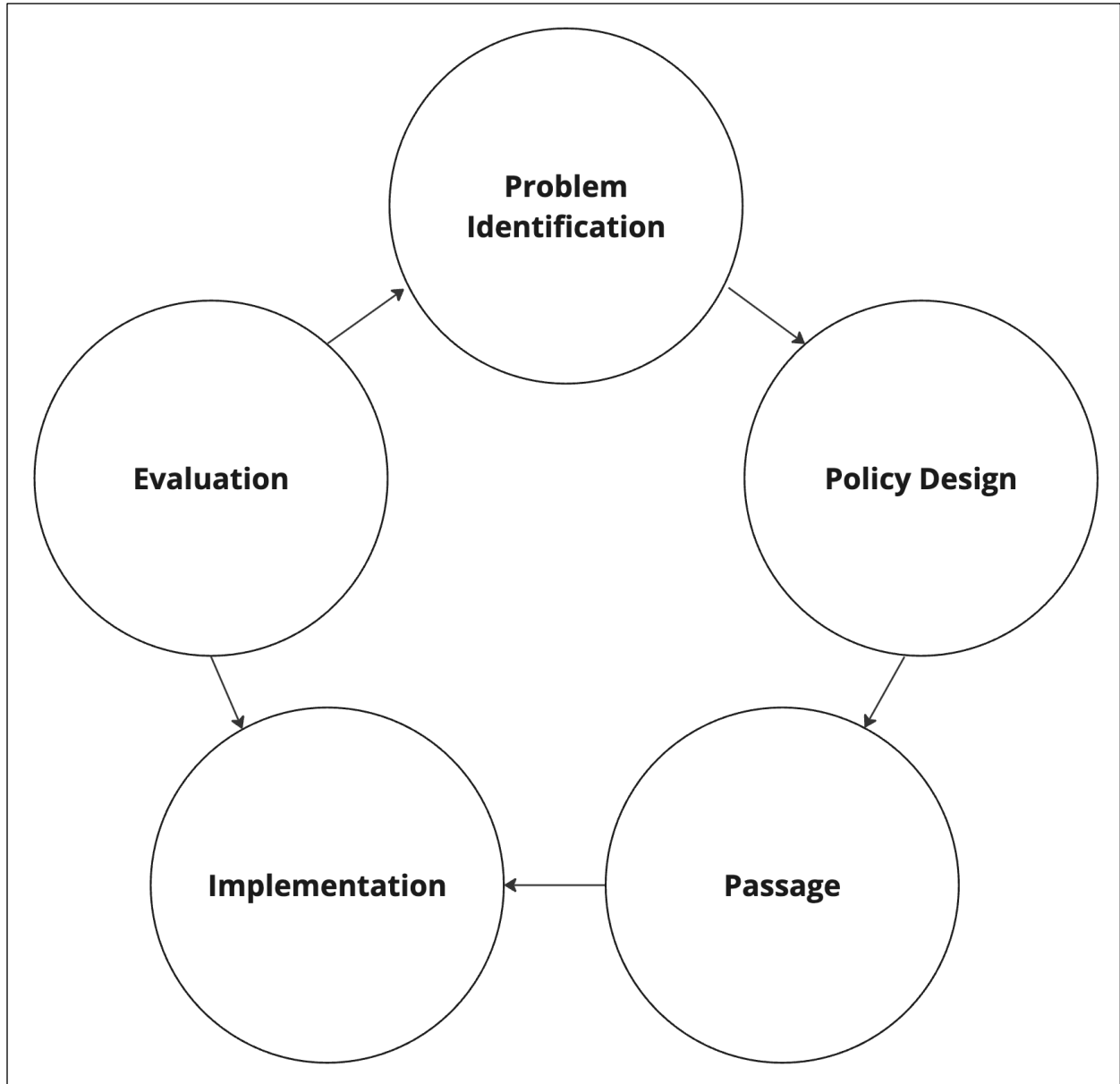


Figure 1: Policy Process Diagram

Buildings, like policy, are powerful and endure across time and shifting contexts. The architectural design process at its most basic level includes concept design and feasibility studies, schematic design, technical development, construction, and use and evaluation (see Figure 2). A parallel then can be drawn between the policy process and the architectural design process in the ways that the built environment can be used to influence and affect culture. Both the policy and design processes are

problem-solving methods that identify a need which is iterated through an evolution of design stages, built, tested, and then evaluated. Thus, analysis of the products of these systems can and should be viewed together.

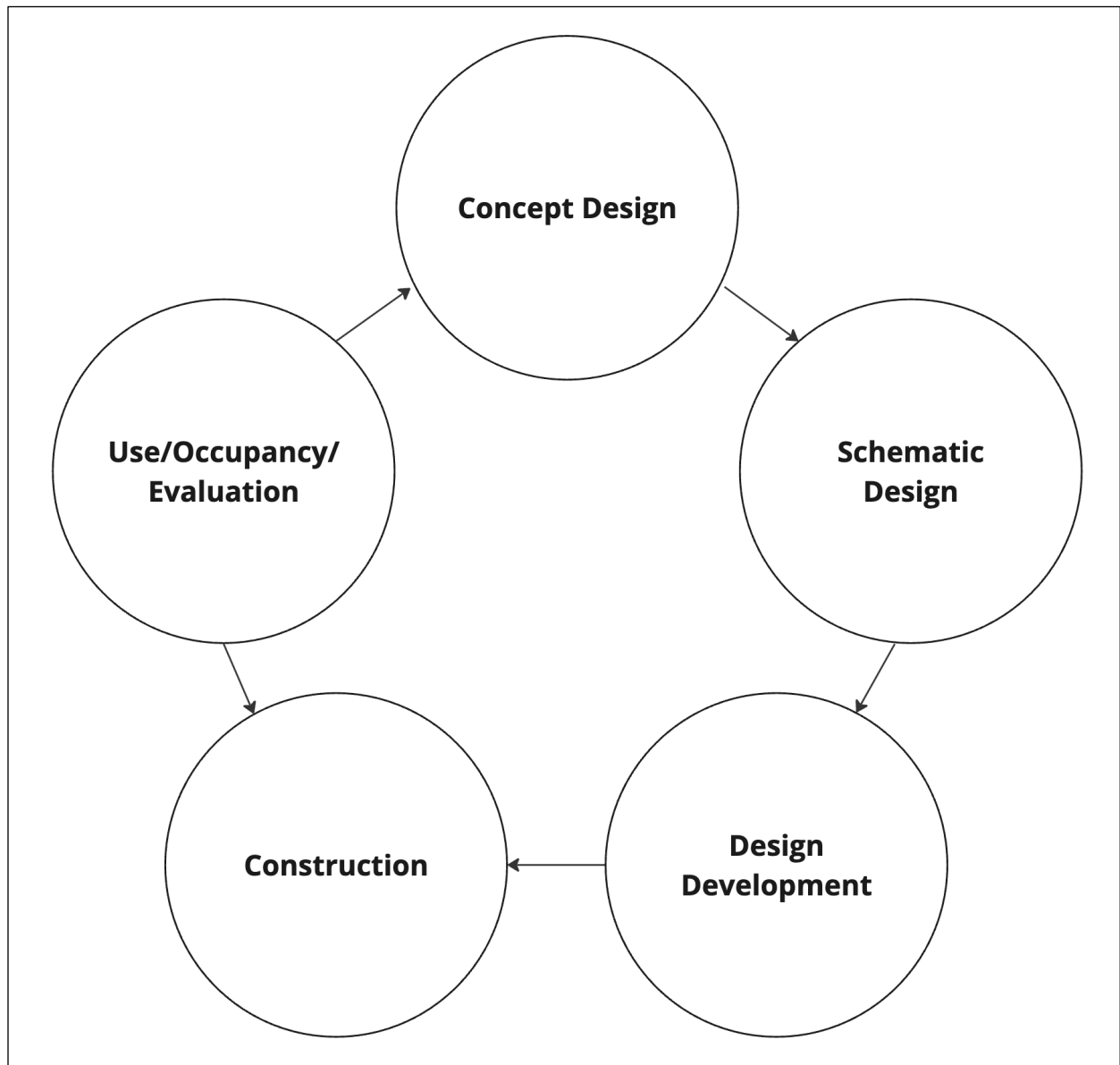


Figure 2: Design Process Diagram

The space in which policy is implemented has influence on how it is implemented, and likewise, the policy that is implemented shapes the space; they are inherently related. The FIBS system employed strategic architectural design that shaped the physical and psychological spaces in which Native students lived, learned, and worked to implement a federal political agenda. A thorough investigation of the architectural plans yields connections between these seemingly disparate fields of policy and architecture and how they were used together strategically in implementation.

History connects us to the past and provides instruction for the future. Its examination through the lens of the built environment is an opportunity through which we can understand and learn from history. The intersection between policy design and architectural design in the FIBS system has not been widely documented. Further, the field of historic preservation is examining the legacy of the system as it relates to determining how to manage the tangible and intangible remnants of its sites and buildings. Public administration, planning, and historic preservation has told a simple monolithic story of the FIBS experience and its impacts. The policy tools available in the historic preservation field are inadequate means through which to mitigate the impacts caused by the FIBS system. Their implementation processes are not designed to address the complex history of these sites, nor do they account for Indigenous³ knowledge structures, and as a result, they cannot accurately document this history. New tools are needed to demystify the history so that well-informed decisions can be made regarding the preservation of its sites and buildings.

³ The term *Indigenous* is used to describe the original inhabitants of a particular place prior to colonial contact and influence. It connotes a deep connection to that place which influences social and cultural identity.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The academic body of literature relevant to the history and preservation of boarding schools in the US is minimal, though contributions have increased significantly over recent decades as scholars and practitioners have demonstrated interest and need in this topic area. An overview of relevant Indian Law grounds this study in the legal and administrative frameworks in use. The history of the Federal Indian Boarding School program⁴ documents the actors and events that contributed to the construction of the implementation architecture of the boarding school system.⁵ A review of historic preservation efforts in Indian Boarding Schools provides a foundation for the application of the findings of this study in contemporary scholarship and practice. Finally, a review of interpretive and theoretical frameworks related to the context in which the implementation of the boarding school policies was delivered frames this inquiry.

Overview of Relevant Indian Law

For over 150 years between the arrival of the first settlers in 1619 and the Declaration of Independence in 1776, relations between the settler colonial leadership in what would become the United States (US) and Native communities were varied. In some places, mutual respect and friendship flourished, while others were hostile. In general, the British government's policy was to manage their relationships with Indian tribes⁶ as sovereign nations, but the settlers did not always follow suit (Canby,

⁴ The term *program* is used to describe the authorization of the first five Federal Indian Boarding Schools authorized by the US government by 1882 including Carlisle Indian Industrial School (established in 1879); Fort Simcoe Indian Boarding School (which was established as a day school in 1860, but significantly enhanced with federal funding in 1882); Chemawa Indian Training School (1880); Chilocco Indian Agricultural School (1884); and Haskell Indian Industrial Training School (1884).

⁵ The term *system* is used to describe the scaled reproduction and replication of schools across the US using the model created at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in 1879 through the closure of all the boarding schools by 1969.

⁶ The term *tribe(s)* or *tribal* is a term constructed by the US government to group Native people by shared language, geography, or other identifying categories.

2015). During the American Revolution between 1775-1783, as settler colonialists exerted increasing control over Native communities in the pursuit of land, many of the tribes sided with the British, who had provided them protection. After US independence in 1776, Indian affairs became centralized in the newly forming government, which held beliefs of their own superiority.

The US Constitution gave Congress the power to “regulate Commerce with the Indian Tribes”⁷ (U.S. Const. art. I, § 8, cl. 3) and shortly thereafter, a formal Treaty Era (1778-1871) ensued beginning in 1778, in which the US government began signing agreements with these sovereign Native communities (Bureau of Indian Affairs [BIA]). This was a first attempt to use policy to solve what they later would identify as the “Indian Problem”: Native people occupying space on land that the US wanted to control.

A series of Trade and Intercourse Acts passed between 1790 and 1834 separated Indians from non-Indians, established the boundaries of Indian country, set land use policies including prohibiting the sale of Indian land to non-Indians, and regulated trade. Treaties were executed on a Tribe-by-Tribe basis by Indian agents appointed by the US government under the Department of War (Canby, 2015). As settler colonialists’ desire for land grew, so did friction between the US and Tribes, and numerous federal policies to manage the “Indian Problem” continued, notably the Civilization Fund Act of 1819, which generally encouraged charities to provide support for Native people and specifically authorized and funded Christian missionaries to educate Native children for the expressed purpose of their civilization (see Figure 3) (Civilization Fund Act, 1819). Though originally intended to support schools in Native communities such as those already established by early disparate missionaries from Protestant and Catholic organizations, the legislation was later used as a foundation to scale the Native education system across the country through boarding schools.

⁷ The term *system* is used to describe the scaled reproduction and replication of schools across the US using the model created at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in 1879 through the closure of all the boarding schools by 1969.

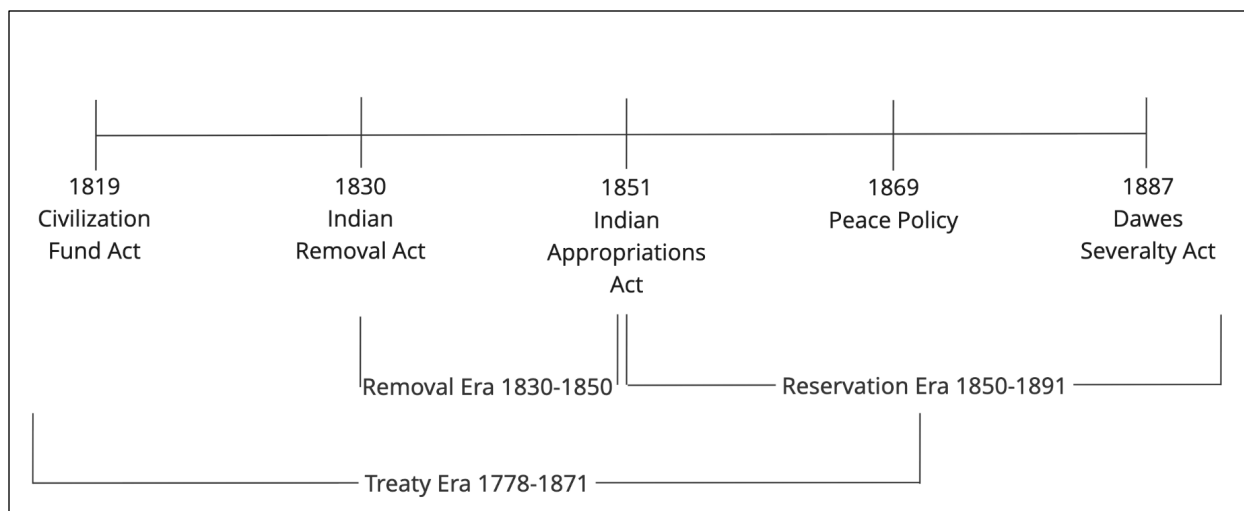


Figure 3: Federal Indian Boarding School Timeline of Policies

The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) was established in 1824 in the Department of War to administer the Civilization Fund and manage these relationships. Through the BIA, twin strategies of removal and assimilation were outlined in treaties, giving Native communities the option to move West or to cultivate farms on individually owned land to disrupt Native principles of collective stewardship (Wolfe 2011). “Virtually all federal Indian policy can be analyzed in terms of the tension between assimilation and separatism” (Wilkinson & Biggs, 1977, p. 139). These twin strategies of removal and assimilation are used heavily throughout the course of US government and Tribal relations.

Simultaneously, a series of US Supreme Court cases presided over by John Marshall heavily influenced US Indian Law. *Johnson v. McIntosh* (1823) upheld the Doctrine of Discovery: settlers could claim right of occupancy to land they “discovered” on behalf of their nation of origin (Wolfe, 2006). This altered the legal framework outlined in the Trade and Intercourse Acts (Canby, 2015); while the rights of Tribes on their land were upheld, their rights to the land itself granted in their treaties was not. Further, two subsequent Supreme Court cases had important impacts: *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* in 1831 determined that Cherokee Nation – whose land the state of Georgia had attempted to extinguish title to – had demonstrated that it was a state but not a foreign state and therefore capable of self-government, and

thus remained under the rule of the US (Cherokee Nation, 1831), and *Worcester v. Georgia* in 1832 determined that Cherokee Nation was a “distinct community, occupying its own territory” (Worcester, 1832). Marshall’s opinion in these three cases “is the foundation of jurisdictional law excluding the states from power over Indian affairs” (Canby, 2015, p. 19) and effectively established wardship of Native people to the US and domestic dependent nationhood (Wolfe, 2011). These cases ultimately culminated in the concept of trust responsibility, the US government’s self-claimed duty to hold moral, legal, and ethical obligations to Indian Tribes and their members.

Trust responsibility is a special relationship between the US government and Tribes on which much of Indian Law revolves. At the most basic level, trust responsibility established fiduciary obligations by the US government for the benefit of Tribes and their members, a relationship between trustee and beneficiary. However, it is a relationship that is vaguely defined and difficult to implement consistently due to the inability to assess legal applicability. Its application in case law since 1831 has been erratic at best, and strategically devastating for Tribes at worst, given dependencies in both the subject matter of the topic and the branch of government, “becom[ing] far more of a sword for the government than a shield for the Tribes” (Canby, 2015, p. 39). The strategy of these rulings and policies is clear: property starts where Indianness stops (Wolfe, 2011).

Though courts may limit trust responsibility, Congress ultimately holds plenary power over Indian affairs, which legally allows it to limit Tribal sovereignty as it sees fit.

However useful Tribal sovereignty is as a source of inherent Tribal power and as a shield against state intrusion, such sovereignty exists entirely at the sufferance of Congress. Political or moral restraints may, of course, keep Congress from eliminating or greatly diminishing Tribal sovereignty, but legal restraint does not. (Canby, 2015, p. 98)

Complicating matters further, the BIA is the embodiment of federal trust responsibility; it is the service organization authorized to carry out the obligation, which has historically included the management of land, tribal resources, and education, notably the boarding schools (Canby, 2015).

The Indian Removal Act of 1830 ushered in the Removal Era (1830-1850) of US Indian Law and created a programmatic avenue for a parallel strategy in managing the “Indian Problem” (Indian Removal Act, 1830). The Act forcibly relocated Native communities from their ancestral lands east of the Mississippi River to the West; it was the embodiment of Manifest Destiny for the purpose of elimination (Wolfe, 2006). The journeys, the most notable being the Trail of Tears, named regarding the intensity of imposed suffering at the hands of the US government, were made in extreme hardship with devastating effects to Native communities.

Repeat removals, excisions from reservations, grants of the same land to different Tribes, all conducted against a background of endless pressure for new or revised treaties, were the symptoms of removal’s temporariness, which kept time with the westward march of the nation. In the end, though, the Western frontier met the one moving back in from the Pacific, and there was simply no space left for removal. The frontier had become coterminous with reservation boundaries. (Wolfe, 2011, p. 24)

In 1849, with all but a few Tribes relocated out of the East, the BIA was moved from the Department of War to the Department of the Interior (DOI) (Canby, 2015).

The Indian Appropriations Act of 1851 marked the beginning of the Reservation Era (1850-1891) and established the Indian reservation system for Tribes to live separately from the settler colonialists, often in agreements made under duress or fraud and on land where Native communities had no cultural or historical connection (Indian Appropriations Act, 1851). In these agreements – a new type of treaty – the US government persuaded Tribes to cede much of their land in exchange for a smaller portion reserved solely for themselves. “Reservations were originally intended to keep distance and peace between Indians

and non-Indians, but they came to be viewed also as instruments for “civilizing” the Indians” (Canby, 2015, p. 21). An Indian agent from the BIA supervised each reservation and reported regularly on the community’s acts toward civilization.

Once Native people had been contained and the available land at a minimum, the logic of elimination’s strategy of removal shifted to the only viable strategy remaining: that of assimilation, removing individuals from within their communities into settler colonial society (Wolfe, 2006) by creating an environment of “systematic confusion of genetic and cultural criteria. To become civilized, Indians had to become White, and vice versa” (Wolfe 2011, p. 22). This strategy is explicit in the intent of forthcoming policies which shifted the relationship of Native people to settler colonial society from external to internal.

At the end of the Civil War in 1865 and in the years to follow, the efforts of Congress focused on establishing peace in the nation. Legislation was passed to “ensure civilization for the Indians and peace and safety for the Whites,...[And if] said commissioners fail to secure the consent of the Indians to remove to the reservations and fail to secure peace, then the Secretary of War, under the direction of the President, is hereby authorized to accept the services...in organized companies and battalions...and for such term of service as, in his judgement, may be necessary for the suppression of Indian hostilities” (S. 136, 1867). Peaceful interactions between the settler colonialists and Native communities did not hold.

When President Ulysses S. Grant took office in 1869, his inaugural address set the tone for the continued peace negotiations between the US government and Tribes with promises of reform to Indian Law. Regarding “the proper treatment of the original occupants of this land, the Indians,...I will favor any course toward them which tends to their civilization, Christianization, and ultimate citizenship” (Grant, 1869). Just weeks later, Grant’s Peace Policy (Peace Policy, 1869) passed to ensure federal support for this shift in strategy, which aimed to place Native people on composite reservations where Christian organizations in collaboration with Indian agents from the BIA would instruct Native people in religious conversion and agricultural practices (United States Board of Indian Commissioners, 1872).

The Act established the Board of Indian Commissioners, an all-Protestant male body of “not more than ten persons to be selected by [the President] from men eminent for their intelligence and philanthropy” who held semi-official positions in government (Peace Policy, 1869). Given this authority, the Board established the definition of an “Indian” based on physical appearances and documented their rights according to the laws and regulations that they subsequently created. “In reality the policy rested on the belief that Americans had the right to dispossess Native peoples of their lands, take away freedoms, and send them to reservations, where missionaries would teach them how to farm, read and write, wear Euro-American clothing, and embrace Christianity. If Indians refused to move to reservations, they would be forced off their homelands by soldiers” (Trafzer, 2009). The implementation of the Peace Policy involved giving property rights of reservation land to religious organizations. The Peace Policy also attempted to manage corruption within the BIA.

President Grant’s Third Annual Message in 1871 includes his reflections on the Peace Policy two years into its implementation

Through the exertions of the various societies of Christians to whom has been entrusted the execution of the policy, and the board of commissioners authorized by the law of April 10, 1869, many Tribes of Indians have been induced to settle upon reservations, to cultivate the soil, to perform productive labor of various kinds, and to partially accept civilization. They are being cared for in such a way, it is hoped, as to induce those still pursuing their old habits of life to embrace the only opportunity which is left them to avoid extermination. I recommend liberal appropriations to carry out the Indian peace policy, not only because it is humane, Christian like, and economical, but because it is right. (Grant, 1871)

With these efforts still rooted in solving the “Indian Problem”, the report by Ely Parker, the Native-born US Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to the Board of Indian Commissioners in 1869, speaks volumes.

Much, however, remains to be done for the multitude yet in their savage state, and I can but earnestly invite the serious consideration of those whose duty it is to legislate on their behalf, to the justice and importance of promptly fulfilling all treaty obligations and the wisdom of placing at the disposal of the department adequate funds for the purpose, and investing it with powers to adopt the requisite measures for the settlement of all Tribes, when practicable, upon tracts of land to be set apart for their use and economy. (Parker, 1869)

Congress had already appropriated funding to the BIA and Parker's request for an annual appropriation of \$2 million is considerable. He continues, advocating for the absolution of Tribal sovereignty, citing the principle outcomes of the three Supreme Court cases noted above.

They are held to be the wards of the government...They have become falsely impressed with the notion of national independence. It is time that this idea should be dispelled, and that the government cease the cruel farce of thus dealing with its helpless and ignorant wards. (Parker, 1869)

Congress obliged.

Over the next decade, increasing reports from Indian agents documented the declining conditions of Native communities on reservations, their overall lack of progress toward civilization, the breakdown of peaceful relations with the US government, and the growing resentment of settler colonialists at the large quantity of land held by Tribes. In response, Congress passed legislation that further devastated Tribes and altered Indian Law: the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887 (Dawes Severalty Act, 1887). The Dawes Act introduced the Allotment and Assimilation Era (1887-1934) and was an attempt to break up Native communities by allotting plots of land on reservations to individual families rather than under communal ownership – fee simple land – by encouraging the adoption of settler colonial values of property rights and agricultural practices. The Dawes Act included no provision for consent by Tribes as it was intended to encourage assimilation into settler colonial culture, thus erasing their own. As a result

of this strategy, the population of Native people was at a record low, and a rapid and significant loss of land ensued (Wolfe, 2006). Through the end of the century, a barrage of assimilationist legislation was passed that formally ended the Treaty Era and dismantled Tribal Sovereignty.

Though Americans largely identified the policy with nonviolence, its strategic implementation – much of which is only recently coming to light over the last several decades – tells a different story. By employing religious groups and religious language, civilization efforts that were unimaginably violent were deemed to be in the service of peace (Graber, 2014). The truth has largely been erased: Indian Law was designed strategically and systematically to eliminate Native people through removal and assimilation. The legislation reviewed in this study are but the most prominent touchpoints in a long and complex history of laws and policies meant to achieve this outcome.

History of Federal Indian Boarding Schools

The organizational design and structure of the Federal Indian Boarding School (FIBS) system traces its origins through a web between New England, Hawai‘i, Virginia, and Pennsylvania. New England was a hub of missionary organizing in the early 1800s, and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) was at the center. The ABCFM was the first organized missionary society in the US, founded in 1810 by recent Williams College graduates as an inter-denominational society to spread Christianity across the world (Harvard Library, n.d.). Foundational to what would become one of the most successful evangelical organizations in the US, the ABCFM operated 12 missions of 184 people to Hawai‘i between 1820-1848 to build infrastructure to civilize Native Hawaiian children (Canevali, 1977).

Born in 1793 in Hawai‘i and tragically orphaned at the age of 10, a young Native Hawaiian man named Henry ‘Ōpūkaha‘ia, left the islands on a trade ship in 1807 and travelled to Connecticut (Bartlett, 1872). He worked manual labor jobs in New Haven to make ends meet, and in 1809 met a student at Yale College with whom he shared that he had always wanted a formal education but couldn’t access it

(Obookiah et al., 1819). In his commitment to help, this student, Edwin W. Dwight – whose family founded Williams College – connected ‘Ōpūkaha‘ia to his cousin, Timothy Dwight IV, the President of Yale College, who invited the Hawaiian student to live and learn with him (Piascik, 2021). At this time, President Dwight IV was heavily involved in the founding of the ABCFM and was emerging as a leader of the Second Great Awakening, a national evangelical movement of religious revival with significant implications on social reform. This heavily influenced ‘Ōpūkaha‘ia’s conversion in 1815.

The US government’s Native removal strategy made the missionaries’ purpose of conversion more difficult, so the ABCFM strategized a new campaign to educate Native people in place. ‘Ōpūkaha‘ia, with several years of consistent mentorship from Dwight IV and other leaders like Samuel J. Mills, a Williams College alumni and founder of the ABCFM, advocated for a formal education for himself and other non-White students. The ABCFM responded by opening the Foreign Mission School in 1817 in Connecticut, led by Edwin W. Dwight, for the purpose of “educating youths of Heathen nations, with a view to their being useful in their respective countries” (Morse, 1822, p. 163). ‘Ōpūkaha‘ia was the first student. The constitution of the school declared

The education in our country of heathen youths, in such a manner as, with subsequent professional instruction, will qualify them to become missionaries, physicians, schoolmasters, or interpreters, and to communicate to heathen nations such knowledge in agriculture and the arts as may prove the means of promoting Christianity and civilization. (Hawley, 1922, p. 25).

In its 10 years of operation, the school enrolled about 100 students: "43 Native Americans, 13 Americans, 20 Hawaiians, and other natives of the Pacific including 2 Chinese (Mitchell, 1939)," and over 24 languages were spoken across the student body (Frank et al., 2015).

In accordance with its founding documents, ‘Ōpūkaha‘ia had plans upon graduation to return to Hawai‘i as a missionary to convert his community to Christianity. Continuing his advocacy efforts, ‘Ōpūkaha‘ia successfully lobbied the leaders of the ABCFM to send a company of missionaries to the Hawaiian Islands, suggesting it as fertile ground for education of Native people in place. With the passage

of the Civilization Fund Act in 1819, the formalized purpose of assimilating Native people with the goal of eradicating Native culture began. Given the ABCFM's robust slate of international missionary programs, Congress authorized and funded the ABCFM to implement their assimilation policy by operating schools for Native children. Though 'Ōpūkaha'ia died suddenly in 1818, the ABCFM continued on with their commitment and sent the first company of missionaries to Kailua on the island of Hawai'i in 1820 under the leadership of Hiram Bingham (Portraits of American Protestant missionaries, 1901).

Lahainaluna Seminary and Hilo Boarding School

In Hawai'i, just four decades after the first settler colonial contact by Captain James Cook in 1778, warfare, disease, and religion based on settler colonial ideology flourished across the islands (Canevali, 1977). Prior to the arrival of the ABCFM missionaries in 1820, schools in Hawai'i were operated by disparate missionaries and were primarily for adult students taught in English, but the arrival of the printing press in Hawai'i opened possibilities for instruction in the Hawaiian language, allowing for a tailored and scalable education program to take shape for children as well. "The [ABCFM] missionaries knew that the hope of the nation lay in its children... [and] a particular effort was made to gather the children into schools" (Kuykendall, 1965, p. 108). With the support of Queen Ka'ahumanu, attendance in mission schools increased from about 200 students in 1821 to 2,000 in 1824, 37,000 in 1828, and 41,000 in 1830, of which nearly half were on the island of Hawai'i (Canevali, 1977).

On the mainland, the passage of the Indian Removal Act of 1830 authorized the movement of the remaining Native communities from east of the Mississippi River to the West. In Hawai'i, noting that the existing schools across the islands were under-resourced, the ABCFM invested in building a formal education system that would reach all Hawaiian children. In 1831, the ABCFM established Lahainaluna Seminary on Maui and in 1833, they approved the construction of schoolhouses on each island. Recognizing the need to focus instruction on manual labor, teacher training, and religious studies in every institution and seeing the importance of separating the students by age, the Hilo Boarding School was

authorized and opened in 1836. The success of these schools encouraged the ABCFM to invest significantly in more resources including permanent buildings to support the curriculum with land provided by the Kingdom of Hawai'i and labor provided by the students.

Students at Hilo Boarding School were instructed in practical, religious, and domestic subjects, and the boys studied agriculture; the sugar plantation was worked entirely by the boys of the school along with a "monthly concert" of labor by all members of the local religious community (Canevali, 1977). Many of the missionaries were sons of wealthy New England farmers who had participated in the military, and stressed the character-building qualities associated with manual labor in a militaristic environment. After waking at 5:00 am for prayer and study, the boys at the school went to the fields for several hours of work, followed by an inspection of their rooms and then several hours of school. They would return to the farm late in the afternoon for another hour of work, followed by drills before dinner and the days ended with more prayers and study (Canevali, 1977). This routine was held Mondays-Saturdays, with Sundays permitting a 7:00 am wake up time, a regime that was in place and unchanged through the 1920s. The age of the student bodies at Lahainaluna Seminary and Hilo Boarding School also remained largely uniform, with Lahainaluna Seminary quickly shifting from teaching adult students in the early years to teenagers who were preparing for ministry, and Hilo Boarding School quickly shifting from enrolling boys younger than seven or eight to those over 10 years old because of the heavy focus on student agricultural labor. Students would generally spend two to four years at Hilo Boarding School before progressing to Lahainaluna Seminary or entering the field of teaching (Canevali, 1977).

While the first four companies of ABCFM missionaries in Hawai'i were building the early infrastructure of their education system, Richard Armstrong, born in 1805 in Pennsylvania to first-generation settler colonial parents, was receiving an education in New England that would connect him to the future of the FIBS system across the US. Armstrong was educated at the prestigious European-style boarding school Milton Academy in Massachusetts, followed by Dickinson College in Carlisle,

Pennsylvania, from which he graduated in 1827, culminating his studies at Princeton Theological Seminary in 1831 (Portraits of American Protestant Missionaries, 1901).

Upon his graduation from Princeton, Armstrong joined the ABCFM's fifth mission to Hawai'i in 1832 and was stationed on the island of Maui between 1835-1840 where he established churches and schools and supported the operations of Lahainaluna Seminary. From there, he was stationed on the island of O'ahu from 1840-1847, where he took over for Hiram Bingham at Kawaiaha'o Church, the primary place of worship for the Hawaiian royalty. There, he served King Kamehameha III, the first Hawaiian monarch to use a settler colonial governance system (Armstrong, 1887). He was appointed to the Kingdom of Hawai'i's Privy Council when it was created in 1845 with the purpose of "organiz[ing] the executive ministry of the Hawaiian Islands" (Statue Laws, 1846) as well as the House of Nobles (Chronicling America, 1860).

In 1846, King Kamehameha III created the position of Minister of Public Instruction for the Kingdom of Hawai'i, and appointed Armstrong to hold the role in 1847, which he did until 1855 when the role was abolished in favor of a Board of Education, which he became the President of (Chronicling America, 1860). It was under Armstrong that the ABCFM established Hawai'i's educational model, earning him the title "The Father of American Education in Hawai'i" (Ohles, 1978). Armstrong's model, which he borrowed from his elite education in New England, included both the manual labor component in place at Hilo Boarding School and the religious component taught at Lahainaluna Seminary (Canevali, 1977). According to Armstrong, education needed to control

the heart, the head, and the body at once...This is a lazy people and if they are ever to be made industrious, the work must begin with the young. So I am making strenuous efforts to have some sort of manual labor connected with every school...without industry they cannot be moral.

(Lindsey, 1995, p. 2)

Armstrong instituted a three-fold curriculum including manual labor, religious studies, and academics.

While the Indian Appropriations Act of 1851 was beginning to impose major changes to land use on the mainland as reservations were created, Hawai‘i’s boarding school model was being institutionalized. Armstrong’s influence also extended to infrastructure finance: the boarding schools themselves were funded by a Kingdom-wide school tax system he built and implemented.

The sole support of the common schools throughout the country, is derived from the school-tax, a personal tax of \$2 per annum, levied every adult male between the ages of twenty and sixty years, residing within this or that district, and that the proceeds of this tax, as collected within the limits of any given district, is the only fund from which the common schools in such district are maintained. (Kekuanaoa, 1868, p. 2)

By the 1860s in Hawai‘i, settler colonial agricultural and religious practices had transformed the land and the people. Settler colonial businessmen capitalized on opportunities for land acquisition as the local economy was developed according to capitalist ideals of property ownership, taxes, and labor.

Conversations about the US annexing Hawai‘i were beginning – against the overwhelming wishes of the Hawaiian people – which would come to fruition in 1898. Many schools were conducting lessons in English, which the ABCFM frowned upon, stemming from the long tradition of instruction in Hawaiian and the significant evidence supporting uptake with that strategy (Canevali, 1977). In addition, the missionaries’ mastery and use of the Hawaiian language allowed them to continue to hold a role of authority over Hawaiians who lacked fluency in English. Missionaries also feared that teaching Hawaiians English would encourage them to make contact with foreigners and abandon their agricultural practice (Canevali, 1977).

Lahainaluna Seminary became recognized as a preparatory school for royalty and political leaders and by 1864, those holding government roles in Hawaiian society were required to be graduates.

While it was desirable for the king and chiefs and their business agents to know English, teaching such a difficult language to the people as a whole would require an immense expenditure of time

and effort. If the Hawaiians were to be made literate within a reasonable period it must be in their own language. If the work of the missionaries was to be effective, it must be carried on in the native tongue. (Kuykendall, 1965, p. 104)

The printing press at Lahainaluna Seminary, which printed millions of pages of textbooks, Bibles, and government documents, made this possible (Kuykendall, 1965).

The crowning achievement of the missionaries in Hawai‘i was Hilo Boarding School, responsible for spreading Christianity across the islands and most importantly, in how it modeled the ability of the missionary institution to iterate in its curriculum and programs to meet the needs of the context and the students. As the Bureau of Education in Washington D.C. later remarked in 1920, “The fact is noteworthy that elementary school work and industrious training were well started in this school... forty years before the founding in Boston, in 1878, of the first manual training school on the mainland” (Ross, 1923, p. 171).

Richard Armstrong’s influence on the education system in Hawai‘i is profound. A study of schools conducted by the DOI which included Hilo Boarding School

was highly laudatory of the school's curriculum. There is a concerted attempt to build up the academic work in close connection with the industrial, making the intellectual problems grow out of the occupations of the farm, the shops, the kitchens, and the dairy. (Claxton, 1920, p. 348)

Armstrong’s correspondence regarding his acceptance of the role of Minister of Public Instruction highlights the thread between Hawai‘i and Hampton, Virginia, “The first link in a chain of events which were of special importance not only from their effect upon Mr. Armstrong’s life, but from their connection, long after his life was ended, with the establishment of the Hampton School” (Armstrong, 1887, p. 28).

Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute

Samuel Chapman Armstrong, the son of Richard Armstong, was born on the island of Maui in Hawai‘i in 1839. As a child he attended Punahou School, the boarding school that was established by the ABCFM for children of missionaries in Hawai‘i. After graduation in 1859, he became his father’s secretary, supporting the daily operations of the Minister of Public Instruction’s office and accompanying his father on school inspections throughout the islands, an experience that shaped his future. On Sundays, Richard Armstrong took Samuel to hear the Rev. Jonathan Green. Reflecting on the experience, the younger Armstrong said that Rev. Green was

the single representative in that field of the American Missionary Association (AMA), who always prayed for, and preached about, slavery in America. He was a devoted abolitionist, and from him I obtained my first ideas of the Negro race. A few colored men had appeared at the Islands, and the first colored clergyman I ever heard was in Honolulu. (Armstrong 1887, p. 79)

This experience would prove to influence his perspective on settler colonial relations with African American communities and his dedication to their education.

In 1860, his father died suddenly in a horseback riding accident, and the young Armstrong left the islands just weeks later to attend Williams College in Massachusetts at his father’s last request, graduating in 1862. With the Civil War in progress, Samuel Chapman Armstrong joined the Union Army, where he quickly rose in the ranks. He fought in Pickett’s Charge at the Battle of Gettysburg in July of 1863, and that Fall, he volunteered to lead the African American troops of the 9th US Colored Infantry. During training with his regiment in Maryland, Armstrong established a school to educate the soldiers, most of whom were former slaves with no education (Talbot, 1904). Armstrong was then assigned to lead the 8th US Colored Troops in 1864, and was awarded for his service and leadership. After the Civil War ended in April of 1865, Armstrong was discharged from the Army with a rank of Brevet Brigadier General awarded by President Andrew Johnson in 1866.

Later that year, during the US Reconstruction, Armstrong was appointed Superintendent of the Freedman's Bureau in the 9th District of Virginia, a US government agency to assist freed slaves, which was headquartered in Hampton. His charge was to reduce the population of homeless refugees from the South by convincing them to accept jobs as farm laborers (Encyclopedia Virginia, n.d.). Armstrong lobbied the American Missionary Association, an offshoot organization from the ABCFM who had been instrumental in supporting the Freedman's Bureau, to support his efforts in establishing the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute (Hampton) in Virginia in 1868.

The AMA had already been working in the South to establish schools for freedmen given the proximity to Fortress Monroe and the Grand Contraband Camp, both controlled by the Union Army as refuges for escaped slaves who the Union forces refused to return to the South. Hampton was founded nearby on the grounds of the Wood Farm, also known as "Little Scotland" (Hampton University, n.d.), a former plantation on the Hampton River, where outdoor classes funded by the AMA had been taught to the refugees since 1861 under a grand live oak tree. That tree was later named Emancipation Oak, the site of the first reading of the Emancipation Proclamation in the South in 1863 (Hampton University, n.d.).

The founding of Hampton was rooted in Armstrong's experience in Hawai'i. "Hampton Institute was a direct heir to [his father's] philosophy of education" (Carson, 1952, p. 18). His experience in Hawai'i and in his Army service engrained a deep commitment to the education of Black and Native people, following in his father's footsteps. The purpose of Hampton was "to train selected Negro youth who should go out and teach and lead their people first by example, by getting land and homes; to give them not a dollar that they could earn for themselves; to teach respect for labor, to replace stupid drudgery with skilled hands, and in this way to build up an industrial system for the sake not only of self-support and intelligent labor, but also for the sake of character" (Hampton University, n.d.). The prototype attracted support and funding from settler colonialists who were former abolitionists and private philanthropists, who saw it as their Christian duty to save those less fortunate and privileged than themselves by civilizing them. "The solution lay in a Hampton-style education, an education that

combined cultural uplift with moral and manual training, or as Armstrong was fond of saying, an education that encompassed 'the head, the heart, and the hands'" (Adams, 1995, p. 51). It was this combination of values and principles – like that in the Hawaiian boarding schools – on which Hampton's curriculum was built.

The philosophy Armstrong instituted at Hampton was the belief that Black and Native people needed to be saved through civilization, but that they should not be permitted to exercise civic engagement because their races were beyond the point of responsible participation. Rather, these “inferior races” should be ruled by the superior White race who would train them through vocational instruction to correct their “deficiency of character” (Canevali, 1977). Armstrong built his Hampton program on the foundations of the ABCFM's work among the Hawaiian people, notably at Lahainaluna Seminary and Hilo Boarding School. He noted that "the school at Lahaina has been a warning against a too exclusively mental culture on a soft and pliant race, the one at Hilo an illustration of an equilibrium of mental, moral and industrial force" (Armstrong, 1884, p. 213). Armstrong remarked

It meant something to the Hampton School, and perhaps to the ex-slaves of America, that, from 1820 to 1860, the distinctly missionary period, there was worked out in the Hawaiian Islands, the problem of the emancipation, enfranchisement, and Christian civilization of a dark-skinned Polynesian people in many respects like the Negro race. (Lindsey, 1995)

Nationally, in the recovery from the Civil War and with great pressure to ease the relations between settler colonialists and Native communities, President Grant's Peace Policy was passed in 1869. Implemented through the 1870s, it directed the removal of Native children from their families, placing them in boarding schools operated by the Church on behalf of and financed by the US government for their education and civilization. Within this national context, in 1878, an unprecedented prototype began at Hampton, which served an entirely African American student body at the time: the introduction of an Indian education program to extend the school's mission to Christianize and civilize Native people (Hultgren et al., 1989).

The first students were prisoners sent from Fort Sill in the Oklahoma Territory to Fort Marion in St. Augustine, Florida, who were supervised by the US Army's Second Lieutenant Richard Henry Pratt after their arrest following the Red River War. The prisoners were adult males who were selected by the Army "to be made an example of" at the order of General Philip Sheridan (Armstrong, 1891). While imprisoned, Pratt set up a school for them, began to teach them how to read and write, and about Christianity, effectively turning the prison into a school that functioned as a military camp (Adams, 1995). After three years, they were released and given a choice to remain in the East to continue to be educated toward their civilization. Many chose to stay, and Pratt, working for the Department of War, had written to several agricultural and labor schools to inquire about starting an Indian education program. The only person to respond was Armstrong, agreeing to accept 17 young men at Hampton (Hultgren et al., 1989).

The Hampton Indian Program drew much criticism from the public across the US. Even staff and faculty were critical, holding some "very serious misgivings over so radical an innovation," fearing the effect of one group upon the other, but not certain which would be the culprit. Pratt assured the leadership at Hampton, "There will be no collision between the races here. These Indians have come to work" (Hultgren et al., 1989, p. 18). Seeking financial support for Hampton, Armstrong met with the Secretary of the Interior to request an expansion of the program with younger students, notably girls, declaring that "there is no civilization without educated women" (Armstrong, 1891). The US government appropriated funding for the Native students, and Pratt successfully recruited 40 boys and 9 girls within the first year of the program from the Dakota territory (Hultgren et al., 1989). Booker T. Washington, who had recently graduated from Hampton, accepted a job as the "house father" of the Native boys' dormitory in 1878.

The Hampton Indian Program operated for 45 years, closing due to the increased interaction of African American and Native students. The program enrolled a total of 1,388 students sent by the US government from 65 Native communities in the Midwest and Southwest (Lindsey, 1995). Utilizing the curriculum from Hawai'i, this program differed in its implementation of an off-reservation format – the

students were far away from their communities with no influence from them. At Hampton, they were required to learn a new lifestyle, a new language, and a new religion. The Outing Program, Armstrong's effort to place students in settler colonial homes to learn civilized norms, was a requirement, as was military-like training for male students.

Like his father, Armstrong had developed a new educational model, the Hampton Method, and the Hampton Indian Program became a prototype for the FIBS system to come. Likewise, Booker T. Washington's modifications to the Hampton Method, known as the Tuskegee Method, informed the curriculum of Black colleges in the South. The key strategy in the Hampton-Tuskegee Method was the system's ability to iterate, a strategy taken from the "educational philosophy forged in colonial Hawai'i [that] underwent constant adaptation for both African Americans and [Native communities] alike" (Johnson, 2016) which was utilized throughout the building of the system to come.

Carlisle Indian Industrial School

The US Army's Carlisle Barracks was established in 1757, one of the nation's oldest military installations, supporting the troops in the American Revolution through the Civil War. In 1871, with the Army's focus shifting to expansion efforts in the West, the site was decommissioned for active use. Richard Henry Pratt had roots in New England, but was raised in Indiana. His father died when Pratt was young, leaving him, the oldest of three, to take care of his family. With only two years of formal education, he enlisted in the 9th Indiana Infantry Regiment when the Civil War broke out, working his way up the ranks to Brigadier General, serving in both leadership roles on the battlefield as well as in administration (Pratt & Utley, 2003). In 1867, he joined the 10th US Cavalry, an African American regiment, which was assigned to Fort Sill in the Oklahoma Territory – nicknamed the Buffalo Soldiers. Pratt spent eight years in the Plains during the Indian Wars between 1867-1875, then was assigned to Fort Marion in Florida, and then to Hampton.

After just one year at Hampton, and using its model as his framework, Pratt lobbied the DOI for permission to use the decommissioned site at Carlisle Barracks in Pennsylvania for the first off-reservation boarding school solely for Native children with the expressed purpose of assimilation. He was granted permission, and in 1879, opened the Carlisle Indian Industrial School (Carlisle). Pratt served as Superintendent, using the strategy and structure he learned in the Army, at Ft. Augustine, and at Hampton to design, build, and implement an experience for Native youth to assimilate them into American culture. The school operated from 1879-1919 and enrolled over 7,800 Native children from 140 Native communities across the US (Lindsey, 1995).

The children were made to assimilate in every way: banned from speaking their Native languages and practicing in traditional cultural ways, and stripped of their traditional clothes and belongings. Many experienced inhumane treatment, some never returned home, and the fates of many children and the impacts of these experiences are largely unknown. Pratt, through the influence of Samuel Chapman Armstrong, was considered the architect of the US assimilationist campaign and the person responsible for the design and direction of what became the FIBS system. Reading a paper at the 19th annual Conference of Charities and Corrections, in Denver, Colorado in 1892, Pratt said

A great general [Philip Sheridan] has said that the only good Indian is a dead one, and that high sanction of his destruction has been an enormous factor in promoting Indian massacres. In a sense, I agree with the sentiment, but only in this: that all the Indian there is in the race should be dead. Kill the Indian in him, and save the man. (Pratt, 1892)

The phrase became the slogan for the FIBS system: “Kill the Indian, Save the Man.”

Shortly thereafter in 1882, four more off-reservation schools for Native children were authorized by Congress establishing the FIBS program as the beginning of an educational system: Fort Simcoe Indian Boarding School, which was established in 1860, but significantly enhanced with federal funding in 1882; Chemawa Indian Training School, which was established in 1880 and is still in operation;

Chilocco Indian Agricultural School, which was established in 1884; and Haskell Indian Industrial Training School, also established in 1884. Though Native communities on reservations were operating their own school systems, increasing reports from Indian agents regarding the poor health, economic, and education conditions on reservations emerged. To address their lack of movement toward civilization, Congress passed the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887, enacting a new strategy toward Native communities, allotting parcels of reservation land to individuals.

As a result, nearly 50 million acres of Native land was sold, and their school systems were dismantled. In 1928, the Meriam Report, written by Lewis Meriam at the request of the Secretary of the Interior, investigated the conditions of Native people across the US (Meriam, 1928). Its findings criticized the implementation of the Dawes Act and once again cited poor conditions on reservations and in boarding schools. This report served as a foundation to shape the design of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, reforming implementation efforts to align with the goals of protection of Native American people and their land and resources, as interpreted through the settler colonial paradigm.

Between 1819 and 1969, hundreds of thousands of Native children were removed from their communities and sent to boarding schools (NABS, n.d.). As of 2024, the FIBS system included 417 schools that were federally funded (and 109 additional boarding schools not directly federally funded) across the US in a tight web of power and control operationalized through political and economic authority (NABS, n.d.). The US has a long history of disruption to Native communities shaped by the ideology of settler colonialism. Through legislation and policies enacted over many decades, implementation strategy toward the intent of elimination included land theft, coerced and broken treaties, and forced displacement, but the FIBS system was the most significant example of the implementation of assimilationist policies. The impact of its effectiveness cannot be erased: these policies were enacted through the forcible removal of Native children, many of whom never returned home. Despite the clear intentions of FIBS policies, the children's experience in these institutions is largely unaccounted for by the US government.

Historic Preservation of Federal Indian Boarding Schools

The field of historic preservation has an important role to play in the study and documentation of the built environment and the sites in the FIBS system. Through the relationships that the students formed to these places, there is much to learn about the history, impacts, and next steps in recovery, healing, and reconciliation. Engagement with the history by, with, and for Native communities is a first step to understanding how to navigate the preservation process in terms of the significant trauma associated with these places, taking into consideration the dissonance between settler colonial and Native values and governance in terms of interpretation and memorialization.

Since the 1970s, as residential schools systematically closed across the US, the historic preservation field has been presented with an interesting situation: how to preserve the tangible and intangible aspects of this history. Literature has emerged over the last two decades from the academic community related to the experience of students in boarding schools in the US. Of note, Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission generated a report of the Canadian Indian Residential School system in 2015 which sparked the creation of new academic research and literature on the topic in both countries (Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015). However, there are still very few published academic papers related to the FIBS system's architectural history.

In addition, there is little documentation in the literature analyzing the intent and implementation strategy of the policies, and what does exist is incomplete and, at times, inaccurate in its exclusion of information that is critical of the government. Given this gap, the historic preservation field cannot make informed decisions about the preservation of sites and buildings in the FIBS system. What does exist are several dissertations considering the architectural history including the design, goals, and manipulative use of space in Canada's Indian Residential School System (Carr, 2011); the history of the education of African American and Native people in the US (Johnson, 2016); and the design and development of public university campuses in the late 19th- and early 20th-centuries in regard to African American labor and Native land (Lucking, 2023). There is a need for ongoing research to document accurate histories of

the FIBS system and its impacts, and in order to do this fully, the intent of the enabling legislation that directed the creation of the FIBS system as well as its implementation architecture must be analyzed.

It is valuable to look to the Canadian residential school system for examples of federal acknowledgement and reconciliation efforts. In the 2015 Truth and Reconciliation Commission's report, the Canadian government acknowledged the trauma they caused and mandated work with Indigenous tribes to reconcile the effects of their assimilation policies through this system (Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015). However, there are limited precedents as to how this work should be undertaken. The report identifies and compares several sites as case studies, noting takeaways regarding historic preservation efforts and identification of potential approaches informing decision-making and policy reform.

Following Canada's lead, US Secretary of the Interior Deb Haaland issued a directive to investigate the history of the FIBS system in 2021. The first volume of the Federal Indian Boarding School Initiative Investigative Report was published in 2022 and accounted for 408 schools across the US, described the conditions the children experienced at the schools, spoke to the intergenerational impacts that those schools had on Native people across the US, and cited the presence of over 1,000 related educational institutions outside of their scope (Newland, 2022). The second volume, published in 2024, included an additional nine boarding schools and detailed the cost, scope, and nature of the system as well as identified some personal information about students who attended the schools and the location of burial sites for some of the children who died while enrolled (Newland, 2024).

The report's findings orient the system within a larger strategic objective of land dispossession and elimination as twin policies, the latter implemented through removal and assimilation, and raised questions about the impact and subsequent consequences of its implementation. The report is the first step by the US government in acknowledging the intent of the FIBS system and serves as a foundation to support Native communities moving forward regarding reconciliation efforts to mitigate the impact of the

harm caused. New policies and programs could support Native communities in terms of the preservation of this history and their ongoing self-determination.

In the spirit of self-determination, legislation such as the National Historic Preservation Act in 1966 (National Historic Preservation Act, 1966), coupled with the Antiquities Act of 1906 (Antiquities Act, 1906) and the establishment of the National Park Service in 1916 (National Park Service Organic Act, 1916) have paved the way for federal and state agencies to address the legacy of boarding schools and other culturally significant sites for the benefit of Native communities (see Figure 4). In the last decade, federal policy statements reiterating the US government’s trust responsibility to Tribes and Native Hawaiian Organizations has sparked conversation and new research in the fields of policy, planning, and historic preservation. This has encouraged the creation and implementation of updated best practices, stressing the importance of integrating Indigenous knowledge into land management efforts.

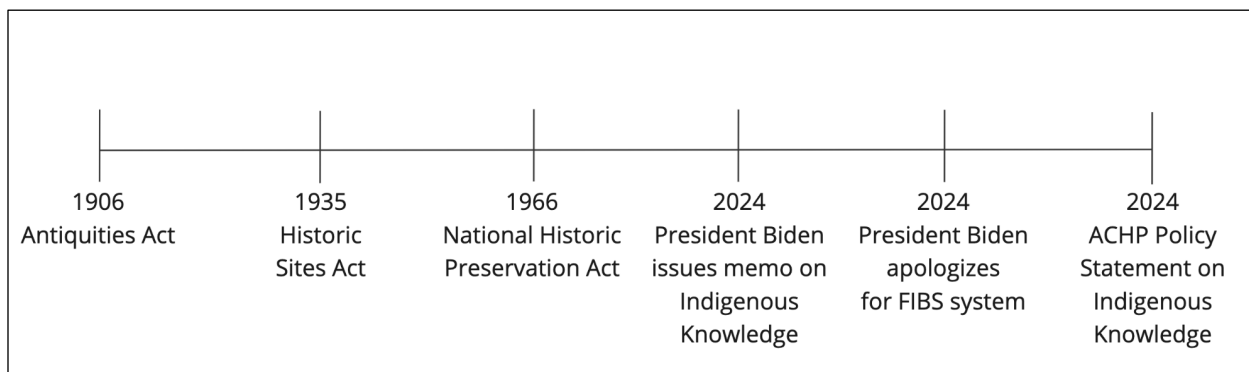


Figure 4: Historic Preservation Timeline of Policies

All of the early boarding schools in the FIBS system are included on the National Register of Historic Places including the Foreign Mission School, Lahainaluna Seminary, Hilo Boarding School, Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, Carlisle Indian Industrial School, Fort Simcoe Indian Boarding School, Chemawa Indian Training School, Chilocco Indian Agricultural School, and Haskell Indian Industrial Training School, but each hold a very different status in terms of their preservation. In

some cases, the missionaries' houses are the contributing structures to the designation, in others the school buildings themselves, and in the case of Carlisle, the Barracks are designated as a historic district. All have varying eligibility criteria, and none of the sites are named as Traditional Cultural Properties, places with "associations with the cultural practices, traditions, beliefs, lifeways, arts, crafts, or social institutions of a living community...important in maintaining the continuing cultural identity of the community" (National Park Service, 2012). All are various states of integrity: some demolished, some in benign neglect, and others well-preserved.

In terms of contemporary preservation practice, boarding schools in the FIBS system have taken on a variety of approaches including adaptive reuse, preserving buildings by transforming them into museums that tell the story of the history, and demolition of the buildings and reuse of the site as public space for recreation. Other sites sit in benign neglect because of lack of funding or lack of decision-making. Some remain the property of the US government while others have been transferred to Native communities to manage. Each site is vastly different and what is clear is that an overarching management and funding strategy developed by the US government and Native communities together is needed to guide and support a variety of viable options for next steps in preserving these places.

Preservation also has an opportunity to contribute to healing and reconciliation of the harms caused by the FIBS system within Native communities. When done using accurate documentation and inclusive processes, preservation has the potential to address open wounds and fill gaps in communities, easing them through decision-making regarding site management. The National Trust for Historic Preservation (NTHP) has published documentation regarding processing painful pasts through preservation efforts in African American communities to address the history of slavery in the US, citing the importance of holding histories and stories of trauma so that they are not forgotten and can be used as instruction for the future (National Trust for Historic Preservation, 2021). Through these efforts, places that hold painful pasts can be physically transformed while providing space for remembrance and

reflection. Honest acknowledgement – including the painful and traumatic histories – is a critical step in this process, opening the door to a more complete interpretation of these sites.

The NTHP operates several programs related to the preservation of relevant places including the 11 Most Endangered Historic Places list and the Sacred Places program, but none directly relate to FIBS (National Trust for Historic Preservation, n.d.). Most closely aligned is the Rosenwald Schools program, an effort to study, archive, and preserve the African American schools built by Booker T. Washington and Julius Rosenwald across the South in the early 20th-century (National Trust for Historic Preservation, 2024). Funded by the African American Cultural Heritage Action Fund through the National Trust, the program is in alignment with their other programs focusing on the preservation of African American heritage in the US (National Trust for Historic Preservation, 2025). Unfortunately, no such program exists to study, archive, and preserve FIBS schools or other traditional or sacred sites in Native communities, nor does a Native fund exist. Programs to preserve the FIBS history, sites, and buildings are necessary to advancing recovery, healing, and reconciliation.

Interpretive and Theoretical Frameworks

In this study, both an academic paradigm and Indigenous methodologies must be used together. While the policy design and implementation as well as the architectural design and construction were undertaken in the context of settler colonial political narratives and governance structures, it is important to remember that the land upon which these buildings were constructed, the identity of the students who occupied them, and the cultural values that the FIBS program intended to erase, were Native. This study is framed within an academic research tradition in which a guiding framework of ontology – what is real – and epistemology – how we know – come together to form a paradigm that guides researchers in making informed decisions about their process and insightful interpretations of their findings, deeming the research product meaningful. There is value in this paradigm as it creates a body of literature that is executed consistently, and thereby aids future researchers in comparing contributions to a field,

identifying gaps to be filled, and replicating study. However, when research utilizing this paradigm is applied to Indigenous subjects, topics, and fields of study, Indigenous approaches must also be considered and utilized so that knowledge, ways of knowing, and application can be shaped that are relevant to these communities.

The settler colonial paradigm through which Indian Law is constructed is imposed on the concept of Tribal sovereignty that has existed since time immemorial. Tribal sovereignty refers to the inherent right of Native communities as formed and identified internally to govern independently of an outside source of power to legitimize such governance (Canby, 2015). Within this context, Michel Foucault's power/knowledge theory is applied to the FIBS policy implementation analysis and Henri Lefebvre's production of space theory is applied to the architectural analysis in this study. Tribal governance aligns with the settler colonial imposition of "tribes" upon groups of people that shared a common language and/or resided on the same reservation for the efficiency of exerting control, granting the right to organize and adopt a constitution upon approval of the Secretary of the Interior (Indian Reorganization Act, 1934). Within this governance structure, Indigenous methodologies are introduced to ensure that the implications for historic preservation are analyzed according to the current political context. Together, an interpretive and theoretical model describes the approach used in this study which integrates both the academic paradigm and Indigenous methodologies (see Figure 5).

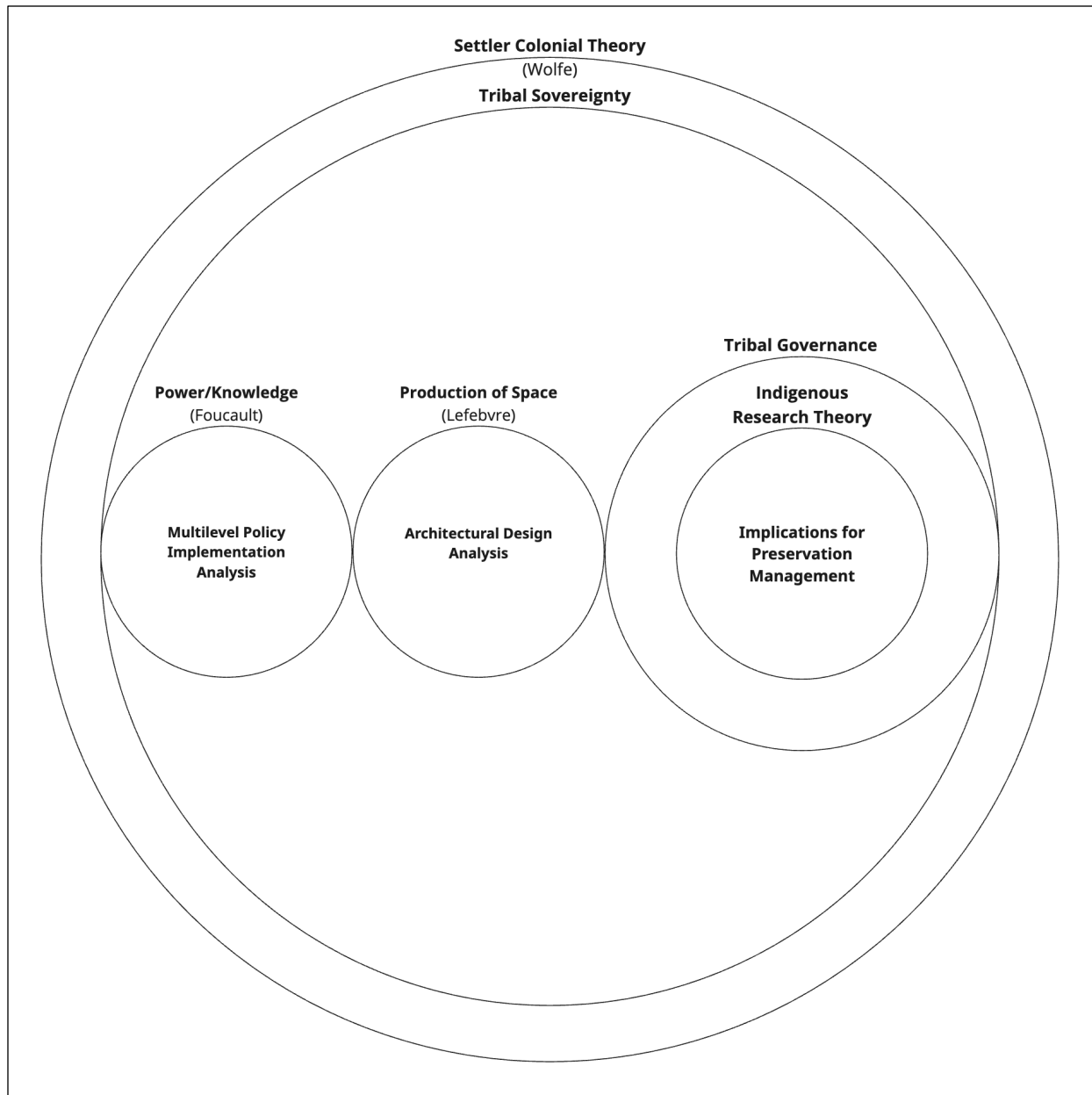


Figure 5: Interpretive and Theoretical Model

Settler Colonial Theory

In 2006, the Journal of Genocide Research published an article by Patrick Wolfe which outlines a theory of settler colonialism's relationship to genocide as a logic of elimination (Wolfe, 2006). In it, Wolfe posits that life and land are inherently linked as seen in the progression of US Indian Law and

policy, with territoriality as its foundational element. More so than just a matter of racial construct, settler colonialism's effect on Native people in the US has been as a tool of elimination, namely as Native people were ultimately, through federal policy, made to choose between removal from their land or assimilation, thus exercising an elimination strategy. Settler colonialism is beyond a racial construct and an organizational design; it is a structuring principle of societal change over time: genocide.

The logic of elimination is quite simple to track through Indian Law and policy: Native people were on the land, the government wanted the land, therefore Native people needed to be eliminated. Wolfe argues that they "were not killed, driven away, romanticized, assimilated, fenced in, bred White, and otherwise eliminated as the original owners of the land but as Indians... Where they are is who they are" (Wolfe, 2006, p. 388). Inherent in settler colonialism is the objective to stay, thus its aim is to destroy to replace as a structural organizing principle. Underpinning the logic of elimination in Indian Law is the basic belief that settler colonial society could use the land better than Native people, but the structural implementation was much more complex as documented in the policy implementation analysis to follow.

Though the Doctrine of Discovery was in full effect, treaties between the settler colonialists and Native people respected Tribal sovereignty in many regards because the relationships that existed between Native people and other European nations present in the US were valuable. When land as a commodity became limited after Western expansion, settler colonialists asserted their right of rule over the territory through "discovery." Native peoples' right of ownership was replaced by the right of occupancy, often tied to settler colonial forms of agriculture; they were allowed to stay if they extracted the land as settler colonists, but they had to give up their relationship to the land as Native people. This incongruence necessitated elimination of Native communities, but the right of pre-emption provided two strategic options to the US government in dealing with the "Indian Problem": removal or assimilation.

On the basis of discovery, pre-emption gave the settlers the opportunity to purchase land from Natives who were legally prevented from selling to any other European nation. Settlers "had no intention of allowing the formalities of federal law to impede their access to the riches available in, under, and on

Indian soil” (Wolfe, 2006, p. 391). In the Supreme Court case *Johnson v. McIntosh*, territory was determined to be consummated by possession, limiting the sale of Native land to private individuals and effectively rendering the treaty right of occupancy to merely an acknowledgement that held no legal standing in the face of settler dominion (Wolfe, 2006). With this undoing, settler colonialism gained the traction it needed to address the “Indian Problem” based on land claims upon which a complex policy implementation architecture was constructed to eliminate Native society.

Agriculture - labor on and of the land - plays an important role in settler colonial theory and is a consistent tool in the curriculum of the FIBS system; it is, as Wolfe describes sedentary and, therefore, permanent” (Wolfe, 2006, p. 395). Agriculture is large-scale in production and supports a large-scale population, a population that would need increasingly more land to survive. As this mode of production continued at scale, Native people faced a choice: be removed from the land or assimilate into settler colonial culture as civilized members of society. Many stayed behind, choosing to labor on the land and become “homesteaders and American citizens” (Wolfe, 2006, p. 397), much to the surprise of the US government. The crux, however, was that now that they were separated from their collective community, owning and working land individually, they no longer were considered Native. The logic of elimination was played strategically from both sides: removal eliminated relationality to place, and individual land ownership eliminated relationality to community. Through either strategy, Native society was eliminated. This strategy is replicated in the FIBS system.

Over the 50 years between the Civilization Fund Act in 1819 and Grant’s Peace Policy in 1869, US Indian Law changed rapidly; many treaties were created and revised, and implementation at the frontlines was inconsistent. Through it all, the expansion to the West continued until 1850 when the land was all but claimed and settled. The removal strategy had run its course and the US government next turned to new policies to achieve elimination: forced assimilation of those that remained through spatial containment. The justifications for assimilation included the often-expressed intention to destroy the community in whole (Hoxie, 1984). Thus, assimilation was not a parallel strategic option when

elimination was proven ineffective. Removal and assimilation were tools for elimination within the larger framework of settler colonialism which operated with the intent of genocide of Native communities by asserting control of the land. When Grant's Peace Policy authorized the creation of the FIBS system, assimilation was its implementation strategy.

Power/Knowledge Theory

Michel Foucault's theory of power/knowledge is rooted in the understanding that the "production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organized, and redistributed by a certain number of procedures whose role it is to ward off its powers and dangers, to gain mastery over its chance events, to evade its ponderous, formidable materiality" (Foucault, 1970). Through this, Foucault continues, the link between desire and power is revealed

There is nothing surprising about that, since, as psychoanalysis has shown, discourse is not simply about that which manifests (or hides) desire - it is also the object of desire; and since, as history constantly teaches us, discourse is not simply that which translates struggles of systems of domination, but is the thing for which and by which there is struggle, discourse is the power which is to be seized. (Foucault, 1970)

Discourse as a discipline of societal morality grounds, rationalizes, and justifies itself in a theory of wealth and production in which its construction and practice must be controlled.

In Foucault's theory of power/knowledge, discourse is controlled through a group of procedures, a matter of

determining the cognition of their application, of imposing a certain number of rules on the individuals who hold them, and thus of not permitting everyone to have access to them...none shall enter the order of discourse if he does not satisfy certain requirements or if he is not, from the outset, qualified to do so. (Foucault, 1970)

The application of the theory as a framework for analysis falls into two categories: 1) of a critical nature in which exclusion, limitation, and appropriation are realized in how they are formed as a response to which problems are addressed, how those problems are defined, by who, and for what purpose, and how they have been effectively used; and 2) of a genealogical nature which explores how discourses are formed within systems of constraints, their norms, and their conditions of appearance.

At its most basic, power and knowledge are inextricably linked: each is informed by and shapes the other, each is productive in that they create social norms and structures, and each makes use of the other to reproduce themselves according to their intentions. As a means of administrative logic in policy implementation, the theory is a tool to be employed to understand the relationality of power and education that must be carried out in a methodical process in a defined context. Power and knowledge are generated by the social structuring around

what governs statements, and the way in which they govern each other so as to constitute a set of propositions which are scientifically acceptable, and hence capable of being verified or falsified by scientific procedures. In short, there is a problem of the regime, the politics of the scientific statement. (Foucault, 1980, p. 112)

The pursuit of seeing truth – knowledge – is education, which is inherently a form of exercising power. However, the true-ness of knowledge, like the legitimacy of power, is constructed, and in this way, it is a form of governance. Related to architectures of implementation, this concept of structure then is

not a matter of locating everything on one level, that of the event, but of realizing that there are actually a whole order of levels of different types of events differing in amplitude, chronological breadth, and capacity to produce effects. The problem is at once to distinguish among events, to differentiate the networks and levels to which they belong, and to reconstitute the lines along which they are connected and engender one another. (Foucault, 1980, p. 114)

Applying this theory to both the architecture of the policy field and the physical architecture in the FIBS system, the individual mechanisms of power and knowledge must be identified and analyzed within the dense web of relationships as that is where power is exercised in practice toward intent. It is not enough to apply a historical lens to understanding the individual subjects as a phenomenon, rather true understanding of the structural system must come from

arriv[ing] at an analysis which can account for the constitution of the subject within a historical framework... [a] genealogy, that is, a form of history which can account for the constitution of knowledges, discourses, domains of objects etc., without having to make reference to a subject which is either transcendental in relation to the field of events or runs in its empty sameness throughout the course of history. (Foucault, 1970)

In analyzing the multiple levels constructed in the policy implementation field, questions about intention and administrative logic can be explored. In the case of the FIBS system, power, education, surveillance, normalization, control, and punishment can be examined in the context of the settler colonial environment: the US government. The identification of the “Indian Problem” as defined by the US and the passage of legislation and design of policies that followed as solutions, was dependent on the organizational structure as a network of relationships of power that took into consideration cultural relations of individual bodies, families in community, connection to land, and knowledge as intellect.

Foucault continues, “a new technology of the exercise of power also emerged which was probably even more important than the constitutional reforms and new forms of government established at the end of the eighteenth century” (Foucault, 1980, p. 124). In the implementation of the FIBS program, power takes the form of social production and service. Bodies, stripped of their identities as members of a community, became vehicles of production that needed to be taught how to labor to produce a service to settler colonial society. “Hence the significance of methods like school discipline...succeeded in making children's bodies the object of highly complex systems of manipulation and conditioning” (Foucault, 1980, p. 125). Education as knowledge production was used as a strategy for

assimilation in the FIBS program to control Native populations by removing Native children from their communities, controlling them, and assimilating them into settler colonial society. It becomes necessary to analyze the FIBS program as the proposed solution to the “Indian Problem” within the policy field that was constructed to implement it in terms of truth and power, and through this, the division between intellectual and manual labor can be explored through the strategy of controlled space.

In exploring controlled space, Foucault identifies two categories of spatial classification: 1) removal through the means of exclusion, and 2) assimilation through the discipline of education. Architectural design employs an exclusion strategy in both removal from the collective community in which individuals are valued members and in assimilation into a new community in which the individual is eliminated. The mechanism of power is controlled space: internment, separation, partitioning, confinement, invisibility, surveillance, discipline, and education all working in concert to produce a perfectly governed system. “He who is subjected to a field of visibility, and who knows it, assumes responsibility for the constraints of power; he makes them plan spontaneously upon himself; he inscribes in himself the power relation in which he simultaneously plays both roles; he becomes the principle of his own subjection” (Foucault, 1970). Foucault’s research explores the ideal design of a prison, but in reality, the theory was applied in various architectural forms including the hospital, the asylum, the labor camp, and the school.

The category of assimilation is further explored through Jeremy Bentham’s architectural design of the Panopticon in 1791, a circular prison in which the cells were arranged around a centralized tower where the watchguard was stationed unseen, subjecting the prisoners to the ever-present possibility of surveillance (see Figure 6). The purpose was

to induce in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power. So to arrange things that the surveillance is permanent in its effects, even if it is discontinuous in its action; that the perfection of power should tend to render its actual exercise unnecessary; that this architectural apparatus should be a machine for creating and

sustaining a power relation independent of the person who exercises it; in short, that the inmates should be caught up in a power situation of which they are themselves the bearers. (Foucault et al., 2020, p. 456)

The power in the Panopticon's design was not that all prisoners were constantly watched, but that they could be watched at any time. Prisoners learned to surveil themselves according to the norms and regulations of the system, the learned behavior of becoming a subject of another's control, assimilated into the whole.

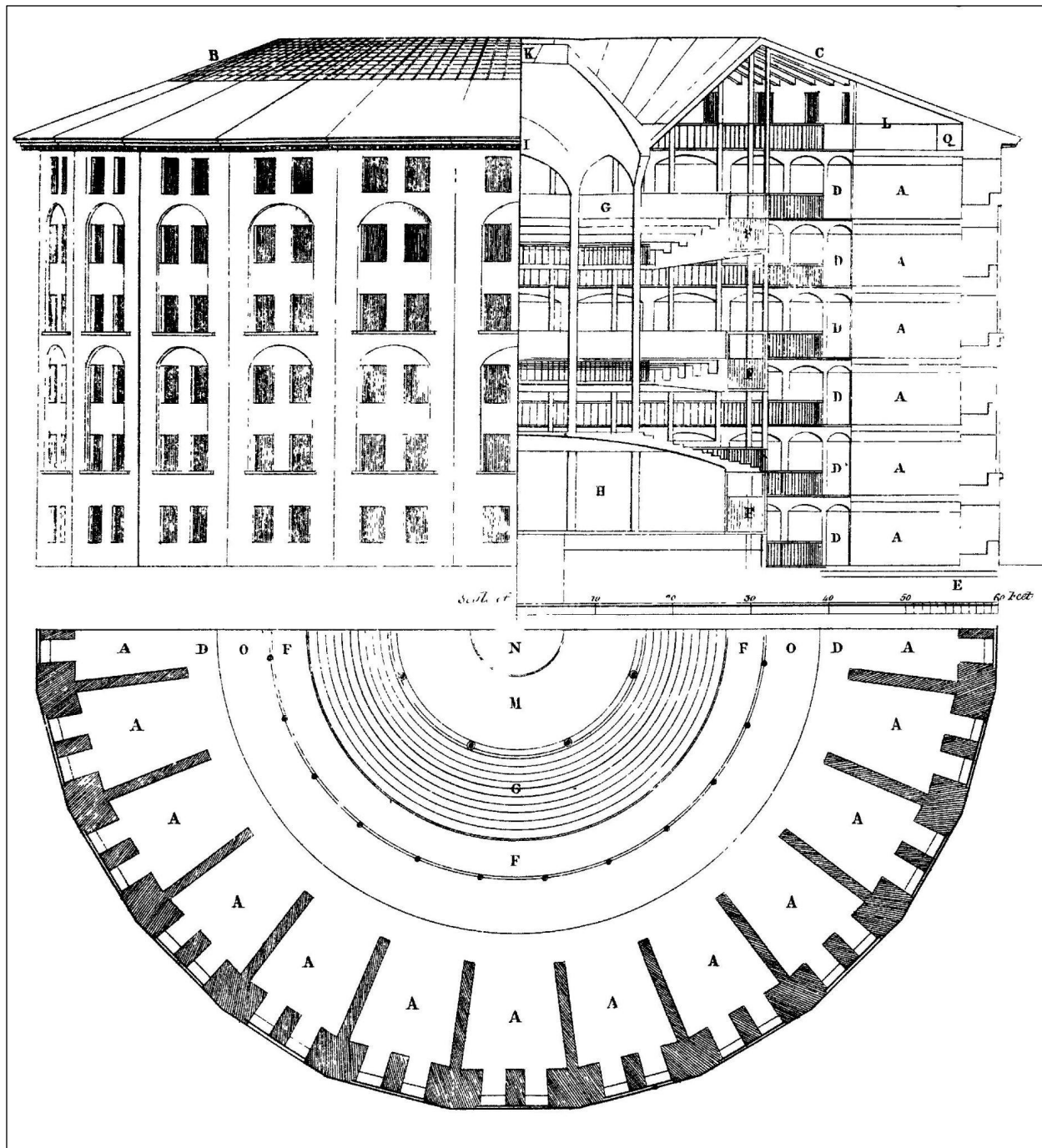


Figure 6: Panopticon (Bentham, 1838-1843)

The architecture of implementation uses power as a mechanism, a principle of construction that produces the relationships between individuals in a larger system that anyone can operate. Foucault's

study of the Panopticon finds that this scale of subjugation only needs clear separations and well-arranged openings for its design principles to be applied to other ideas.

The Panopticon was also a laboratory; it could be used as a machine to carry out experiments, to alter behavior, to train or correct individuals. To experiment with medicines and monitor their effects. To try out different punishments on prisoners, according to their crimes and character, and to seek the most effective ones. To teach different techniques simultaneously to the workers, to decide which is the best. To try out pedagogical experiments – and in particular to take up once again the well-debated problem of secluded education, by using orphans. (Foucault et al., 2020, p. 458)

According to Bentham, as a discipline, “it is a way of obtaining from power in hitherto unexampled quantity, a great and new instrument of government...; its great excellence consists in the great strength it is capable of giving to any institution it may be thought proper to apply it to” (Bentham, 1838-1843). The panoptic schematic teaches us about the distribution of individuals in space, of structural organization, of networks of power, and of modes of intervention, which can be implemented anywhere that a particular behavior is intended to be imposed.

Production of Space Theory

Henri Lefebvre’s theory around the production of space has important applications in understanding how space is controlled and used to control. In the case of FIBS, the application of this theory in the analysis of space can be extrapolated using the term production to refer to the design, shaping, and manufacture of students as products. “As for the question of who does the producing, and how they do it, the more restricted the notion becomes the less it connotes creativity, inventiveness or imagination; rather, it tends to refer solely to labor” (Lefebvre, 1974, p. 69). The concept of space is not a thing in and of itself, rather it encompasses the order and disorder of all relationships held within and is

the outcome of a design process through which those relationships interact. The production of space theory positions space as a social product, a complex construction which affects both how a space is perceived and the discourse of that space.

Production of space explores the relationship between production and product as the labor that is needed to produce something through a design process and its eventual outcome, which is reproducible and replaceable. The concept becomes concrete in asking questions about produced space such as 'Who produces?', 'What?', 'How?', 'Why and for whom?' Production “organizes a sequence of actions” such as resources and tools “with a certain objective in view...by means of intellectual activity, between the component elements of the action undertaken on the physical plane” (Lefebvre, 1974, p. 71).

Space, however, is not the outcome of human action or labor, it is the source of the activity itself which is enacted by the actors in a system who “use their hands and tools [and] who adjust and combine their gestures and direct their energies as a function of specific tasks” (Lefebvre, 1974, p. 72). Lefebvre defines this as a social space, the embodiment of the relationship between how space is planned and strategized, how it is perceived by the actors in a system, and what actions are taken within it. Given this triad of relationships, social space includes both the tangible and intangible outcomes of a design process that holds a robust diversity and depth of knowledge from the web of relationships that inform it (see Figure 7).

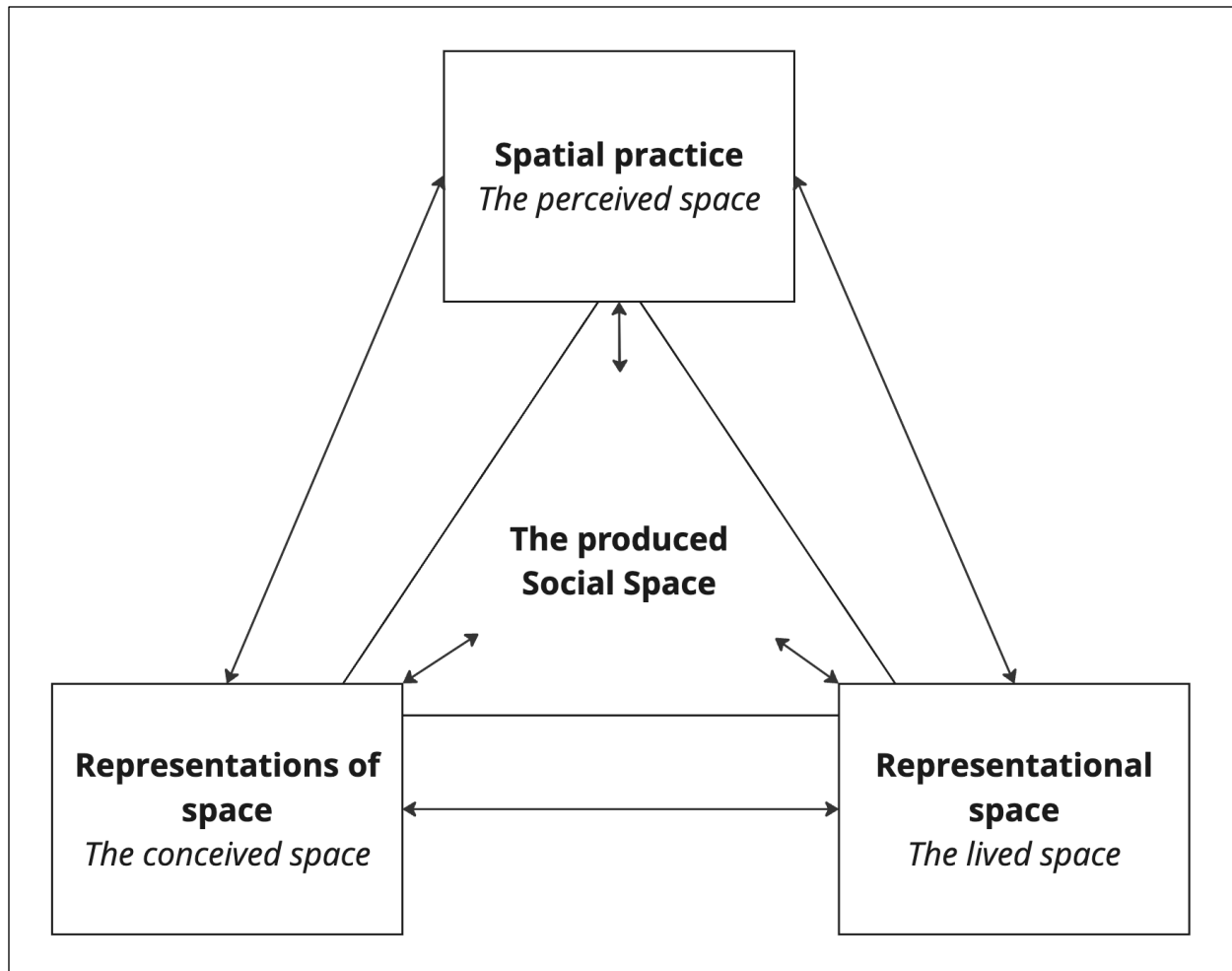


Figure 7: Triad of Space

Social space can be reproduced and replicated by the interactions of social, economic, and political forces (Lefebvre, 1974). The production of space theory describes a model of spatial practice, representational space, and representations of space influencing the social space that is produced. This is an unnatural complex web driven by social relationships, power dynamics, and ingrained processes. Social space is dynamic and shaped by human agency. It is informed by the design and implementation of its strategic construction, the perceptions of the actors operating within and on the space, and the ways in which the space is experienced.

By understanding the components involved in producing social space, it is easy to reproduce space used to control by using similar conditions, thus creating a machine-like assembly line of products, or in the case of the FIBS system, students. Students produced by this system of controlled space are objects which also have a relationship with each other as subjects of the same formal order. The complexity of these relationships and interactions are strategic inputs:

The state and each of its constituent institutions call for spaces – but spaces which they can then organize according to their specific requirements; so there is no sense in which space can be treated solely as an a priori condition of these institutions and the state which presides over them... Thus this means of production, produced as such, cannot be separated either from the productive forces, including technology and knowledge, or from the social division of labor which shapes it, or from the state and the superstructures of society. (Lefebvre, 1974, p. 85)

The concept of social space becomes broader as it is applied to a growing system. In analyzing individual units of reproduced and replicated social spaces within a large system, “a unity transpires between levels which analysis often keeps separate from one another: the forces of production and their component elements (nature, labor, technology, knowledge); structures (property relations); superstructures (institutions and the state itself).” It is therefore critical to analyze these units – in this case boarding schools sites – as related to the larger social, economic, and political forces acting upon and through them.

As it relates to the historic nature of the sites and buildings constructed in the FIBS system, in order to account for, examine, and manage, preservationists must view social space as that designed and constructed to be real by virtue of networks of relationships.

Social spaces interpenetrate one another and superimpose themselves upon one another. They are not things, which have mutually limiting boundaries and which collide because of their contours or as a result of inertia. Visible boundaries, such as walls or enclosures in general, give rise for

their part to an appearance of separation between spaces where in fact what exists is an ambiguous continuity. (Lefebvre, 1974, pp. 86-87)

Because of this, analysis meant to uncover the social relationships within a system should not focus on the products in and of a space as an individual part in isolation, but rather on the whole system of components bound together by links and connections in space produced over time.

According to Lefebvre, social space is not a frame through which to view an action, nor is it a container in which to hold products. It is a construct that consists of form, structure, and function through a logic model or operational sequence. In the FIBS system, this logic model can be applied to the analysis of the built environment of boarding school sites to understand the administrative logic – the implementation strategy – of the larger program.

It may be said of this space that it presupposes and implies a logic of visualization. Whenever a logic governs an operational sequence, a strategy, whether conscious or unconscious, is necessarily involved. So, if there is a logic of visualization here, we need to understand how it is formed and how applied. (Lefebvre, 1974, p. 98)

In analyzing space, a main concern is taking into consideration its long history as a set of relationships and forms. The outcomes of produced space can be studied for clues into its logic of production, but historical narratives can be clouded by time. Archival research is a necessary method to reconstruct the implementation architecture in the policy field, but because of the distance to the subject over time, other methods such as interviews with experts and ground-truthing become necessary complements.

Productive operations tend in the main to cover their tracks; some even have this as their prime goal: polishing, staining, facing, plastering, and so on. When construction is completed, the scaffolding is taken down [and products] are further characterized by their tendency to detach themselves from productive labor. So much so, in fact, that productive labor is sometimes forgotten altogether. (Lefebvre, 1974, p. 113)

While much of the physical architecture across the FIBS system has been demolished, the remaining buildings and the archived blueprints bear traces of the system's administrative logic which makes it possible for researchers to reconstruct its operational strategy through the analysis of form, structure, and function of social space. Lefebvre's theory of production of space notes simply, "There is a politics of space because space is political" (Lefebvre, 2009, p. 33). Social space is not an object to be studied individually and outside of its context, but an interrelated web of politics and strategic operations, a force of production, and importantly, reproduction.

Indigenous Research Theory

Though Indigenous research theory is emergent in academic settings, it is deeply rooted in historical relationships to place since time immemorial and has evolved and been iterated on over time to continue to be applicable to contemporary society. Given the political history of the US government's legal and administrative frameworks in relationships with Native communities, using an Indigenous-informed theoretical lens in addition to settler colonial theoretical frameworks to explore best practices and generate recommendations for preservation of traditional cultural properties and historic sites is essential. This notion of dual epistemologies is referred to as two-eyed seeing

learning to see from one eye with the strengths of Indigenous knowledges and ways of knowing, and from the other eye with the strengths of mainstream knowledges and ways of knowing, and to use both these eyes together, for the benefit of all. (Bartlett et al., 2012, p. 335)

In addition to the theoretical frameworks above used to interpret the administrative logic of the FIBS program as well as the architectural analysis of the built environment, several contemporary Indigenous scholars' frameworks are used to inform viable historic preservation options for the system's tangible and intangible remnants. These interpretive lenses emphasize relationality with the land, community-led engagement approaches, and principles of respect, reciprocity, relevance, and responsibility, which are

central to understanding Indigenous paradigms and therefore informing Indigenous research methods and pedagogical practices for the benefit of Indigenous communities.

Shawn Wilson developed an Indigenous research paradigm based on the concept of relationality – of research as ceremony – as a means of raising our collective consciousness. Wilson uses the form of the circle to indicate the interrelatedness of the elements of a research paradigm: ontology, epistemology, methodology, and axiology (see Figure 8).

Putting ideas in a circle or wheel indicates that they are interrelated and that each blends into the next. It also implies that the ideas flow from one to the next in a cyclical fashion. A change in one affects the others, which in turn affects a new change in the original. All parts of the circle are equal; no part can claim superiority over, or even exist without, the rest of the circle. (Wilson, 2008, p. 70).

Thus, the full circle is a research paradigm, greater than the sum of its parts, which is inherently an Indigenous way of thinking, being, and doing. Ontology and epistemology inform reality, and methodology and axiology inform accountability. In one word, an Indigenous research paradigm is relationality.



Figure 8: Indigenous Research Paradigm (Wilson, 2008, p. 70)

Linda Tuhiwai Smith describes an Indigenous research agenda as a process for action which “connects local, regional, and global efforts which are moving toward the ideal of a self-determining Indigenous world” (Tuhiwai Smith, 2021, p. 120). Though it may not yet be understood how this framework will relate to the current settler colonial organizing structures of governance, Smith developed this approach within the ongoing movement toward decolonizing methodologies, decolonizing research,

and further decolonizing Indigenous people (see Figure 9). The agenda's strategic goal is self-determination of Indigenous people through the critical processes of transformation, decolonization, healing, and mobilization using the metaphor of ocean tides – the sea as life. These processes connect to and through each other as guides to methodologies and practices. The tides move gently inward toward self-determination through survival to recovery to development. They are not linear, rather conditions and states of being that are prioritized strategically. Overall, the agenda is rooted in social responsibility for the benefit of Indigenous people.

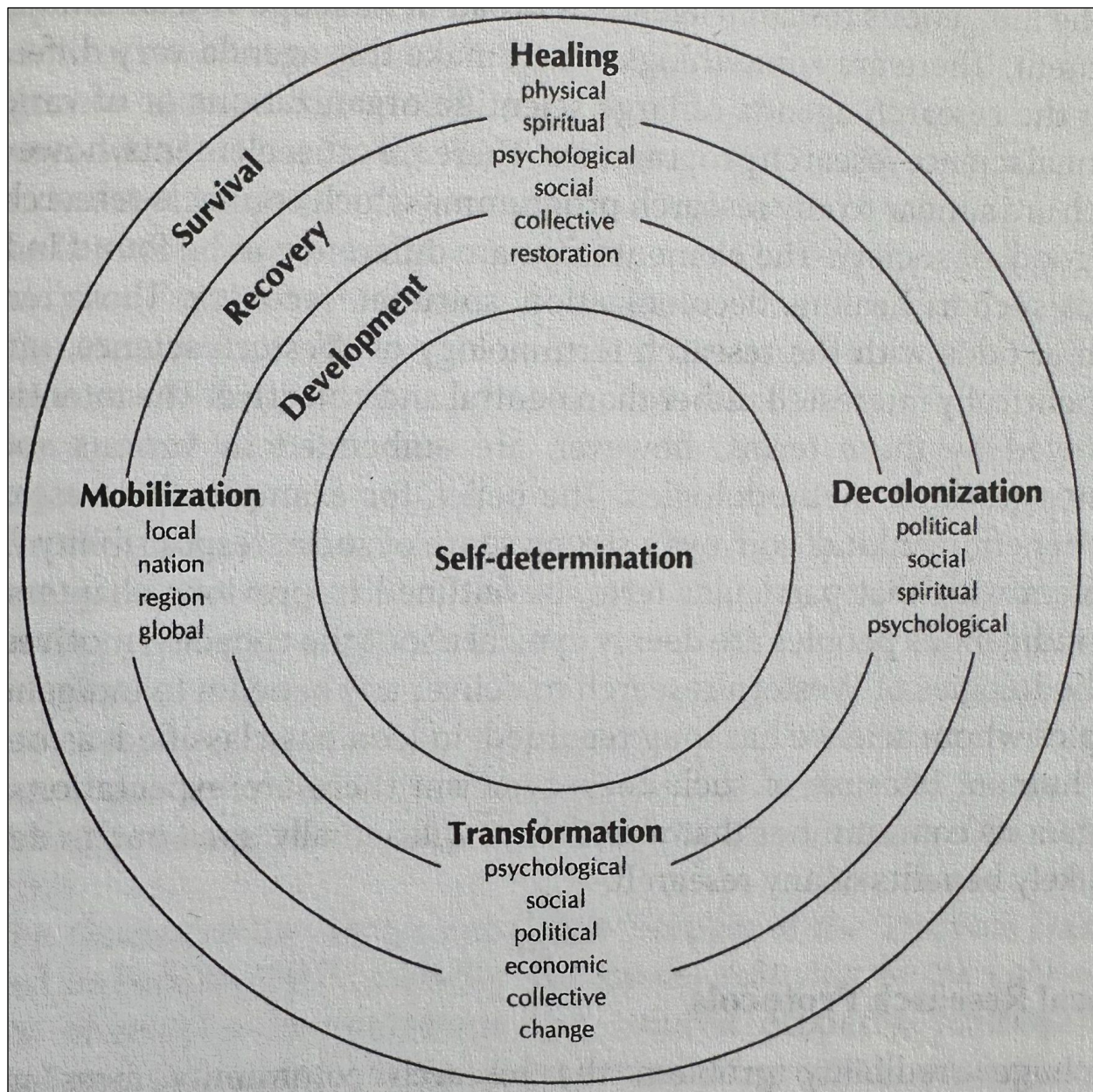


Figure 9: Indigenous Research Agenda (Tuhiwai Smith, 2012, p. 121)

Lori Lambert's spider web conceptual model describes 10 principles for undertaking research with Indigenous communities, with themes that weave through, inform each other, and serve as a foundation for engagement with both Native and non-Native communities (see Figure 10). Through

Indigenous stories, Lambert illustrates this conceptual framework as winding and fluid, using the learning from conversations to inform the following themes (Lambert, 2014):

- Theme 1: Perception that historical trauma is the major cause of mental health issues in Aboriginal communities.
- Theme 2: The researcher needs to respect and understand the culture of the community.
- Theme 3: The researcher must contribute to community empowerment and self-determination.
- Theme 4: The research data should contribute to the community survival and recovery.
- Theme 5: The research must focus on community interest and need.
- Theme 6: The community must be in collaboration and give permission for the research to be done.
- Theme 7: The researcher should be required to do the work with an understanding of the community's epistemology and ontology.
- Theme 8: The community must own the data.
- Theme 9: The researcher must disseminate the data in ways that the community can understand.
- Theme 10: The integrity of the story and the storyteller or the informant are keys to knowledge.

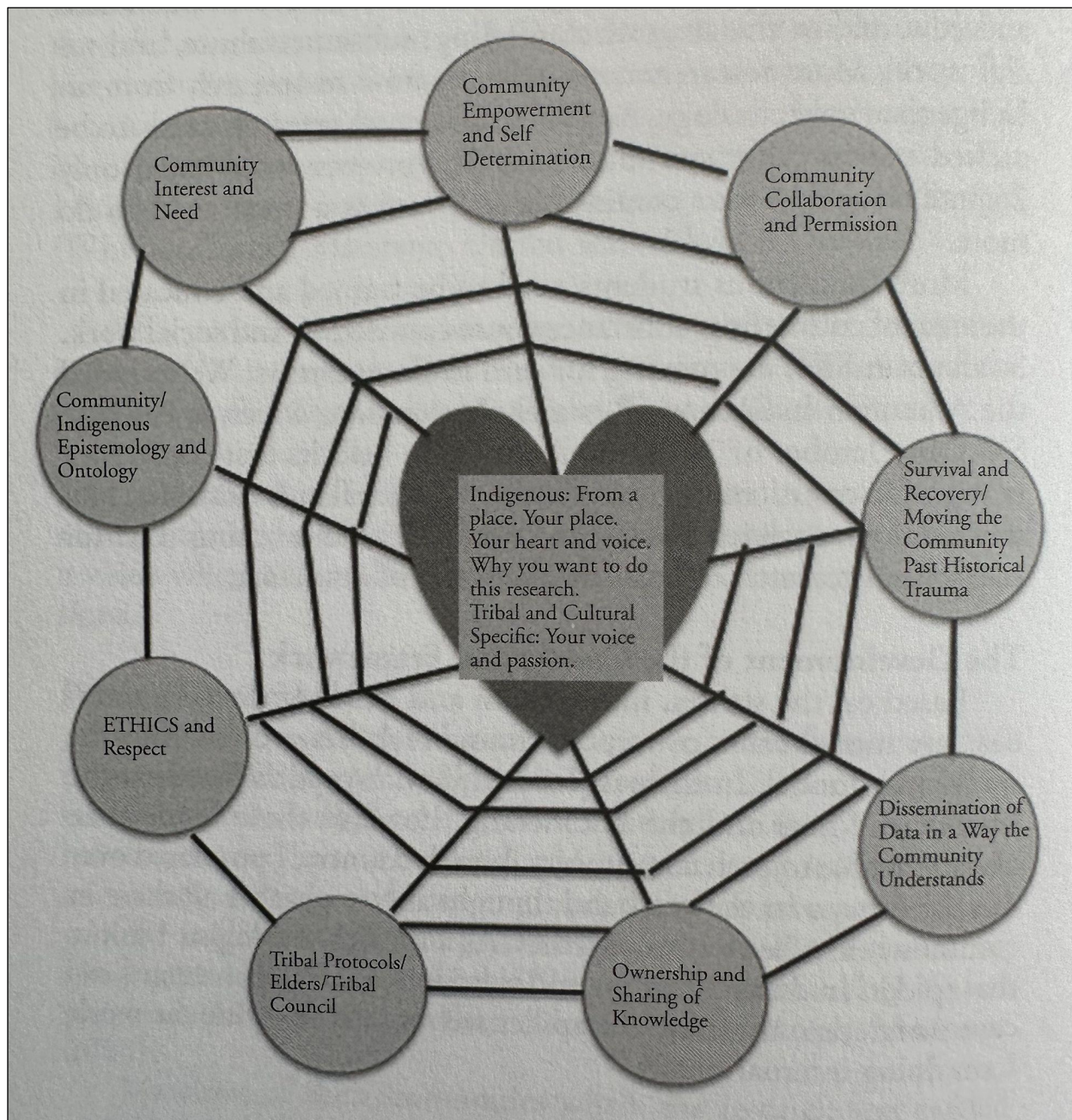


Figure 10: Spider Web Conceptual Model (Lambert, 2014, p. 220)

Tsianina Lomawaima recalls Vine Deloria in the construction of an approach to Indigenous methodology guided by the relationship between thinking, feeling, and doing

“We are all relatives” when taken as a methodological tool for obtaining knowledge means that we observe the natural world by looking for relationships between various things in it...This concept is simply the relativity concept as applied to a universe that people experience as alive and not as dead or inert. (Deloria, 1999, p. 34)

In an Indigenous perspective, the environment is alive and therefore affects every other living thing. Lomawaima’s approach is a principle of relativity through thinking of stories as relationships that define nature and how cultures understand the world around them; through feeling of emotions as connection between scholars, subjects, and communities of kinship; and through doing as the responsibility of choice around what historical materials to use when there is no expressed intent or consent (Lomawaima, 2017). This approach of mind, heart, and hands, guides the doing of Indigenous research.

Margaret Kovach frames an Indigenous conceptual framework with guidance for theory and practice

Our culture, family, kin, kith, and community wait for us...we have the right to know what we are and that this right involves responsibilities. But there are people to help us out. We are not alone...Start where you are; it will take you where you need to go. (Kovach, 2021, p. 10)

Kovach maps the phenomenon’s relationship as research being the input and policy and practice being the output: research creates policy that generates programs that guide practice, therefore methodology influences research in critical ways in terms of the interpretation of results and implementation recommendations made (Kovach, 2021). Thus, Kovach’s four foundations of an Indigenous conceptual framework grounds research design including Indigenous epistemology, Indigenous ethics, Indigenous community, and the experience of the self as researcher (see Figure 11). These four interdependent parts are interwoven in all action; the framework is the whole, not any of the individual parts. Related to Lomawaima’s principle of relativity, all elements of the environment are important and affect the others, and all must be considered in the application of the framework in practice.



Figure 11: Four Foundations of an Indigenous Conceptual Framework (Kovach, 2021, p. 47)

Further, Kovach offers a thematic analysis strategy for Indigenous methodologies, a cyclical process of sensemaking that includes: a priori framing, establishing key touchstones for theoretical framing; first level analysis, reviewing data with these touchstones in mind to understand ‘what is’; relational analysis, second level analysis where relationships between data sets are observed and established and emerging patterns between findings are noted; intentional interpretation, patterns are reviewed in light of the key touchstones, a pause is taken to connect, return to the teachings, and allow for intuition and Indigenous consciousness and Indigenous thinking to emerge and take root; arriving at themes, patterns are reviewed again for central themes to be presented as findings that serve the community at the center of the research; value “Coyote Codes”, outliers in the data which give significant insight that must be included or recognized (see Figure 12) (Kovach, 2021).

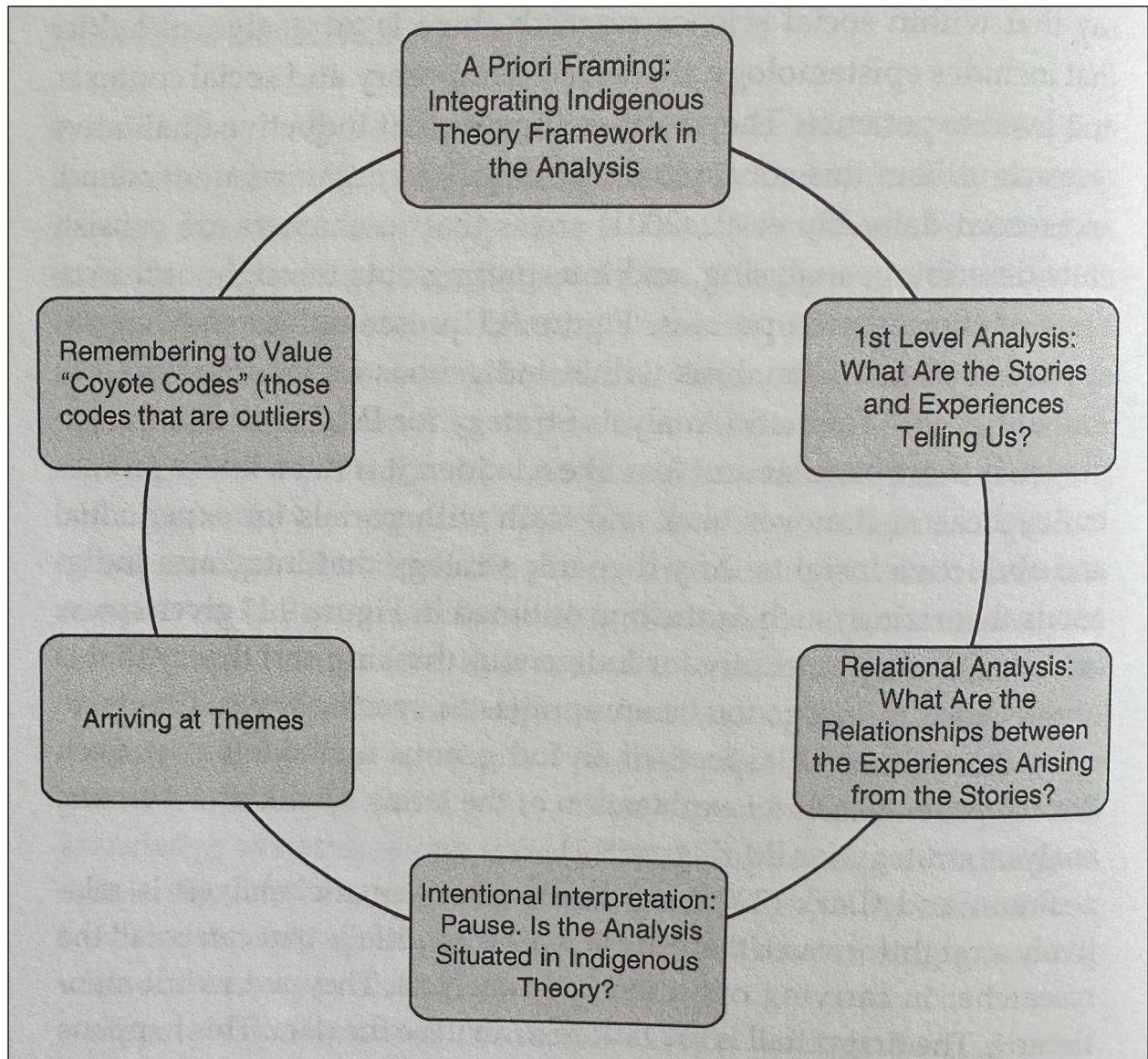


Figure 12: Thematic Analysis Strategy (Kovach, 2021, p. 208)

This literature review was conducted which included relevant legislation in Indian Law related to the FIBS program between 1819-1887, historical accounts of the early history and organizational construction of the FIBS program, an overview of the preservation history of other school systems, and theoretical underpinnings for the analysis of the policies, sites, and implications. This study uses a multilevel interpretive and theoretical framework to communicate the complexity of the context the inquiry examines. An academic research design approach defines the paradigm through which to explore

what is real and how we know it to be true. Following this guiding framework produces a consistent analysis that can contribute to a larger body of literature which can be easily compared and utilized to assess the field.

This approach is not fully sufficient, however, when the inquiry involves Indigenous subjects and topic areas because the identification of truth and ways of knowing are understood differently in these cultures. Therefore, this study uses the academic paradigm to analyze both the policy design and implementation as well as the architectural design, and uses contemporary Indigenous methodologies to shape the findings and recommendations regarding application to the current historic preservation context. Utilized together, a more holistic view of the implementation architecture and viable options for improvement to the current system can be identified and applied.

Together, these interpretive and theoretical frameworks are used to analyze the policy implementation and architectural design to produce viable contemporary preservation options for the FIBS sites and buildings. First, Foucault's power/knowledge theory is applied to the FIBS multilevel policy implementation analysis to underscore how discourse is controlled in the implementation architecture in the policy field by controlling space. Then, Lefebvre's production of space theory is used in the architectural analysis to identify the relationships and dynamics within controlled space. Finally, Indigenous research theory is used to ground the theory in contemporary application so that practitioners can use recommendations for best practices and next steps.

METHODOLOGY

It is essential to understand the intent of the Federal Indian Boarding School (FIBS) policies grounded in the historical context to analyze the implementation strategy and implications for use in future decision-making. Policy implementation creates public value, therefore, understanding the administrative logic of the policy helps to inform viable historic preservation options for the remnants of the built environment. Mixed methods including policy implementation analysis, archival research, a case study approach, and semi-structured interviews are used to explore the context that actors operated within to construct the implementation architecture of the boarding school system.

Research Process

A theoretical interpretive framework (see Figure 5) is created to guide the research design and practice. As an overarching frame, settler colonial theory outlines a logic of elimination documented in the progression of Indian Law related to the nature of place as a connection between life and land. Tribal sovereignty as a frame is used for the purpose of documenting the relationship of Native people to place through which the multilevel policy implementation analysis and the architectural analysis are conducted. Foucault's power/knowledge theory is applied to the FIBS policy analysis to examine how discourse is controlled by controlling space and Lefebvre's production of space theory is used to evaluate the relationships and dynamics within that controlled space. Tribal governance as a frame is used for the purpose of documenting the settler colonialists' transactional use of land as commodity rather than the Native perspective of relationship to land through which the implications for preservation management are analyzed. Indigenous research theory is used to ground the preservation approaches in contemporary application so that practitioners can use the findings as recommendations for next steps.

A mixed methods approach is used to answer the research questions in a three-phase approach including policy implementation analyses on the FIBS policies and the historic preservation legislation as

well as an archival architectural analysis including a case study. Multilevel policy implementation analyses are conducted on the relevant policies in the FIBS system and in historic preservation, studying the policy fields, organizational levels, and frontline levels to uncover the intent and desired implementation results and outcomes. Archival documents and records in local, state, and federal archives, organizational archives, web-based documents, and historical databases are explored. A case study approach is taken to analyze the architectural plans for spatial identifiers consistent across several sites, which are confirmed by site visits. In addition, semi-structured interviews are conducted with historians, academics, preservation professionals, and practitioners with relevant knowledge of the topic areas. These conversations are used as a source of contextual information.

Archival research is a preferred method in this context given the sensitivity of the topic as to not disrupt or create additional trauma in the retelling of stories associated with experiences of students in the boarding schools. Before the research began, sample policies, architectural site plans, and historic preservation recommendations were tested to determine whether this research approach was feasible within the resource constraints of this study. Only after determining feasibility was data collected, processed, analyzed, and reported. Two sites were visited as an exploratory approach in describing the phenomenon. At these site visits, photos were taken systematically to create a documentation inventory, which is used to cross-reference observations with archival materials as ground-truthing for the case study. This approach supports the research of real events that relate to the built environment within a specific place to gain a holistic and meaningful in-depth understanding of the phenomenon.

Multilevel Policy Implementation Analyses

At its most basic, public policy is the process through which the government solves problems. Therefore, implementation analyses are useful when examining questions pertaining to the problems for which this policy solution was the answer and identifying what other narratives existed about the problem. Analysis in this method explores who is identifying the problem, how their values shape the

problem definition, and allow for multiple lenses of understanding - dual epistemologies - that may or may not align, as in the case of this study, revealing the nature of the complexity of the topic area.

This multilevel approach integrates the field that was constructed for policy implementation, the organizations that acted as intermediaries between the enabling legislation and the frontlines, and the frontline interactions with the target population (see Figure 13) (Sandfort & Moulton, 2015). All three levels must be analyzed for accountabilities and funding streams to determine power and influence, thereby constructing a network – an architecture of implementation – for how the policy is delivered. This method of institutional analysis reveals how the system learns, innovates, and adapts. Within each level, influences and accountabilities affect culture in the form of norms and beliefs, and political and economic authority in the form of laws and the market.

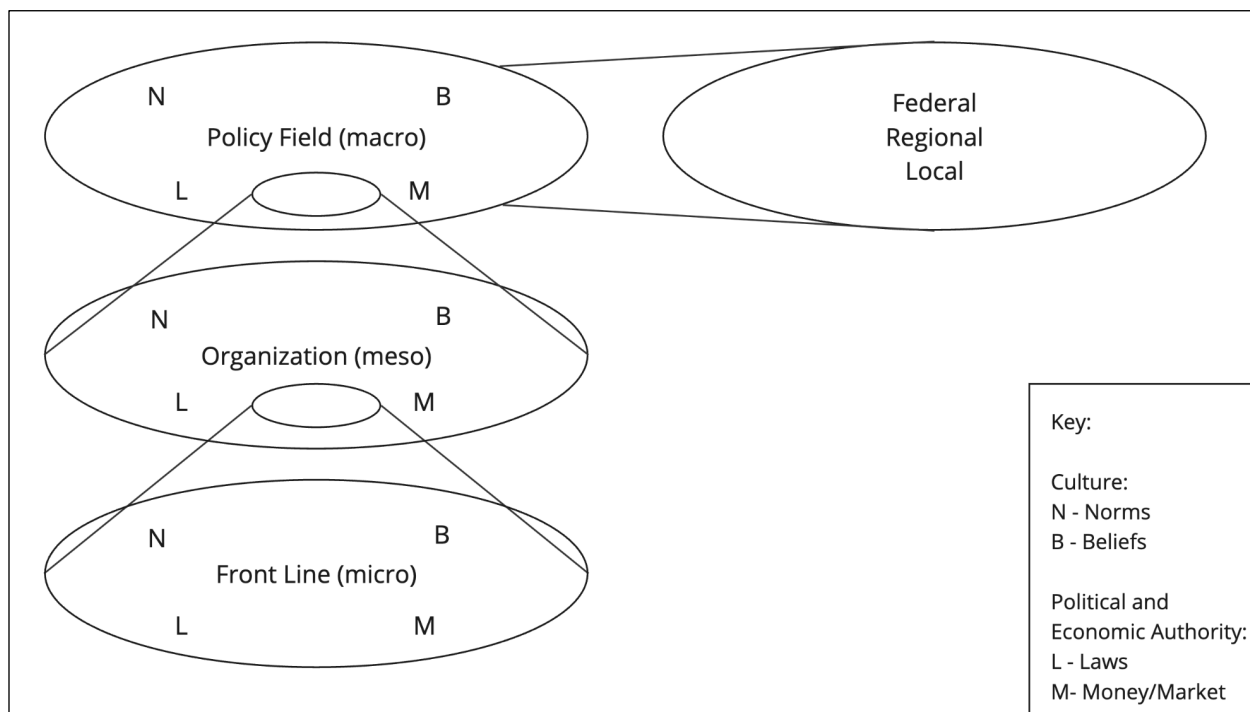


Figure 13: Multilevel Policy Implementation Analysis Diagram

The analyses are conducted on the FIBS policies – the Civilization Fund Act, Indian Removal Act, Indian Appropriations Act, Peace Policy, and Dawes Severalty Act – as well as National Historic Preservation Act to better understand the context in which both the FIBS system and the historic preservation field were constructed. First, the policies are selected to gain clarity in the implementation system, the policies' origins and prevalence are introduced, intended results and outcomes are articulated, geographic bounds are defined, and research into archival documents and records is undertaken.

Next, analyses on the policy fields are conducted, describing the structure and operation at this implementation level. The analyses include investigation into how the program technology is described, indicating who is involved in implementation and what their roles are, identifying policy tools and implementation resources, and creating Policy Field Maps to illustrate important relationships regarding influence, accountability, and funding. Interviews are conducted with key informants well-versed in the policy fields.

Then, analyses on the organizational level are conducted, describing how the policies are integrated within the existing organizational processes given priorities in both the authorizing organizations and the primary service organizations. The analyses also describe the creation of the program technology at the service organizations. Desired results from organizational actors are identified and performance criteria explored to understand accountabilities and discretion. Administrative burden and evidence of co-production are investigated. A Program Process Flow is conducted to understand integration of the policies and identify gaps.

Following this, analyses on the frontline level are conducted, describing the frontlines of the service organizations in their delivery of the policies to the target populations including identifying tasks, roles, levels of discretion, and identity of staff. These analyses investigate key implementation issues and inform potential improvements to system operation changes to improve process quality results and ultimate outcomes of policy implementation.

Archival Research, Site Visits, and Interviews

To inform the case study of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, archival research, site visits, and interviews are conducted to analyze the architectural design of the site and the buildings. Buildings are arranged for analysis by several categories related to the spatial strategy employed in the architectural design through which space was controlled including monumental structures, structures with highly organized and contained rooms by activity, structures and spaces for vocational and labor training, and boundaries of demarcation of outdoor space. Through these categories, the arrangement of space is analyzed and compared across sites.

Archival architectural research is used to explore the documentation of the physical structure that was built to house the FIBS program. Special collections archives in local, state, and federal institutions are accessed to find architectural plans and policy documents related to the design of the built environment. The United States government action is well-documented, therefore only a limited number of the significant quantity of documents in the archives are reviewed given the resource constraints of this study.

Site visits are an integral part of the architectural analysis. Walking the grounds of Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute and Carlisle Indian Industrial School allows for a deeper understanding of the sites, and a relationship between the researcher and the places of study to form which would have been impossible through archival research alone. Photographs and journaling are systematically conducted to document the experience of being at the site. While the buildings are closed and entry restricted at both sites, systematic evaluation of the sites' spatial arrangements is documented and compared to historical maps for analysis.

In both site visits, the experiences were undertaken without prior analysis or in-depth review of the architecture. In this way, the site visits were used to experience the place as a newcomer, with as few pre-suppositions as possible. Of course, as a researcher from a community directly affected by the FIBS

system, there is some bias and pre-conceived relationship to boarding school sites that cannot be fully mitigated. Given this, a route was chosen to walk before arrival so that systematic capture and experience of place could be documented, and so that the psychological effects of the sites could be experienced and recorded. In this way, the site visits were used to corroborate and ground truth the analysis.

Many semi-structured interviews are conducted with key informants over the course of the data collection period including historians, academics, preservation professionals, and practitioners with experience in the time period, literature, topic areas, and processes. These conversations are winding; holding an Indigenous approach to data collection is prioritized, allowing the learning to be what is, rather than strictly following the planned approach. While interviews begin in the formal topic areas related to the research questions of this study, often more personal and identity-based conversations emerge. Because of this, relationships between the researcher and the interviewees are formed and deepened, with intentions from all to talk again in the future. The content emerging from these conversations inform the larger context of the study, including the framing, areas of focus, and literature to review; they also inform the policy field analyses in terms of highlighting organizational and frontline relationships to investigate further, and archives to explore in more detail.

FEDERAL INDIAN BOARDING SCHOOL POLICY IMPLEMENTATION ANALYSIS

The timeline addressed in this implementation analysis spans three distinct time periods in United States (US) Indian Law: the Treaty Era (1778-1871), the Removal Era (1830-1850), and the Reservation Era (1850-1891). Focusing on the time period from the passage of the Civilization Fund Act in 1819 to the passage of the Dawes Severalty Act in 1887, the analysis includes the following: the authorization of federal resources for the civilization of Native people, the removal of Native people from their ancestral land to the West, the establishment of trust responsibility, the establishment of the reservation system, the authorization of forced assimilation of Native children, the authorization of the first five boarding schools, and the division of Tribal lands into allotments.

Exploration of the administrative logic used by the US government to implement the Federal Indian Boarding School (FIBS) program provides important documentation of the intention and strategic organizational structuring to reach stated implementation effectiveness. The policies act as anchors of history, grounding context, ideas, places, and actions that shaped implementation on the macro field level, the meso organizational level, and the micro frontline level within individual schools. It is only through implementation analysis of the program technology – policy tools and resources used to affect how inputs become outputs – that results can be analyzed.

Policy analysis is a tool used by public administrators to examine problems and evaluate potential solutions prior to implementation so that viable, feasible, and effective strategies can be resourced. Analyzing policy implementation is undertaken after solutions have been attempted to measure their effectiveness against the goals. Identifying the indicators that signify effectiveness in policy implementation is critical. These indicators include the desired changes in both systems operations and in the target population, as well as in the process quality results and ultimate outcomes. The indicators of effective implementation can be mapped to the construction of the policy field, providing valuable information in determining next steps and evaluating effectiveness.

Foucault's theory of power/knowledge grounds this analysis as it relates to the implementation architecture used to construct the policy field (Foucault, 1980). The power/knowledge theory posits that discourse is rooted in the control and organization of procedures that allow the operator to gain control of events. Discourse – exchanging ideas and building understanding – is power, and the ability to iterate through the power/knowledge cycle is critical to the maintenance of that power. It is through this lens that the FIBS program can be viewed, both in terms of the criticality of the programs' structure related to problem identification, definition, by who, and for what purpose, as well as in terms of a genealogy that explores which discourses were allowed through system design by the use of constraints, norms, and conditions of appearance to exercise power over the students.

Power and knowledge were intertwined in a logic spanning multiple levels that created social structures and were reproduced in a methodical process, in this case the education of students in a controlled system. In the complexity of this education system, Foucault's theory suggests that in order to distinguish among events or lines of power, the networks and levels in the system must be distinguished within their dense web of relationships, and then the lens must be applied to the system as a whole to better understand influences and accountabilities - the exercise of power (Foucault, 1980).

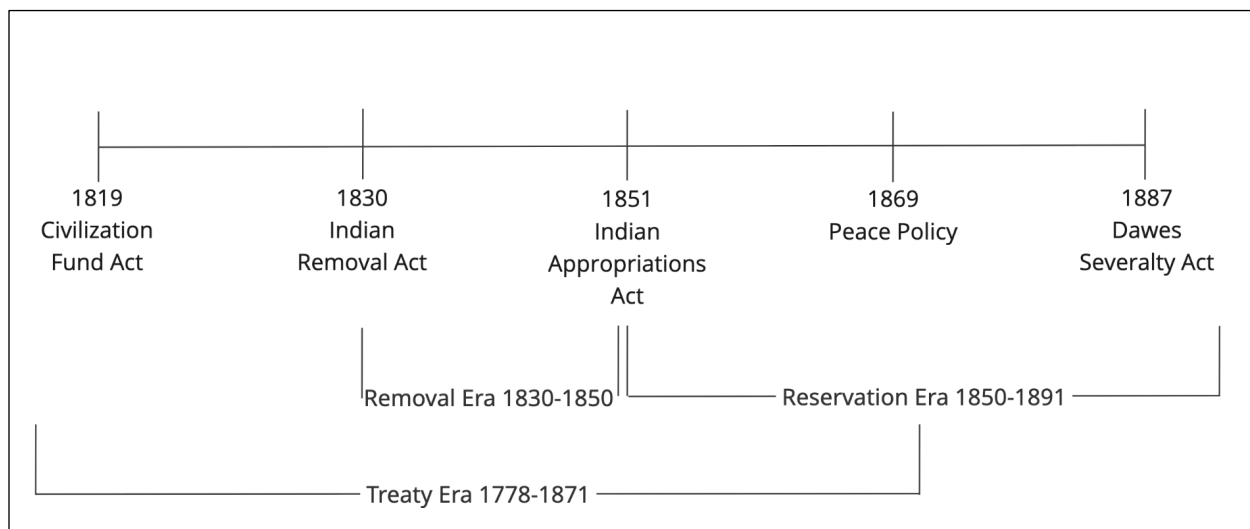
As it relates to a logic of elimination as Wolfe describes in settler colonial theory, individual bodies in this system – the students – became stripped of their identities and classified in space - either through removal by exclusion or through assimilation by education (Wolfe, 2006). In the case of the FIBS program, its design employed both the exclusion strategy and the assimilation strategy in terms of how space was controlled. The purpose was to use both the organizational design and the architectural design as a mechanism for power to be wielded.

Multilevel Policy Implementation Analysis

Introduction

The US government employed implementation strategies through the Civilization Fund Act of 1819 (Civilization Fund Act, 1819), the Indian Removal Act of 1830 (Indian Removal Act, 1830), the

Indian Appropriations Act of 1851 (Indian Appropriations Act, 1851), the Peace Policy of 1869 (Peace Policy, 1869), and the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887 (Dawes Severalty Act, 1887) to use assimilation through education as a means of Native elimination (see Figure 3: Federal Indian Boarding School Timeline of Policies below which was introduced in the Literature Review). The problem itself, as the settler colonialists defined it, was quite simple: Native people had the land, settler colonialists wanted the land, hence an “Indian Problem” to be solved through a logic of elimination (Wolfe, 2006).



Once the problem had been defined, the government needed a process through which to orchestrate their strategy: the goal was genocide to be achieved by means of civilization. To take the land, they constructed a concept in which the Native people were categorized to be less human; they were assigned the position of “savages,” justifying the need for their civilization. The implementation architecture was built to support dual strategies in the logic of elimination: removal or assimilation. In both strategies, civilization was offered in exchange for land. In the end, the settler colonialists had an opportunity to get what they had wanted all along: not only the land, but also the genocide of Native people through their civilization (Adams, 1995).

Prior to 1819, missionary-run schools were abundant across the US, but they were disparate and largely uncoordinated. Policies administered by the Office of Indian Affairs (OIA) were influenced heavily by Christian philanthropic organizations that held government positions who had their own agendas for educating Native people for the purpose of civilization. The House Committee on Indian Affairs urged Congress to

Put into the hands of their [Indian] children the primer and the hoe, and they will naturally, in time, take hold of the plough; and as their minds become enlightened and expand, the Bible will be their book, and they will grow up in habits of morality and industry... and become useful members of society. (United States House Committee on Indian Affairs, 1818)

The OIA was, at the time, organizationally weak from the Civil War, settler colonialists were encroaching on reservations created by the Indian removal policy, and the Indian frontier in the West was gone (Lindsey, 1995). The BIA, the service organization within the OIA that was responsible for implementation, turned to these religious organizations to build a cohesive network – a system – for Native education. For the new system to be effective, a new policy was introduced focused on peace efforts by transferring implementation authority.

Grant's Peace Policy was introduced in 1869, with three components: 1) the nomination of Indian agents by Christian churches rather than by political appointment; 2) the expansion of federal support for Indian education; and 3) the presidential appointment of a nine-man Board of Indian Commissioners (BIC), all of whom were wealthy philanthropists from prominent settler colonial families (Lindsey, 1995). Utilizing the successes and lessons learned from the missionary-run schools that were already established, the policy charged the BIC with the expenditures of the OIA, as well as advising the leadership, inspecting field agencies, and informing the public about the conduct of Native communities. Indians off-reservation were monitored by the Army, Indians on-reservation were monitored by the missionaries, and the BIC monitored both (Lindsey, 1995).

Between 1778-1871, over 100 treaties between the US government and Tribes included components related to Native education, but the passage of the Peace Policy changed the landscape (Reyhner & Eder, 1989). The first appropriation to Native education in the amount of \$10,000 was made in 1819, and in 1870, Congress appropriated \$100,000 for Native education, effectively replacing the government's focus from mission-run schools to federally run schools off-reservation (Reyhner & Eder, 1989). In 1871, the United States government prohibited further treaties with Indian nations and also passed the Appropriations Act for Indian Education requiring the establishment of day schools on-reservation.

Government authority that had been given to private organizations was now invested in public agencies along with resources such as funding, existing buildings, and staff to design, build, and execute a system for the civilization of Native children – the target population – through education, which could be reproduced and scaled across the nation. A multilevel implementation analysis is a tool used by public administrators to explore policy problems and how the values of those identifying the problem shapes its definition, thus revealing the complexity of the implementation architecture that was constructed to achieve a solution (Sandfort & Moulton, 2015). This approach integrates the policy field, the actors on the legislative level who designed and authorized the policy; the organizations that served as intermediaries between the legislators and the frontlines; and those in service delivery organizations that delivered the program to the target population – in this case, students.

All three levels must be analyzed individually and together as a whole to make visible the accountabilities and funding streams that determine power and influence. Because this network, or strategic action field, determines how the policy is delivered, this method of institutional analysis reveals how systems learn, innovate, and adapt (Fligstein, 2001). Further, effectiveness of implementation is complex and is determined by the individual actors across the three levels: 1) the policy field; 2) organizations; and 3) the frontlines, as well as within the strategic action fields between levels. This multilevel implementation analysis was conducted on the FIBS policies – the Civilization Fund Act,

Indian Removal Act, Indian Appropriations Act, Grant's Peace Policy, and Dawes Severalty Act – to understand dynamics in implementation.

Policy Field Analysis

The US government constructed a policy field through which would yield the solution to the “Indian Problem” that they intended – civilization through assimilation – which was strategically implemented across the federal, state, and local levels (see Figure 14). In the early days of the FIBS program, Congress appropriated funding directly to well-established missionary organizations, which were paid on a per capita basis for Native children entering the schools that these institutions and organizations operated. Over time, growth in terms of funding and authority can be seen across the three levels of implementation. Indian affairs was the most important component of US governance in the early 19th century as evidenced by federal expenditures including land cost, warfare, and other resources: in 1776, expenditures reflected 10% of the new nation's budget, by 1800 it constituted 25%, and by 1836 it totaled 39%, reaching as high as 70% during times of specific conflicts (Mohr, 1933).

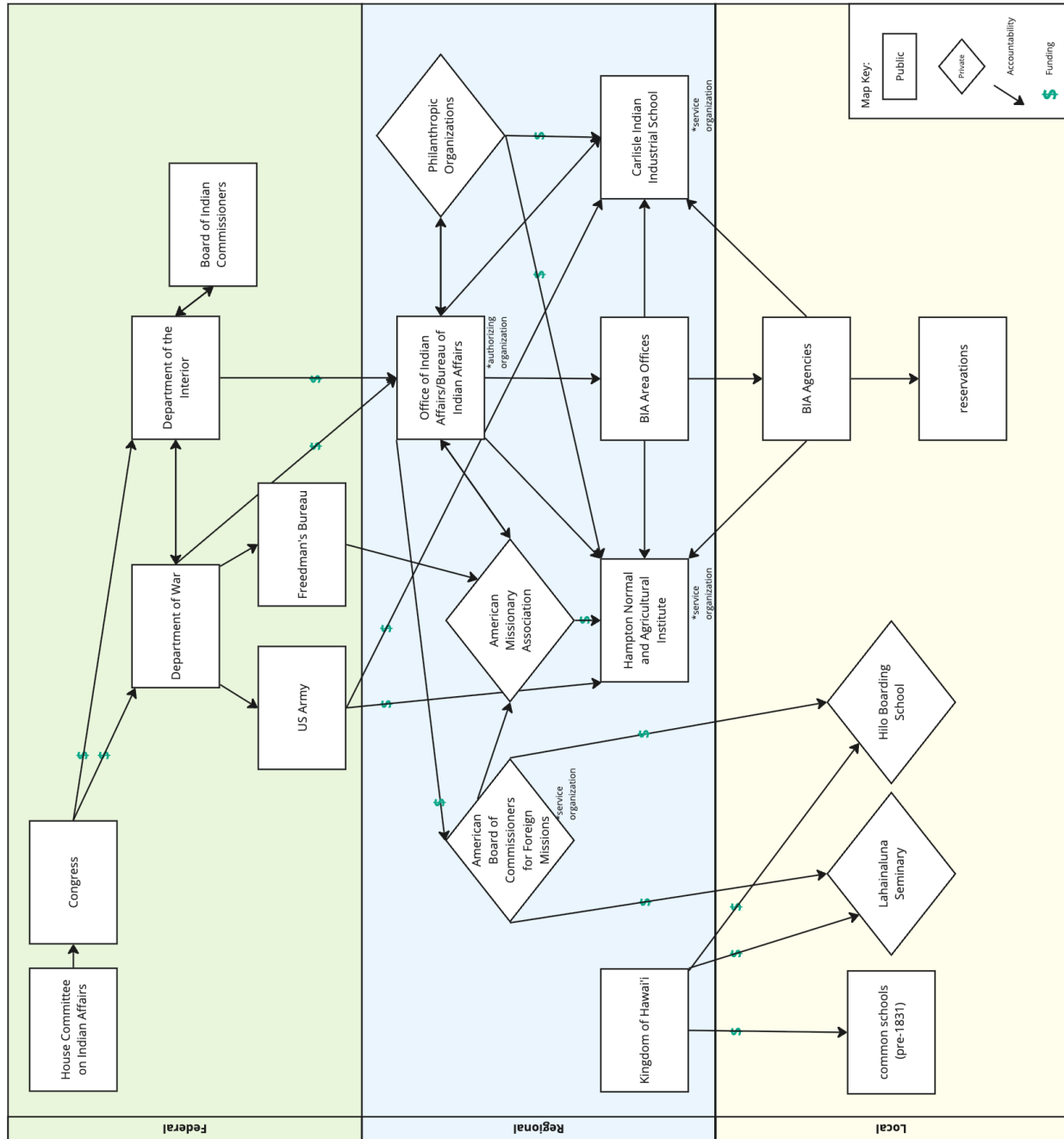


Figure 14: Federal Indian Boarding School Policy Field Map

The policy field encompasses the five policies between 1819 and 1887 that most heavily shaped implementation of the FIBS program. On the school level, the field includes the establishment of the Lahainaluna Seminary and the Hilo Boarding School in Hawai‘i, Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute (Hampton) in Virginia, and Carlisle Indian Industrial School (Carlisle) in Pennsylvania, with strategic intent to enlarge the system given the implementation architecture that was built, which allowed for new schools to be constructed rapidly and efficiently. Leading the efforts was the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA).

The Secretary of War established the BIA in 1824 to administer the Civilization Fund appropriation; in 1832, the OIA was created to manage the BIA; and in 1849, the operation was moved from the Department of War to the Department of the Interior (DOI). Since its inception under British rule, the BIA maintained a three-level organizational structure including administrative leadership, mid-level superintendents, and Indian agents. Upper-level leadership liaised with the Department of War, and later the DOI, as well as other federal agencies; mid-level superintendents, also known as operators, were housed at the regional level in Area Offices and served as links between federal authority and local interest, holding significant authority in granting trade licenses and administering regulations. Indian agents, also known as field agents, were stationed on-reservation and had both broad and generalized duties: they reported to the superintendents on implementation measures, and were also the frontline management. They were responsible for handling all disputes on the reservation, between the reservation and local settler colonial communities, and were also charged with improving the conditions of Native people on-reservation, distributing funding, overseeing trade licenses, and administering programs such as education.

By 1873, the Civilization Fund Act’s implementation efforts deferred to the Peace Policy. Private philanthropic organizations formed to influence policymakers on Indian Law through the mechanism of civilization using the built environment, Native children as spectacle, and acts of charity as policy tools. These philanthropic lobbyists made the case for civilization through education as an economic strategy,

“claiming that it was less expensive to educate Indians than to kill them,” the former estimated at nearly a million dollars, whereas the latter only \$1,200 for eight years of schooling (Adams, 1995). As a result, Congress invested in more boarding schools.

The purpose of implementation is to create change as reflected in indicators for process quality results and ultimate outcomes in systems operations and in the target population (see Figure 15) (Sandfort & Moulton, 2015). Toward this intention, the desired changes in systems operations included: a recruitment process that made available all Native children; systematic site design, architecture, operations, and curriculum that could be scaled, reproduced, and replaced; ample resources for system-building; efficient building processes; and finally, the enrollment of all Native children. Desired changes in the target population included: physical separation from place; emotional individualization from their home communities replaced by assimilation into the school community; self-adoption of behavior as controlled subjects; erasure of cultural and familial ties and memories; training for assimilation; and finally, their functioning as the settler colonialists.

	Process Quality Results	Ultimate Outcomes
Changes in systems operations	Recruitment process yields students available <i>en masse</i> ; systematic site design, architecture, operations, and curriculum; reproducible and replaceable school sites; scaled system nationwide	Access all Native children nationwide; efficient building process and organizational design; resources to build as many schools as necessary; enroll all Native children nationwide
Change in target groups	Physical separation from place; emotional individualization from home community; assimilation into school community as replacement; subjects are controlled	Cultural ties and memories erased; familial ties and memories erased; trained for assimilation into settler colonial culture; the Indian is dead, they function as White

Figure 15: Federal Indian Boarding School Indicators of Implementation Effectiveness

Organizational Level Analysis

Authorizing Organization

The OIA, managed by the DOI, is the authorizing organization for the FIBS program, and are lauded as innovative experts that planned and exercised discretionary authority (Rockwell, 2010). Also, within the DOI there exist other departments with interests and powerful resources that compete with the management of Indian affairs: the Department of Health and Human Services, the Department of Education, and the Housing and Urban Development, to name a few. This creates a tension where federal agencies, all vying to exert their authority, are pitted against each other around issues that affect Tribes, creating confusion around government's fiduciary responsibility.

Early in the program, actors in the DOI wanted to exercise bureaucratic autonomy. The building of this system was a massive effort in long-range planning, yet the DOI displayed significant autonomy in ways that other agencies that were forming at the time did not or could not because of the nature of the problem they were formed to solve. In this period, “‘policy’ was little more than the accumulation of isolated, individual choices, usually of a distributive nature” (Carpenter, 2020, p. 60). The DOI's organizational architects used both long-range strategies given the structural authority afforded by settler colonial governance and the flexible and innovative decision-making approaches necessary to respond to emerging challenges (Rockwell, 2010). The result was a program technology for FIBS policy implementation that was both technical and therefore replicable, as well as adaptive.

The program technology of the FIBS structure – the process of change that links inputs to outputs – is well-defined in archival documents and represents the public values of the time (Sandfort & Moulton, 2015). Policy tools like the built environment were used as coordinating mechanisms to identify impacts of implementation effectiveness in strategic action fields. The program technology guided the transformation process of Native students via education: boarding schools were built to train Native children to be self-sufficient in the settler colonial world (see Figure 16).

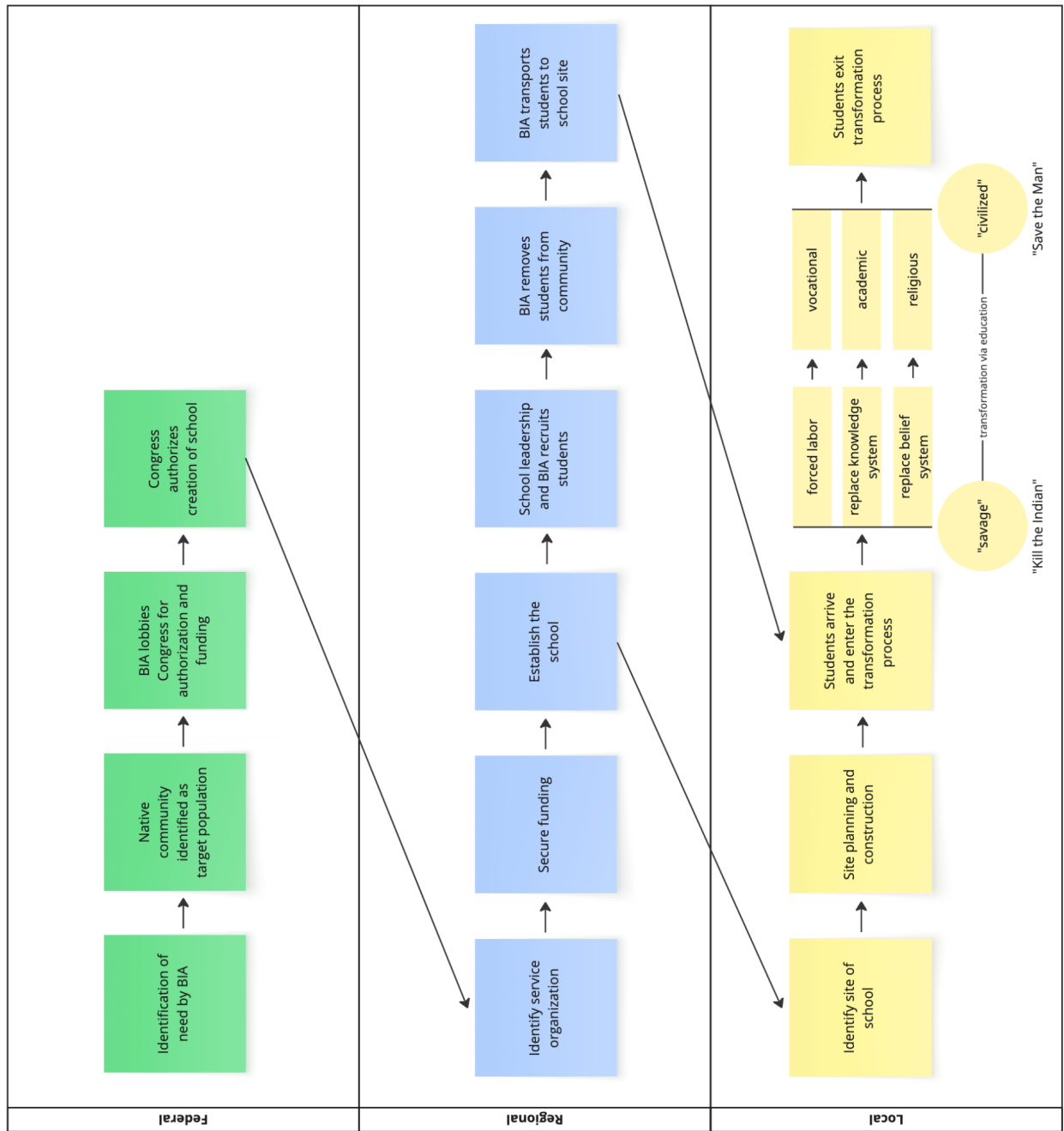


Figure 16: Federal Indian Boarding School Program Process Flow

Having identified the problem and the target population, Congress authorized appropriations “for the purpose of...introducing among them the habits and arts of civilization" (Prucha, 2000, p. 33). The funding was intended for agriculture and education as assimilation methods to be established and implemented by missionary organizations, and the OIA was instructed to provide buildings and tools to the missionaries for their use (Rockwell, 2010). By 1900, the annual appropriations to the OIA increased to nearly \$3 million (Lindsey, 1995). The DOI estimates that the US government made appropriations of more than \$23.3 billion in FY23 inflation-adjusted dollars between 1871 and 1969 for the FIBS system (Newland, 2024).

As a result of there being only one responsible agency authorized to act on behalf of the government’s trust responsibility activities, administrative burden – the rules, regulations, and procedures determined by the policy field – was minimal in the early days of the program as actors were well-resourced and authorized to build as they saw fit. However, as the system grew, there have been many criticisms throughout the OIA’s history that the complex and siloed structure has inefficiently utilized appropriations for the benefit of Native people according to trust responsibility (Canby, 2015). These criticisms highlight the BIA’s bias and favoritism toward settler colonial interests, especially given the robust structure of philanthropic organizing power and influence as seen in the authority given to missionary organizations and the formation of the BIC.

Service Organization

The service organization authorized by the OIA/BIA to administer the FIBS program was the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in Hawai‘i, and the school superintendents at Hampton and Carlisle. The BIA operated Area Offices on the regional level across the US and at Hampton and Carlisle, the school superintendents were in close communication with operators there, who in turn were in communication with BIA leadership regularly. These actors were highly innovative in their interpretation and implementation choices because of their positions of authority in the system. The

BIA as a federal unit also held the management of land and resources for Tribes as part of the government's trust responsibility, as well as many other responsibilities pertaining to Indian affairs on-reservation including health and human services programs, transportation maintenance, trade regulations, emergency management, and the administration of grant programs (Canby, 2015).

As the service organizations administering the FIBS program, the superintendents held the ultimate responsibility for the structural organization of establishing boarding schools. Once funding was secured, or sometimes simultaneously, a site was chosen given distance to the communities identified as the target population. The school superintendents in partnership with BIA operators were responsible for recruiting students, removing them from their communities – often violently and in protest – and transporting them to the school site, commonly by train and in the dark. Students would often arrive at the site unseen when administrators feared that they would be a spectacle for the settler colonial community to behold. These processes, designed in the early days of the FIBS program, became routines to be followed for decades to come.

Actors at the organizational level were responsible only for their specific programs in their specific regions, and thus this analysis follows suit in taking a specific view into the boarding school structure by site. Given this, it is important to note that there were a significant number of social policies implemented by the US government through overlapping authorizing and service organizations that targeted the same population which had effects on the implementation of this system that will not be addressed here (Rockwell, 2010). Due to this complexity and the intention for replicability and efficiency in scaling the system, administrative burden on the organizational level was, and continues to be, significant. From state to state, extensive regulatory networks existed that held authorizing power over many social policy domains that preceded or succeeded FIBS implementation; externalities experienced by and from these policies were significant and heavily impacted service delivery to the target population.

Frontline Level Analysis

Service Delivery

Public policy is actualized at the frontline level by actors operating in ways specific to their context and their human agency to deliver change to the target population (Lipsky, 1980). In the FIBS program, the frontline actors in the US government worked in approximately 80 Agencies on-reservation across the US, managed by the Area Offices to deliver the FIBS policies. At the schools, the frontline actors were the teachers and staff overseeing students daily. It is through the interactions of these frontline actors with the target population that implementation impacted change.

The frontline actors on this level were field agents and teachers who used the legitimacy, consistency, and networks provided by the government's structure, combined with the autonomy afforded by geographic distance between reservations and schools, as well as the lack of micro-level management to take advantage of the opportunity for innovation (Rockwell, 2010). They did not function as units taking orders, they used their autonomy to shape frontline implementation as they determined best in their context.

On the frontline level, actors were required to interpret very complex legal frameworks which in and of itself produced varied implementation approaches. Administrative inconsistencies were numerous among the field agents depending on their context in terms of implementing trust responsibility. As frontline actors delivered the policies to the target group, the conflict between the trustee/beneficiary relationship and Tribal sovereignty was felt but unaddressed because authority over trust responsibility was held at the policy field level. These actors, though, had to navigate the complexity of the nature of the relationships and the cognitive dissonance of the principle in practice. In the schools, interpretation of the implementation strategy was often left to the religious organizations or the superintendents. The site planning, architecture, and curriculum, however, remained consistent across schools, employing manual labor, militaristic control in academic affairs, and religious principles to keep order.

Beginning in 1820 in Hawai‘i, which was not yet controlled by the US, missionary companies effectively institutionalized the civilization of Native Hawaiian children as the educational model of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i. With a strategy of manual labor, teacher training, and religious instruction, the ABCFM was authorized and funded by the US government, even though Hawai‘i was not yet a US territory. Missionaries served on the frontlines in these schools which were established in Hawaiian communities. Leaders from the ABCFM with strong family ties to settler colonial interests in New England capitalized on the environment and the US government’s authorization, building the foundation of the educational system that would serve as a model for the FIBS program.

In Virginia in 1878, Samuel Chapman Armstrong, taking the lessons he learned from his father in Hawai‘i, lobbied the Secretary of the Interior for funding to support education at Hampton through the Hampton Indian Program. The US government appropriated \$167 per student to enroll 50 Native youth (Lindsey, 1995). This appropriation paid for board, clothing, and incidentals. Scholarships from private donors paid for tuition and industrial training, and each year, an additional 15-20 students who did not qualify for the appropriation worked their way through school (Lindsey, 1995).

In 1879 in Carlisle, Richard Henry Pratt established the first off-reservation boarding school based on the lessons he learned from Hampton. Carlisle received \$225 per student from the US government, and the students themselves supported their learning through manual labor, with private donors contributing to other expenses. Following the Carlisle model, the US government funded four additional off-reservation boarding schools in 1882: Fort Simcoe Indian Boarding School in Washington, Chemawa Indian Training School in Oregon, Chilocco Indian Agricultural School in Oklahoma, and Haskell Indian Industrial Training School in Kansas.

The delivery of the FIBS program was designed based on the Hawaiian schools, Lahainaluna Seminary and Hilo Boarding School, as experiments, the Hampton Indian Program as a prototype, and Carlisle as the pilot program upon which the more than 400 federally funded boarding schools which followed were established. On the frontline level, once a school was established, school leadership was

tasked with managing site planning and the design and construction of new buildings or the modification of existing buildings based on strategic architectural design theory for the purpose of creating controlled space. Once a site was prepared, students entered the transformation process when they arrived, experiencing a highly-controlled sequence of jarring and traumatic events to mark the transition into this new space, including arriving in the middle of the night, walking down long roads to the school site, receiving new names, and undergoing a physical transformation in which bodies were cleaned, hair was cut, and clothing was exchanged for uniforms. Over the course of the students' time at the school, they experienced a curriculum of forced labor, education, and religious indoctrination to transform the "savages" they entered as into "civilized" humans.

Target Group

Experiences in the FIBS system vary from student-to-student, from school-to-school, and from year-to-year given the implementation efforts and decision-making strategies on the frontlines of each of these strategic action fields (Fligstein, 2001), but the implementation strategy across the schools in the system remained very consistent. It is through studying and documenting this administrative logic that the consistency in the implementation architecture is revealed. This documentation can then be applied to the collective experience of the target group to analyze the system's components and operational sequencing. By identifying the intention of the FIBS policies and the indicators of effectiveness, analysis of the strategic use of implementation architecture to create changes to the target group shows that students were intended to become subjects to be controlled given the use of constraints, norms, and conditions of appearance in these environments by design. This logic of elimination uses organizational design and architectural design as a mechanism for control to strip individual students of their own identity to be replaced by settler colonial identity.

Students were subjects in the FIBS program. They suffered unimaginable trauma, which is unaccounted for, as evidenced in the gaps in the literature, that had and continues to have, significant

effects in Native communities generationally (Newland, 2022; Newland, 2024; NABS, n.d.). As a result, Native communities on the whole have broken or nonexistent trust with the US government and may foster ongoing beliefs that it does not operate with their benefit in mind, despite fiduciary responsibility to do so (Newland, 2022; Newland, 2024; NABS, n.d.). Efforts have been made by the US government to engage with Native communities to acknowledge and document this history and learn about and from experiences to move toward reconciliation efforts, as will be discussed later in this study.

ARCHITECTURAL ANALYSIS OF EARLY FEDERAL INDIAN BOARDING SCHOOLS

This architectural analysis will trace the origins of the FIBS program from Hawai'i to Virginia and then to the Carlisle Indian Industrial School (Carlisle), which opened in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, in 1879. The Lahainaluna Seminary, which opened on the island of Maui in Hawai'i in 1831, and the Hilo Boarding School, which opened on the island of Hawai'i in 1836, were early experiments in boarding schools, the Indian Program at the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute (Hampton), which began in Hampton, Virginia, in 1878 was a prototype, and Carlisle served as a model for the Federal Indian Boarding School system across the United States (US). Using the history of the Lahainaluna Seminary, the Hilo Boarding School, and Hampton as a foundation, Carlisle's architectural history is presented as a case study to analyze the architectural design of buildings on the site.

Exploration of the use of architectural design as an intentional strategy for the construction of controlled space in the Federal Indian Boarding School (FIBS) program provides important insight into the influence of the built environment and its connection to the seemingly disparate field of public policy as implementation strategy. The built environment shapes the experience of individuals and collective bodies, holds influence over psychology, and can manipulate ways of being and knowing. Space can be used as a tool of both belonging and exclusion, and operates in these ways in the FIBS sites.

Lefebvre's production of space theory grounds this architectural analysis as it relates to how the built environment shaped the experience of the students at Carlisle immediately and over time (Lefebvre, 1974). Understanding produced space is critical to understanding how space is controlled and used to control those within it. Production refers to the design, shaping, and manufacture of students as products. This raises important questions related to who produces, how, and why. The concept of space is not a thing in and of itself, it encompasses the realm of relationships held by it and the outcome of the process through which those relationships interact with each other. Therefore, produced space is a complex social product which affects perception and discourse.

Social space is a web of relationships that are created through proximity of things, people, and ideas, therefore those interactions can be reproduced and replicated by simply reconstructing the conditions in which they exist. In Lefebvre's model, the perceived space of practice, the lived representational space, and the conceived space in which discourse is represented come together to form social space in which labor, relationships, and institutions form a kind of unity (Lefebvre, 1974). This unnatural web of relationships, power dynamics, and processes within any specific context is what must be analyzed when examining produced space as it is shaped by and informs the actors within that space.

As it relates to Wolfe's logic of elimination in settler colonial theory, social space employs the dual strategies of removal by exclusion for those relationships on the outside of the perceived, lived, and conceived triad (Lefebvre, 1974), and assimilation by education for those relationships on the inside (Wolfe, 2006). Architectural design in site planning and in individual buildings reinforce the social space that was constructed at Lahainaluna Seminary, Hilo Boarding School, Hampton, and Carlisle, and in every other reproduced and replicated space in the FIBS system.

Architecture of Lahainaluna Seminary and Hilo Boarding School

With the growing interest in missionary-led education in the Hawaiian Islands from both the Hawaiian people and the Kingdom's leadership in the 1820s, the missionaries positioned themselves to have a significant opportunity to strategically implement their assimilation charge from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) (Canevali, 1977). Given the close connections they had formed to the Hawaiian government, which was rapidly adopting a settler colonialist governance structure, the ABCFM were focused on building an education system to be both fiscally sustainable and scalable across the islands.

On the mainland, Indian Law shifted considerably with the passage of the Indian Removal Act of 1830 (Indian Removal Act, 1830) when the movement of Native communities from the East to the West scaled up in full force. When the fourth ABCFM company arrived in Hawai'i from New England in 1831,

it became clear that the existing common schools led by disparate missionaries were producing erratic and unsustainable results across Hawai‘i: students were not coming to school consistently, teachers were not using a uniform curriculum, and the number of schools did not sufficiently serve the population (Canevali, 1977). The ABCFM missionaries lobbied their leadership to invest in an educational system that would gather the people across the islands to be taught by well-trained teachers with suitable textbooks in permanent school buildings.

In 1831, Lahainaluna Seminary was established on Maui as the first settler colonial school in Hawai‘i supported significantly by US funding. Conducted in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, the Hawaiian language, the school first enrolled 25 married men who attended as day school students in grass-roofed buildings that they constructed themselves (Canevali, 1977). In 1833, ABCFM leadership approved the construction of schoolhouses at each missionary station in Hawai‘i, one on each island. The Kingdom of Hawai‘i provided the land, the students provided the labor, materials were primarily coral and lava rock, the ABCFM funded the furnishings, and the US government funded the operations (Hawley, 1922).

In 1835, further recognizing the need to establish a pipeline of education to stabilize enrollment in the system by

Establish[ing] ‘feeder schools’ which would transmit to their students fundamental reading, writing, and arithmetic skills...before admission to the Seminary,...the [ABCFM] appropriated \$500 for the construction of a boarding school in Hilo [and] introduc[ed] boarding at the Lahainaluna Seminary that year [which] assured the missionaries of the practicability of such an institution. (Canevali, 1977, p. 79)

In 1836, the Hilo Boarding School was established on the island of Hawai‘i with a focus on training teachers.

After Lahainaluna graduated the initial adult students, they shifted their focus to youth. Between 1820-1863, the ABCFM sent 12 missionary companies to Hawai‘i to continue the religious and education

work they had started (Canevali, 1977). Over these 43 years, they succeeded in building an education system that was institutionalized in the Hawaiian government and became the model for future Native educational institutions at Hampton, Carlisle, and across the US. Settler colonialist ideology was foundational to the educational system, utilizing the power they were granted by the Kingdom of Hawai‘i. They used the natural and built environment in Hawai‘i as an asset, teaching students an entirely new worldview and new concepts of labor, knowledge, and religion from within their communities. The missionaries were the outsiders, yet they employed a strategic understanding and manipulation of the space to transform the Hawaiian people, much of which is carried through the FIBS system.

First, missionaries understood the need for legitimacy, and they built deep connections with the local leadership, who functioned in many ways as the first students. The Hawaiian leaders learned English, studied settler colonial history, narratives, and governance, and converted to Christianity, effectively abandoning their Hawaiian worldview in favor of civilization (Canevali, 1977). Once the leadership was on board, support for the missionaries’ efforts grew, as did interest from the people. They utilized familiar places and pedagogies, conducting classes under large trees to mimic the Hawaiian tradition of learning on and from the land, they allowed students to come as they were, and held classes in the Hawaiian language, modeling themselves as learners (see Figure 17).



Figure 17: Missionaries Preaching Under Kukui Groves, 1841 (David Rumsey Historical Map Collection; Drawn by Alfred T. Agate; Engraved by Rolph, J. A.)

Once the missionaries determined that buildings were needed, they used architecture familiar to the Native Hawaiians: large grass-roofed open-concept interior spaces. Later, when more “civilized” structures were built, they used local materials.

The first church buildings erected were in the open air under the immense hau trees [and] the first church buildings erected were native grass structures. Later on, stone church edifices were constructed on all the Islands at large costs of labor. Some of these churches were built from stones taken from the old heathen temples and others were constructed from coral. (Hawley, 1922, p. 31)

In this way, the built environment functioned as a familiar space, easing the transformation from “savage” to “civilized.”

These institutional structures communicate ideals of an organized settler colonial society: government buildings, schools, and libraries are monumental; domestic structures such as houses and barns and the furnishings and equipment within were highly organized and specialized for use; and public squares and open spaces – the space in between the built environment – created boundaries of demarcated space in the form of yards, sidewalks, and roads. The built environment functioned as a tool for the process of civilization through the boundaries it created. In the settler colonial context, analyzing the built environment’s form, structure, and function communicate the difference between “savage” and “civilized” (Teller, 1883; Lomawaima, 2014).

Discipline, for example, was foundational to the school experience, and dismissals for disobedience were common.

The rules and regulations set by the missionaries were stern and strict and constituted burdens too great for the free and easy Hawaiians. It was the aim of these teachers to transform a Hawaiian village into the likeness of a New England town. (Restarick, 1924, p. 50)

Upon this foundation of strict behavioral norms, like a militaristic environment, a curriculum of manual labor, religious conversion, and general academics was taught, notably religious training at Lahainaluna, and labor and teacher training at Hilo.

When the schools at Lahainaluna and Hilo were established, the missionaries used strategic site planning efforts to choose land that would allow for the curriculum they envisioned (see Figure 18). Sites needed to be close enough to the communities to be accessible, encompass enough space to grow and construct buildings by specialization, and include farmland for enforcing manual labor. Both the sites for Lahainaluna Seminary and Hilo Boarding School fit these requirements and eventually had buildings for

blacksmithing, carpentry, and barrel-making, in addition to classrooms for traditional academic subjects such as reading, writing, and arithmetic (see Figures 19 and 20). Notably, as the schools grew, the Hawaiian architecture was demolished, yielding to Neoclassical and Federalist architectural styles seen in government buildings across the US (see Figure 21) (Canevali, 1977).

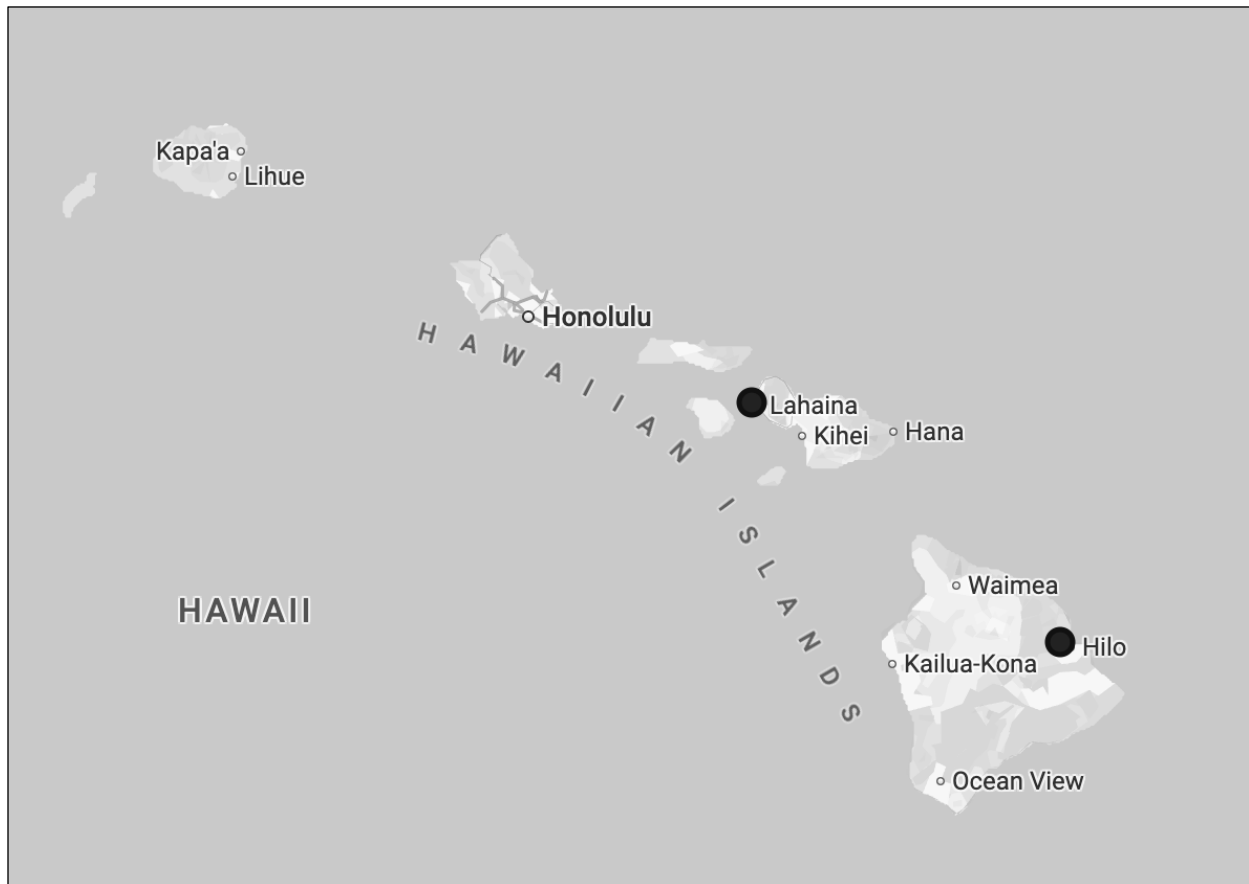


Figure 18: Map of Lahainaluna Seminary and Hilo Boarding School Locations, 2025



Figure 19: Lahainaluna Seminary Site Drawing, 1834 (Hawai'i State Archives)

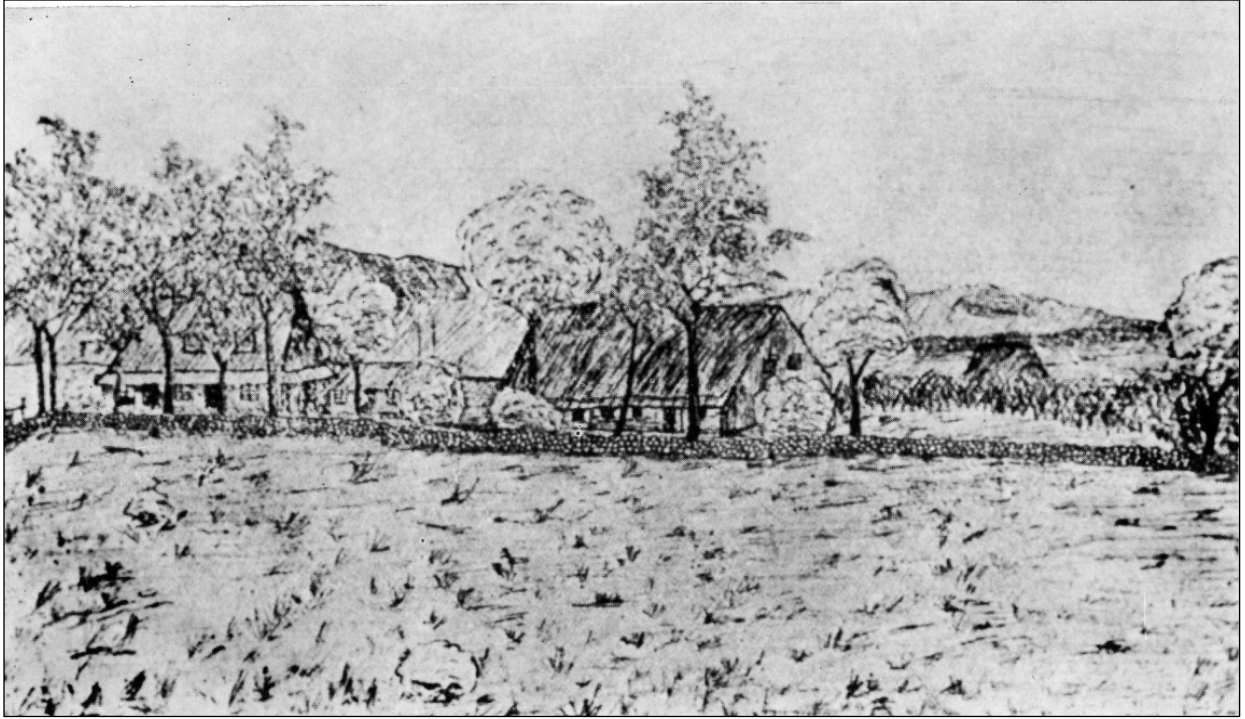


Figure 20: Hilo Boarding School Original Buildings, 1836-1839 (Hawaiian Mission Children's Society)



Figure 21: Lahainaluna Seminary Administration Building, 1834 (Hawai‘i State Archives)

In 1836, given the success of Lahainaluna Seminary and the potential of Hilo Boarding School to provide consistent student enrollment in the system, the ABCFM decided to invest more resources for several permanent buildings to enlarge the campus. By 1837, Lahainaluna Seminary had multiple buildings on site: three for academics, a large two-story building for administration, and more than 30 adobe cottages for student living. A new building for the printing shop in a Cape Cod style, Hale Pa‘i (Printing House), was constructed from timber cut from the local hillside, mortar made at the shoreline, and coral from the reefs, built by the students and funded by the ABCFM (Ka‘iwakīloumoku, n.d.). Using local materials was practical in terms of funding resources and also eased the transition for the students in the familiarity of the building materials. The only original building that remains on the site today is Hale Pa‘i (see Figure 22).



Figure 22: Hale Pa'i, 1933 (Hawai'i State Archives)

Like Lahainaluna Seminary, the first two buildings at Hilo Boarding School were open-concept, grass-roofed buildings in a traditional Hawaiian architectural style. They were built in between the houses of the two missionaries who led the school and the local church to provide not only accessibility, but also surveillance, as the intention at this site from the beginning was to board students who were, for the first time, more separated from their homes (see Figure 23). At Hilo Boarding School, classes were taught in English, and the training focus was on teaching and agriculture.

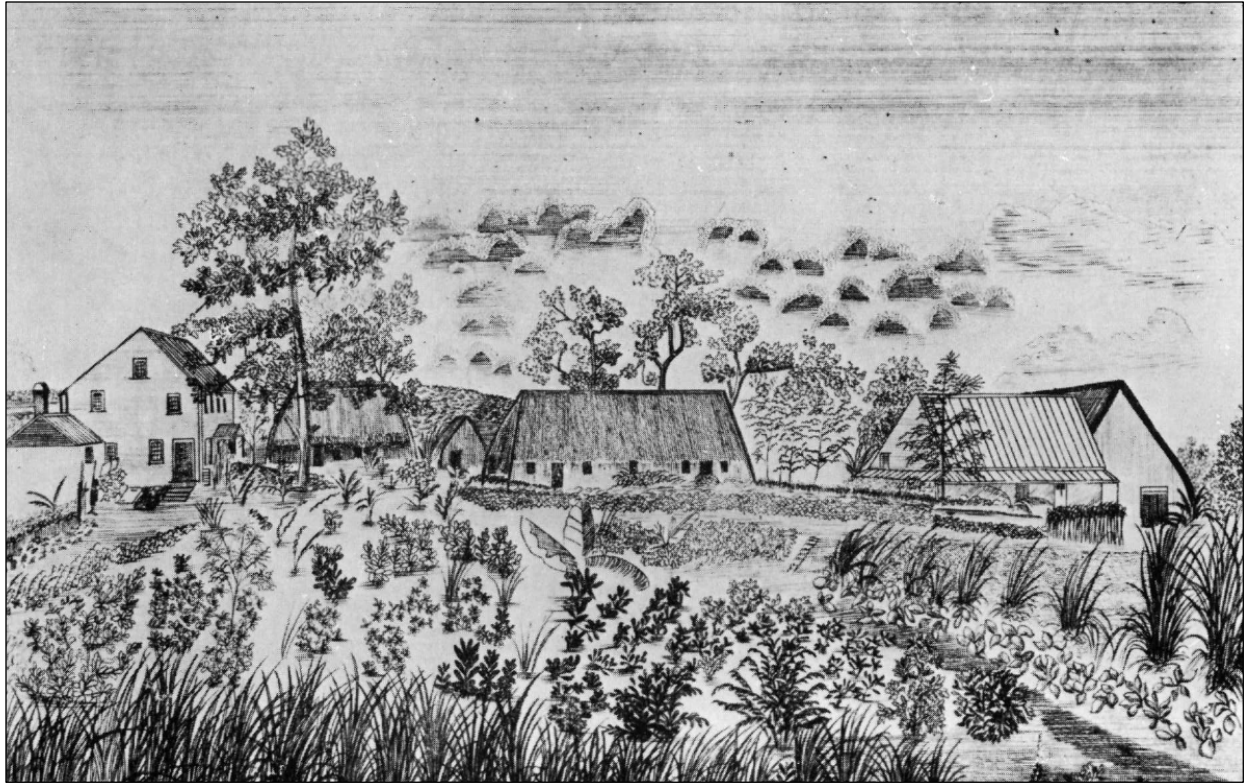


Figure 23: Hilo Boarding School Site Drawing, 1840 (Hawaiian Mission Children's Society)

In 1839, the ABCFM endorsed the success of the Hilo Boarding School and agreed to build more permanent buildings. The old grass-roof school buildings were torn down, lumber was shipped in from the mainland, and students and their families provided the labor. The new wood structures would accommodate up to seventy boys. The buildings included a dormitory and schoolhouse, as well as a smaller cookhouse and infirmary. Also constructed was a new house for the principal in a Cape Cod style (see Figures 24 and 25). None of the student or administrative buildings at Hilo Boarding School remain, but the Superintendent's house is extant and well-preserved.



Figure 24: Lyman House, 1836 (Lyman Museum)



Figure 25: Lyman House with the Roof Replaced, 1856 (Lyman Museum)

Architecture of Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute

During the Civil War, two camps formed in Virginia, Fortress Monroe and the Grand Contraband Camp, which were controlled by the Union Army for escaped slaves who the Union forces refused to return to the South. For those in the region, the area signified freedom; a safe place of refuge. In 1861, the American Missionary Association (AMA), an offshoot organization from the ABCFM, began teaching at these camps, often gathering students under a large oak tree nearby, which would become the site of the first reading of the Emancipation Proclamation in the South. It was here that the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute (Hampton) was founded in 1868 on the grounds of “Little Scotland,” a former plantation on the Hampton River in Virginia, by Samuel Chapman Armstrong (see Figure 26).

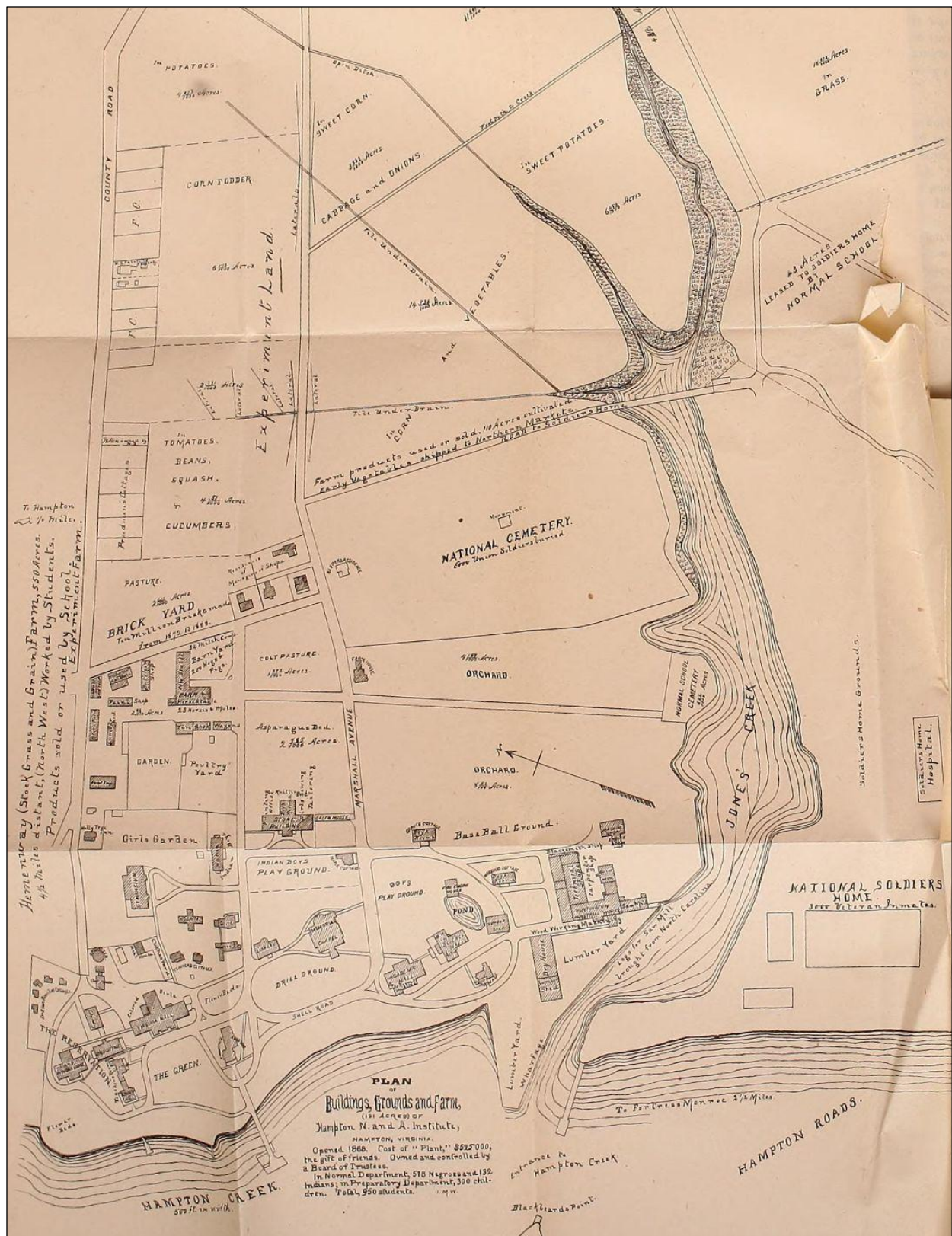


Figure 26: Map of Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute Site, 1878 (Armstrong, 1891)

Samuel Chapman Armstrong was the son of Richard Armstrong, the missionary and Minister of Public Instruction in Hawai‘i. The younger Armstrong was born in Hawai‘i and worked for his father, learning the educational model that was built across the islands throughout his childhood. Further educated in an elite New England college before enlisting into the Army in the Civil War, Armstrong’s life experiences led him to establish Hampton. At its founding, Armstrong articulated Hampton’s purpose

The thing to be done was clear: to train selected Negro youth who should go out and teach and lead their people first by example, by getting land and homes; to give them not a dollar that they could earn for themselves; to teach respect for labor, to replace stupid drudgery with skilled hands, and in this way to build up an industrial system for the sake not only of self-support and intelligent labor, but also for the sake of character. (Hampton University, n.d.)

Armstrong procured funding from the AMA to establish the school, which enrolled its first students under the curriculum heavily modeled by his father in Hawai‘i: manual labor, academics, and religion. The focus was on practical experience, and students paid their way through school by working jobs on the expanding campus. When Richard Henry Pratt reached out to Armstrong about creating a program on the Hampton campus for a group of Native prisoners, Armstrong was reluctant to educate two minority communities together, but ultimately saw the economic potential for his growing institution. He agreed to accept 17 Native students, whom Armstrong escorted from Florida to Virginia in 1878 (Hultgren et al., 1989).

The Hampton Indian Program operated for 45 years until 1923, when the program was ended due to controversy over the co-education of the African American and Native communities, namely that they were co-existing (Hampton University, n.d.). Over 1,400 Native students from 66 Native communities across the US were educated at Hampton (Hampton University, n.d.), which utilized the Hawaiian schools’ experiment and would itself become the prototype for the FIBS system to begin just one year later in Pennsylvania under Pratt’s leadership.

The Hampton Method, employed at the establishment of the campus, utilized the built environment in similar ways as in Hawai‘i, adopting the “head, heart, and hand” mantra as Armstrong was fond of saying. The site chosen for the school was familiar, accessible, and open (see Figure 27) (Poh, 1969). The first enrolled students already lived in the region, had established it as a safe place, and many had already begun their informal learning on the site. Thus, the site was determined to be ideal for Armstrong and the AMA. Armstrong believed that “surroundings had a greater influence on an individual than heredity” and designed his campus architecture to function as symbols and tools to build character through uplift toward civilization, especially when compared to the domestic dwellings and cabins the students came from (Lomawaima, 2014).

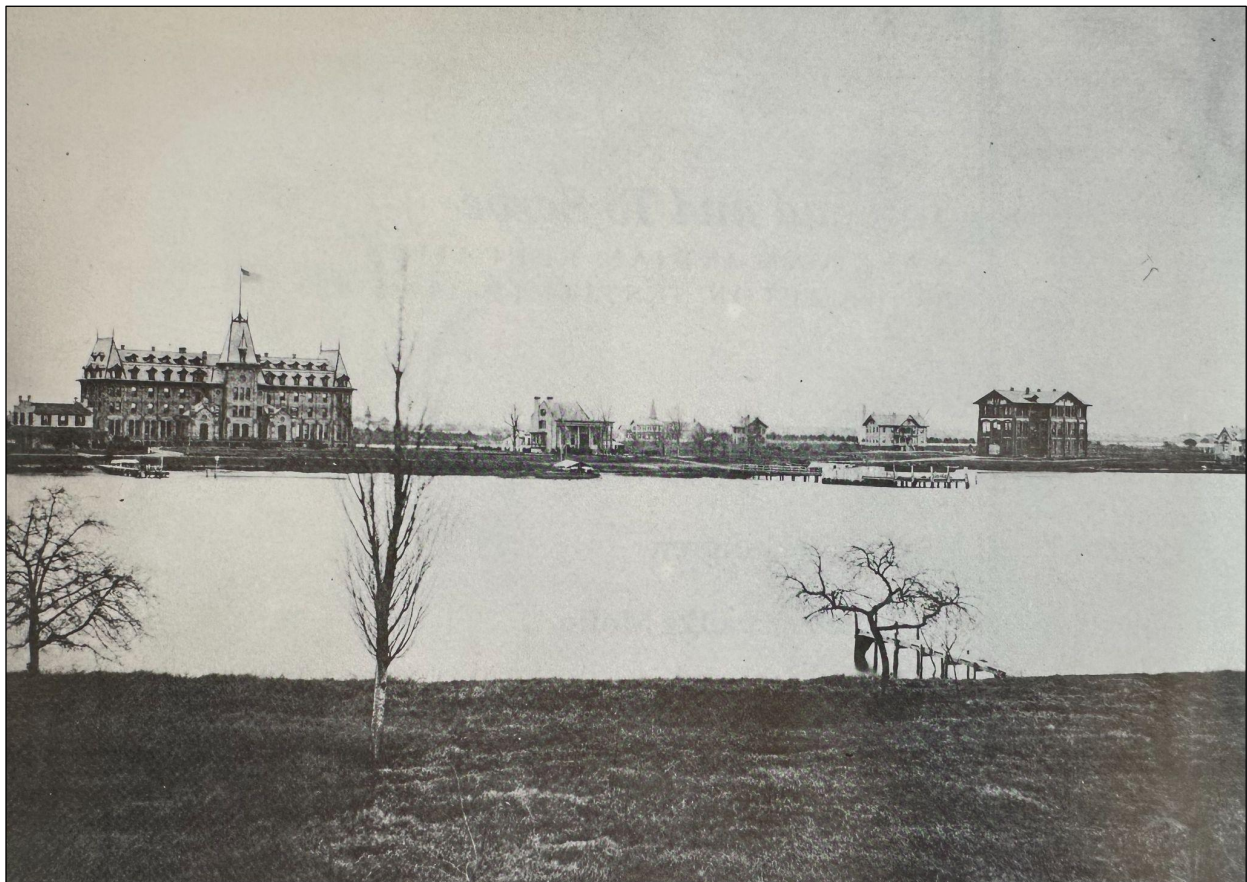


Figure 27: Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute from Across Hampton River, 1878 (Hultgren et al., 1989)

Armstrong and Pratt could envision the Indian Program fitting into the campus life at Hampton, but there was fear that the surrounding regional community would not accept the Native students as they had the African American students; many of the settler colonialists were apprehensive about Native students being educated, and further, doing so in this integrated manner was shocking to some. The first Native students arrived on campus in the middle of the night, and were separated from the African American students in different buildings and closely surveilled by a dormitory “house mother” or “house father” (Booker T. Washington was the first in the role, where he learned the implementation of the model) (Encyclopedia Virginia, n.d.).

Though both the African American and the Native students had nearly identical curricular experiences at Hampton, they lived, learned, and worked in separate spaces. The new Native students were temporarily housed in existing facilities “in a way to harm no one” with a few boys staying in outdoor tents “to test the question both of climate and the best mode of shelter” (Southern Workman, 1878). The girls occupied ten rooms in Virginia Hall until two dormitory buildings were constructed for them (see Figure 28). Armstrong designed the educational buildings with campus architect Charles D. Cake to be grandiose, but the dormitories, though large, were simple in design and furnishings, a representation of what the students’ future life post-schooling might entail (Armstrong, 1891).

Soon the Wigwam was built for the boys’ dormitory (see Figure 29), and the Winona for girls (see Figure 30), which included teachers’ rooms and a laundry room. Indian Cottages were also built near the girls’ dormitory for families (Hultgren et al., 1989).

Winona lodge not only functioned as a place where adjustments were made under the supervision of a maternal matron to life off the reservation but also served as a vehicle for increasing the self-respect and self-help of its residents. To accomplish the latter, the girls were encouraged to feel that the whole residence belonged to them and were given responsibilities for its daily maintenance, such as scrubbing the floors. (Hultgren et al., 1989)

Classrooms for the Indian Program were in Academic Hall (see Figure 31), the Indian Training Shop (see Figure 32), and the Marquand Cottage (see Figure 33).



Figure 28: Virginia Hall, n.d. (Hampton University Archives)



Figure 29: Wigwam, n.d. (Hampton University Archives)



Figure 30: Winona, n.d. (Hampton University Archives)



Figure 31: Academic Hall, n.d. (Hampton University Archives)



Figure 32: Indian Training Shop, ca. 1925 (Hultgren et al., 1989)



Figure 33: Marquand Cottage, n.d. (Hultgren et al., 1989)

The Native students held the same responsibilities on campus as the African American students: they were required to work in the school shops or on the school farm to pay for their tuition (Encyclopedia Virginia, n.d.).

Many critics have charged that Armstrong's program mirrored and even reinforced convictions that [students] were suited only for manual labor, [but] his initial design was strictly practical. Hampton had no endowment, and most of its early students were impoverished. Manual labor in the school's fields and shops subsidized their education. (Encyclopedia Virginia, n.d.)

They also had two hours of industrial training per day and two hours of academic study (Hultgren et al., 1989). Students at Hampton, like at Hilo Boarding School, were expected to become teachers, and the skills they gained were critical to supporting themselves in the future.

The settler colonialist mentality informed the Hampton Method: education was a space for transformation to civilization achieved through both the built environment and through the curriculum, which focused on teacher training, manual labor, and religious studies. The spaces functioned according to strategy for manipulation in the choice of form, the highly specialized nature of the rooms and buildings, and the design of the exterior. When students were not in the classroom, they were working in the fields, gaining agricultural training. The students also participated in a program where they would live in the homes of community members to practice their skills. All reinforced the process to civilization through controlled methods of discipline and surveillance.

Case Study: Carlisle Indian Industrial School

Carlisle became a pilot program for the FIBS system; the fundamental elements – the form, structure, and function – of the student’s experience that were successful at Lahainaluna Seminary, Hilo Boarding School, and Hampton were piloted at Carlisle and soon after reproduced and replicated across the country. These elements included removal from place and family, oppressive surveillance, and immersion in a methodically controlled environment that eliminated individual identity for the purpose of genocide (Lomawaima & Ostler, 2018).

Pratt was shaped by the ideas and possibilities of his time, and he worked tirelessly to advance his vision of Native people welcomed within, and contributing to, an idealized democracy. In his vision Native people would emerge from the suffocating cocoon of Indigenous cultures as “civilized” individuals, never looking back to the doomed vestiges of tribalism. (Lomawaima & Ostler, 2018, p. 96)

Carlisle Barracks proved to be the ideal environment for such a vision.

Site History and Organizational Structure

This case study explores the Carlisle site as a collection of buildings. The multi-layered history of the site from its origin as a military installation through its transition as the symbol of the FIBS system provides a rich environment in which to conduct a contextual analysis of the built environment. This documentation of the intersection between policy and architectural implementation in the FIBS system can be used by planners, policy makers, and preservationists to inform decisions regarding the FIBS sites' history. Carlisle serves as the historical model for the FIBS system in its development of curriculum and use of the built environment, and as a contemporary model in terms of its preservation status including designation on the National Register, as a National Historic Landmark, and as a National Monument. It is, therefore, an important site to acknowledge, understand, and interpret as a means of reconciliation with its past.

In 1878, after less than a year overseeing the Hampton Indian Program, Richard Henry Pratt lobbied Congress to allow him to set up a boarding school, a pilot for what he envisioned could become a model of Native education across the country. Pratt petitioned the Secretary of the Interior for 300 Native students and a place in a good community to prove how easy it would be to civilize them (Pratt & Utley, 2003). Pratt had the perfect place in mind, in one of the “best” communities: the abandoned Carlisle Barracks in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, just 30 miles north of Gettysburg. “It lay in a fertile valley, skillfully developed by an industrious and thrifty race, and where excellent railroad facilities would bring [the students] in touch with the kindly people of Pennsylvania” (Carlisle Indian Industrial School, 1902). Carlisle was a small community with significant religious influence, which Pratt determined would be an environment sympathetic to the students' experience, and far from Native communities. It was also near the well-established Dickinson College (the alma mater of his colleague Samuel Chapman Armstrong's father), which would later support continued learning for Carlisle graduates. Most importantly, as a

military installation, it was designed as a site for surveillance and control of its subjects (see Figure 34).

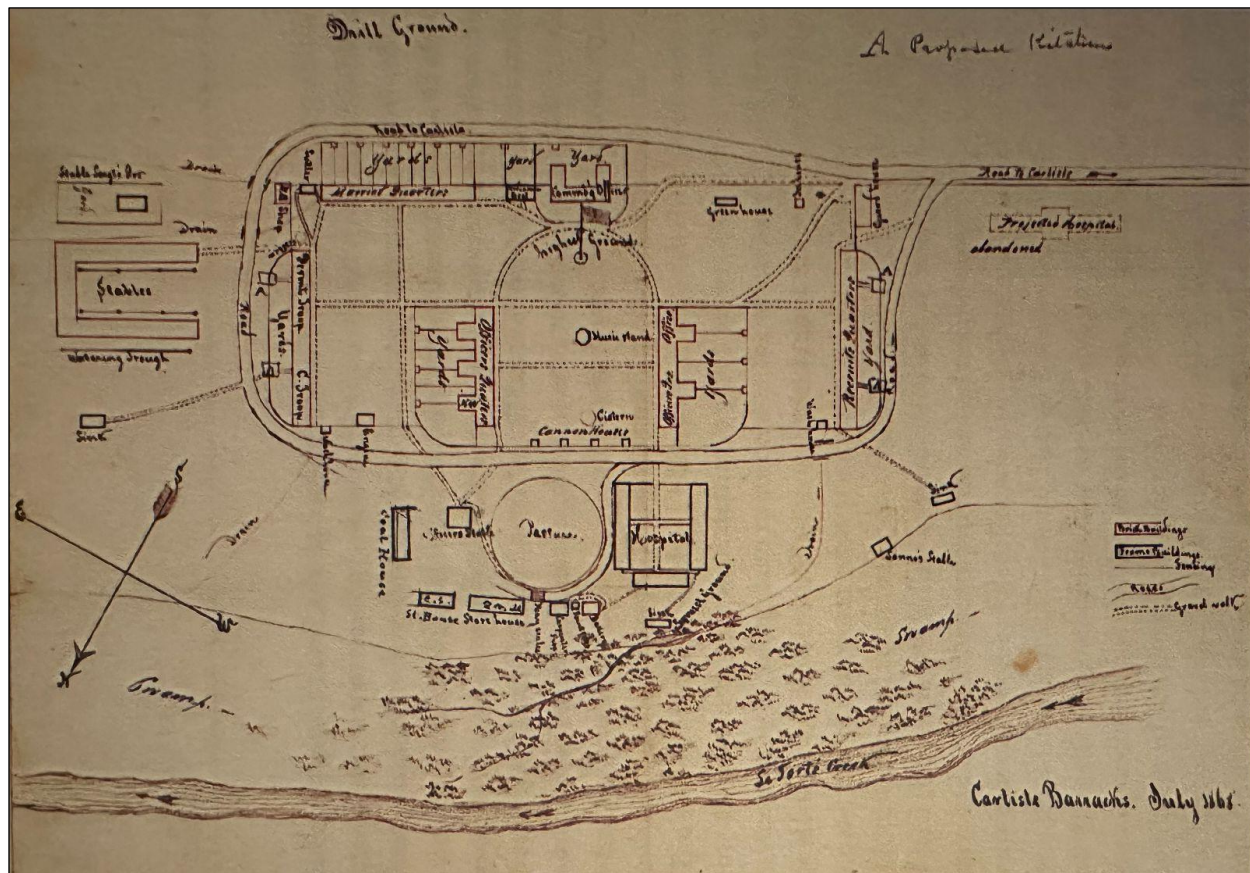


Figure 34: Map of Carlisle Barracks, 1868 (National Archives and Records Administration)

The US Army's Carlisle Barracks had been established over 100 years earlier on this land in 1757, making it one of the nation's oldest military installations. It housed US troops from the Seven Years War from 1756-1763, trained military engineers during the American Revolution from 1775-1783, and educated the Army cavalry from 1838-1871, notably during the Civil War (Craig et al., 1984). Confederate forces burned down all of the buildings on the grounds except the Guard House, which still stands, and in 1868, all the buildings that were destroyed were reconstructed according to the original

plans. In 1871, with the Army's focus shifting toward Western expansion, the site was decommissioned for active use (Craig et al., 1984).

Pratt served as Superintendent, using the strategy and structure he learned in the Army, at Fort Marion, and at Hampton to design, build, and implement an experience for Native youth that he believed would succeed in assimilating them into settler colonial culture. The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) adopted the Carlisle model, "favor[ing] schools built off-reservation that would remove children from their families and homes by sending them to institutions in often distant locales...A series of Commissioners of Indian Affairs supported this belief by founding off-reservation schools on the basis of Pratt's Indian School at Carlisle, building day and boarding schools across the country, some on- though most off-reservation, for the sole purpose of removing students from their languages, cultural practices, and beliefs to assimilationist ends" (Green & Cook, 2020). Pratt's vision of the school environment was that of a transformation process: students would enter as "savages;" receive vocational, academic, and religious training to erase and replace their ties to their communities; and exit as "civilized."

He aspired to be the architect of an educational system that made Native people civilized members of settler colonial society. His career had prepared him for the task, teaching the Native prisoners at Fort Marion and advocating for and overseeing the creation of the Hampton Indian Program. He proved through his ambition, his innovative efforts in fundraising and marketing, and his disciplinarian role, that he would be successful. In the years to follow, Pratt would secure funding – notably by the "Quaker ladies" who donated over \$120,000 to Pratt's efforts – for building repairs to be completed by the students, military-style uniforms to be made by the students, and vocational training facilities and equipment, in large part by widely and shamelessly marketing the school's successes (Ambrose & Fox, 1904). Pratt's personal connections and highly effective public relations campaign generated resources that were exemplary; they simply were not available to other schools following Carlisle's model and as a result many of its standards were beyond their reach.

However, Carlisle's ideology was not beyond reach; it permeated the more than 400 boarding schools that would adhere to Carlisle's slogan: "Kill the Indian, Save the Man" (Lomawaima & Ostler, 2018). Though the schools after Carlisle would implement what they could of Pratt's vision as shaped by the multiple actors and contexts in their own strategic action fields (Fligstein, 2001), "the violence conjured by the slogan was real; when we call the assimilation program a "campaign," in the military sense, we are not mislabeling things" (Lomawaima & Ostler, 2018, p. 81). Military discipline, uniforms, segregation by gender and age, strict routines and training programs, and heavy surveillance made the intention of the program clear to the students: the school would teach them how to become subjects (Lomawaima & Ostler, 2018).

Discipline, largely uncommon in Native communities, was militaristic; students' mistakes were named in public to encourage their humiliation, they were tried and sentenced by a jury of their peers, and punishment most often was solitary confinement in the school's jail cell. These institutions were designed for harmful psychological effects: to erase Native knowledge and belief systems, producing space that created an opportunity for total control by institutional power (Lomawaima & Ostler, 2018). When children died at school – as almost 300 did over the course of the school's 39 years of operation – they were buried in the school cemetery, as Pratt was unwilling to send their remains home to their families, often burying them in unmarked graves instead. Overwhelmingly, students at Carlisle suffered from poor health and a shockingly high death rate given their lack of immunity to disease, insufficient food and clothing, stress, abuse, and unsanitary conditions (Lomawaima & Ostler, 2018). In trying to maintain a positive public image, Pratt consistently under-reported deaths and runaways, contributing to the fear and uncertainty of the experience at Carlisle. In all of this, the children were taught their place.

Architecture as Implementation Strategy

Settler colonialists understood the power of the built environment, using space – both interiors and exteriors – as a means of communicating an ideology of civilization that would alter behavior. When

building the FIBS system, architecture was chosen and modified according to its form, structure, and function. As a tool of civilization, architecture's form communicates status: the larger the footprint and the more stories a building has, the more rooms that were differentiated by purpose, and the use of manufactured building materials all conveyed wealth, and therefore, civilization (Lomawaima, 2014).

In the settler colonial context, analyzing the built environment's organization of form, structure, and function is critical in understanding the transformation process from "savage" and "civilized." The use of monumental structures, highly organized interior spaces, and demarcated exterior open spaces was a strategy for using the built environment as an assimilation tool that quickly became institutionalized in the BIA as one facet in the education and training of Native students (Green & Cook, 2020). It was logical that the physical environment should model as civilized an atmosphere as possible: clean, solidly built structures that would house every enrolled student (Adams, 1995). Over time, the goal was for students to internalize the strategy of the tool as well, believing the transformation from "savage" to "civilized" was necessary, not merely participating in it, which was viewed as proof of the success of the process.

In the early days of the FIBS program, there was little financial or public support for the schools, so many of the first FIBS sites were repurposed military forts and barracks or other industrial buildings, which remained largely unchanged, as seen at Carlisle. As support grew and the BIA had evidence of effectiveness, new buildings were designed and constructed employing this same ideology (see Figures 35 and 36). Typically, the new buildings were designed in the Neoclassical and Federalist styles common in government buildings with some modifications in style and materials specific to their regions (Green & Cook, 2020). In general, buildings were monumental but decorated minimally, reflecting their use as institutions meant to manipulate. Students often built the buildings themselves as a training opportunity, using their free labor and sometimes were even required to contribute their own financial resources to purchase supplies.

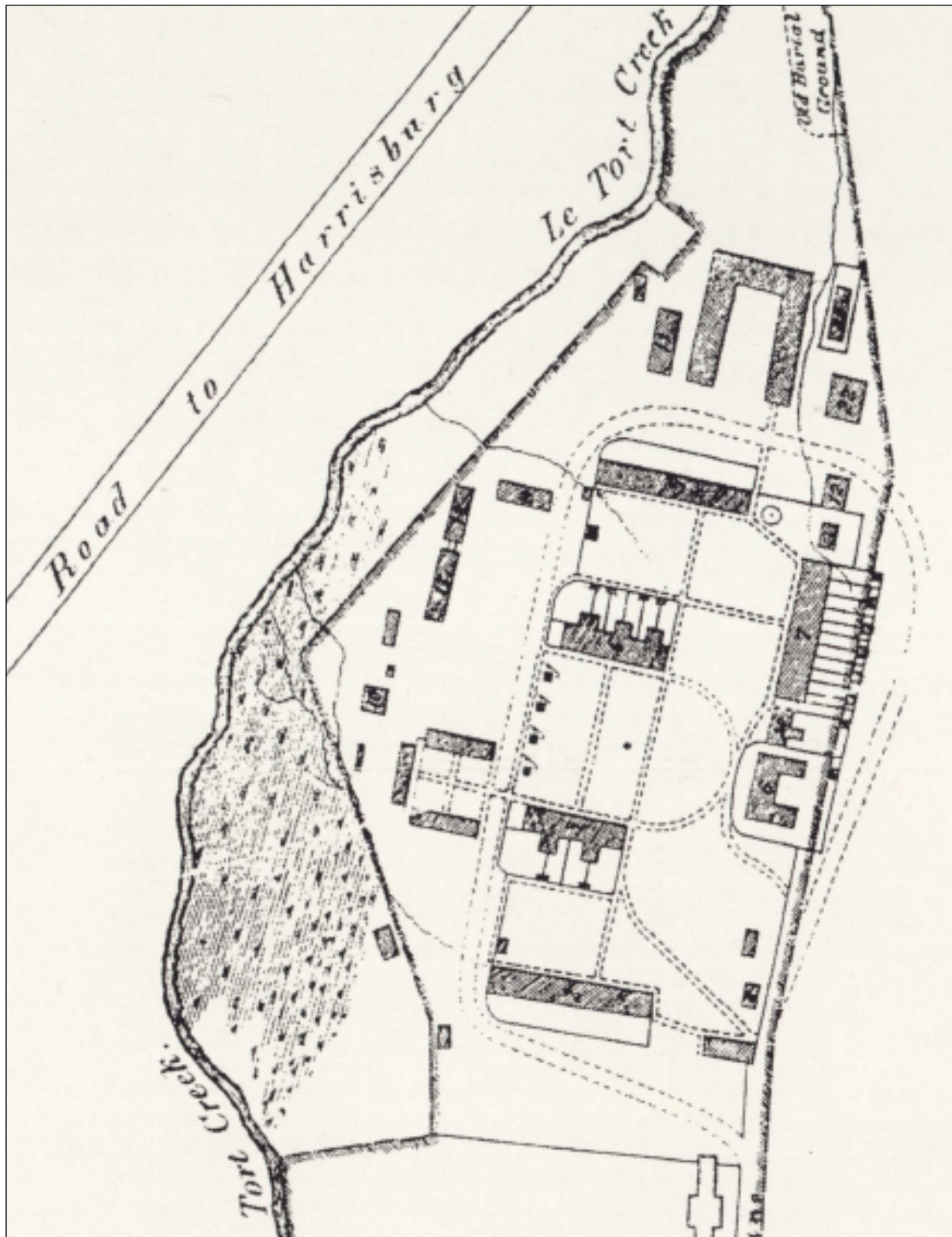


Figure 35: Buildings of Carlisle Barracks at Foundation of Indian School, 1879 (Jacqueline Fear-Segal)

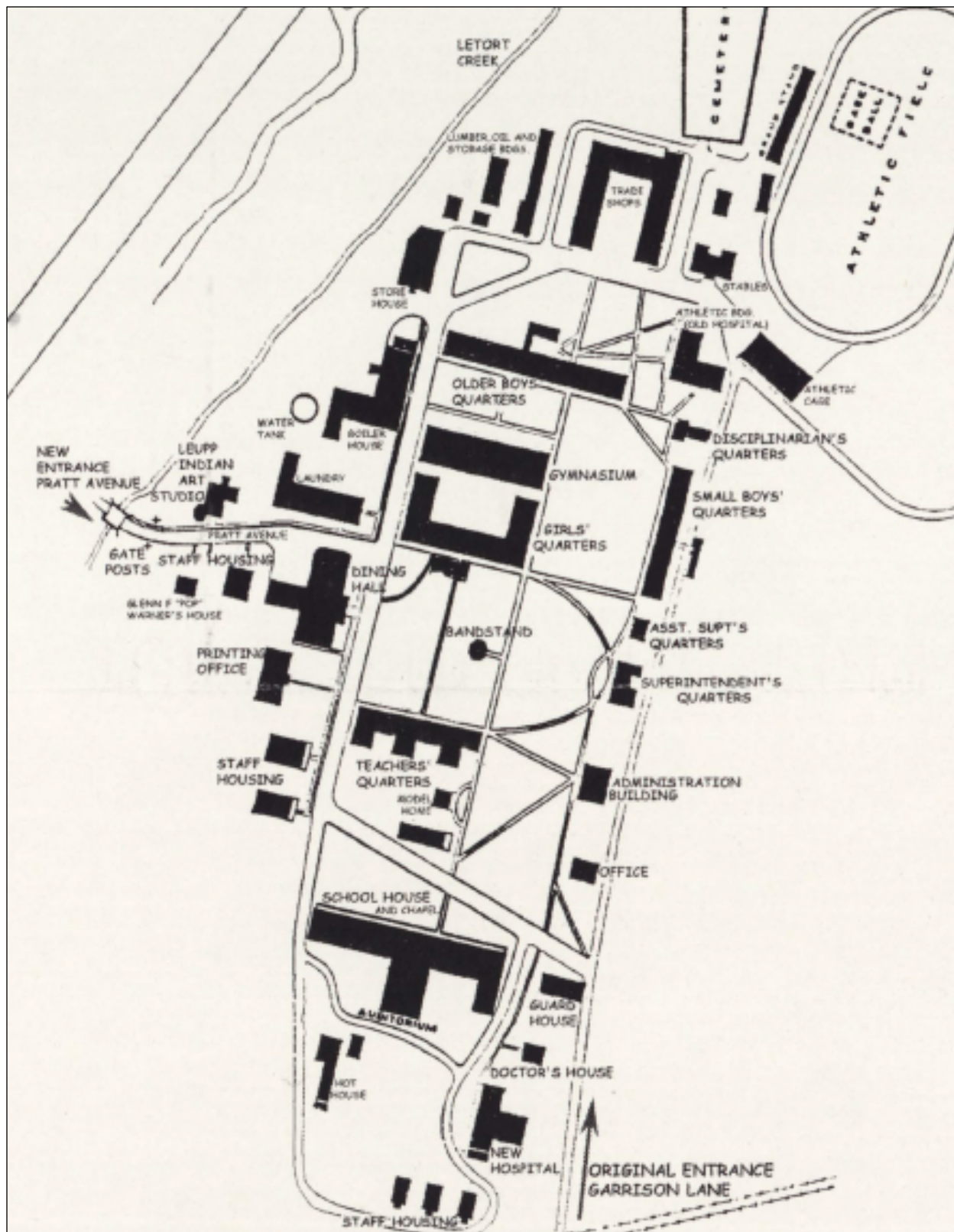


Figure 36: Buildings of Carlisle Indian School at Closure, 1918 (Jacqueline Fear-Segal)

At Carlisle, the space was designed for its original purpose as a military installation to create an environment as described: control, order, and uniformity in traversing the space, experiencing the space, and using the space was meant to create subjects out of individuals (Green & Cook, 2020). This use of architecture in military installations as seen at the Carlisle Barracks was long held as standard in the military field for the purpose of creating subjects out of individuals so they could be trained to follow orders without thought. Pratt found that this architecture suited the boarding school's purpose as well: creating subjects out of children who would be educated to follow settler colonial societal norms. The built environment at Carlisle functioned in two ways: to set a standard of civilization to be aspired to while also emotionally and cognitively creating a separation between the students' home and this new place.

In the Fall of 1879, Pratt recruited 64 Native youth from the Rosebud reservation and 18 from the Pine Ridge reservation in South Dakota as the school's first students (Theimer, 2018). After tearful goodbyes, the students boarded a boat down the Missouri River and then a train to Carlisle, where they arrived after midnight. Despite the darkness, crowds were waiting to watch them as they walked the half mile from the train station to the school (Theimer, 2024). The site had not yet been prepared, the buildings had not been converted to suitable dormitories and classrooms, and deferred maintenance from its days as a military installation was significant.

Soon after the school opened, the students' arrival procedure became routine initiation: they would walk from the train through the imposing gates with grand architectural features beside the Guard House, pose for a "before" photograph that would later be compared to an "after" photograph to market the transformation process as a success, then taken to be physically transformed (Theimer, 2024). The male students had their long hair cut short as it was seen as a symbol of savagery. They were issued their uniforms, selected a new settler colonial name from a list, and assigned to companies by gender and age which informed their shared dormitory room assignments (Adams, 1995). This routine was an assault on Native identity, and that was the purpose: students were instructed not to speak their Native languages,

were taught to march from place to place, and were required to adhere to the daily schedule, which was to be followed by the minute (Theimer, 2024).

The curriculum at Carlisle included manual labor in agriculture and other vocations, academic training, and religious conversion to Christianity. Elements of the vocational curriculum were taught by gender in separate specialized buildings across the site: shoemaking, saddle-making, metal work, tailoring, and farming for the boys, and teaching, nursing, cooking, sewing, cleaning, and laundry for the girls (Theimer, 2024). This structure reinforced siloed learning for assimilation and allowed school staff to keep close watch on their activities and whereabouts. Academic learning, however, was co-ed and in English.

Opportunities to practice the skills they learned were ample, most notably through the summer Outing Program, which placed well-trained students into settler colonial homes to further their skills in typical “civilized” daily life. Students entering the boarding school had various backgrounds with religion; some had converted, and others still practiced Native religions as culture and thus needed to undergo a transformation of their worldview. Rules set by the BIA required students in government-run schools to attend church and develop a systematic program of religious learning including morning and evening prayers and Bible study (Adams, 1995).

Children in this new space were immersed in a new world of settler colonial linear spatial arrangement as the primary form, unseen in the natural spaces and in the Native architecture they were familiar with. Many Native cultures have at their foundation an intimate circle as the primary form, and the buildings at Carlisle were immense and rectangular; the rooms inside of the buildings were rectangular, and the beds and furniture were rectangular, all arranged in straight rows (Adams, 1995). The children were dominated by the built environment’s form - its grand architecture and immensely designed open spaces (Lomawaima, 2014).

The architecture that was not physically dominating was mentally dominating in its interior spatial organization. Pratt's Outing Program, a signature program at Carlisle, offered senior students the opportunity to live off-site in the home of a civilized family to gain essential experience and practice living among civilized society members, and served Pratt's marketing agenda: it gave settler colonialists a chance to witness the transformation of the students in depth. In preparation for joining the Outing Program, students practiced in a model house on the site, small and welcoming on the exterior, but highly arranged and meticulously organized inside as it was meant for the students to perform what they learned before going out into the civilized world.

The production of space relates to structure; thus, space can be analyzed by defining the relationship between private and public (Lefebvre, 1974). At Carlisle, interior space was carefully organized, uniform, ordered, and clean. Interior spaces were segmented by use, clearly communicating which spaces were public and which were private. Dormitories, for example, were separated by gender and age; students who did not meet defined requirements did not belong in those spaces. They employed "house mothers" and "house fathers," and all students were referred to as "boys" or "girls" despite many being in their teens (Theimer, 2024), enforcing authoritarian paternalism. The dormitories were filled with identical beds organized into rows, outfitted with identical desks and tables, one after the next. These highly structured spaces provided an opportunity for creating new spatial norms as a program technology of implementation.

Academic buildings were built for specific functions, and classrooms were likewise utilized for specific topics. Even staircases served as design affordances to communicate civilized space: moving students from one floor to another demarcated rooms by function – dining and recreating happened on the first floor while sleeping happened above, for example. Staircases also communicated a physical barrier to civilized people: students who had never seen stairs and did not yet know how to use them were deemed less coordinated and therefore less civilized (Theimer, 2024). In student spaces, the separation

allowed for close monitoring, always keeping an ordered and controlled environment (Green & Cook, 2020).

Analyzing space through function is a matter of expression. Performing an action in a space determines its qualities and effectiveness and thereby appropriates it for a certain use (Lefebvre, 1974). Carlisle's site functioned in the "application of the [civilization] process [through] the disruption of the political, social, and cultural life" (Carr, 2009, p. 110) of its students by regulating student movement through the design of open space. They marched from place to place and practiced drills, along straight lines, on sidewalks and roads, using the manicured grass only for approved recreation, reinforcing an environment of control.

In the settler colonial ideology, boundaries constructed in the built environment are clues to civilization, defining environments in an otherwise chaotic world: white fences separate domestic space, maintained landscaping communicates domination over nature, trees planted in a row line a path approved for walking. Where landscaping was not uniform, extensive manicuring was employed to tame the wildness of nature, conveying a sense of beauty through order. The grounds at Carlisle received careful and detailed attention to maintain their order. In this way, even open space functioned as a psychological experience: long straight roads led students only where they were allowed to go, taking them on a curated experience along the way, where they were shown only what they were meant to see (Adams, 1995).

Analyzed together, form, structure, and function were used as symbols and tools to uplift and transform students into a "new level of civilization", but spatial strategy at Carlisle also specified that students should not assume that they would be the owners of such spaces in the future but rather would serve those who owned such spaces. The goal of a Carlisle education was not for students to attain civilization and thrive in settler colonial society, it was only for them to be able to function within it. As a tool of civilization, the built environment set a standard to be aspired to while reminding students of who they were – subjects. It is important to remember that Carlisle's architecture was built for this purpose. As

the Carlisle Barracks, military designers employed form, structure, and function, to accomplish the same objective as that of the boarding schools, which is why the site was ideal for Pratt. The site was monitored completely, using the site design, the buildings themselves, the open space in between buildings, and the paths throughout as opportunities to exert control.

A significant marker of civilization is the built environment; architecture functions both as a symbol and as a tool of the civilization process. It is a key domain of human life with power to transform and uplift. The institutional architecture employed at Carlisle was capable of transformation and provided settler colonialists with direction as to where to focus their efforts. The highly organized spaces at Carlisle as a domain included aspects of planning, land use, material sourcing, design principles, construction, furnishing, and housekeeping all working in concert to uplift Native people to become more civilized (Lomawaima, 2014). As tools, these spaces communicated powerful physical and emotional reactions in service to the civilization process, segmenting and categorizing identities and experiences.

Buildings on the Carlisle Indian Industrial School Site

When the Carlisle school began in 1879, there were 13 buildings on the site (see Figure 37) including the: Guard House and Original Entrance (1), Academic Building (2), Administration Building (4), Superintendent's Quarters (5), Teachers' Quarters (6), Bandstand (7), Girls' Quarters (8), Large Boys' Quarters (10), Assistant Superintendent's Quarters (11), School Farms and Farmhouse (16), Industrial Shops (18), Blacksmith Shop (19), and Storehouse (21) (Theimer, 2024). Within eight years after opening by 1887, determining a need, seven additional buildings were built including the: Chapel (3), Gymnasium (9), Small Boys' Quarters (12), Disciplinarian's Quarters (13), Hospital/Athletic Quarters (14), Original Cemetery (17), and Dining Hall (27) (Theimer, 2024). By 1918 when the school closed, 13 additional buildings were built including the: Athletic Field and Grandstand (15), New Guard House (20), Boiler House (22), Laundry Building (23), Leupp Indian Art Studio (24), Pratt Avenue Entrance and LeTort Creek (25), Pop Warner's House (26), Printing Office (28), Model Home Cottage (29),

Greenhouse and Garden Beds (30), Hospital (31), Doctor's House (32), and Relocated Cemetery (33) (Theimer, 2024).

Of the 33 buildings on the Carlisle school site, only 18 are extant, six of which were on the site when the school opened, and two additional that were built within the first eight years of opening including the: Guard House, Administration Building (now Quarters 3), Superintendent's Quarters (now Quarters 2), Teachers' Quarters (now the Coren Apartments), Gymnasium, Hospital/Athletic Quarters (now Walsh Hall), School Farms and Farmhouse (now unused), and Storehouse (now the Army Wellness Center) (Theimer, 2024). Of note, some of the demolished buildings include the Academic Building, Chapel, Girls' Quarters (now tennis courts), Large Boys' Quarters, Small Boys' Quarters, Disciplinarian's Quarters, Industrial Shops, Blacksmith Shop, and Dining Hall, where most of the students' time would have been spent, thus erasing the physical remnants of the site in terms of the students' experience. Of critical significance, the original cemetery, built just one year after the school was opened in 1880 was determined to be obstructing the construction of a newly planned building in 1927; the remains of the 190 children buried there were relocated to a new location on the site at the edge of the property.

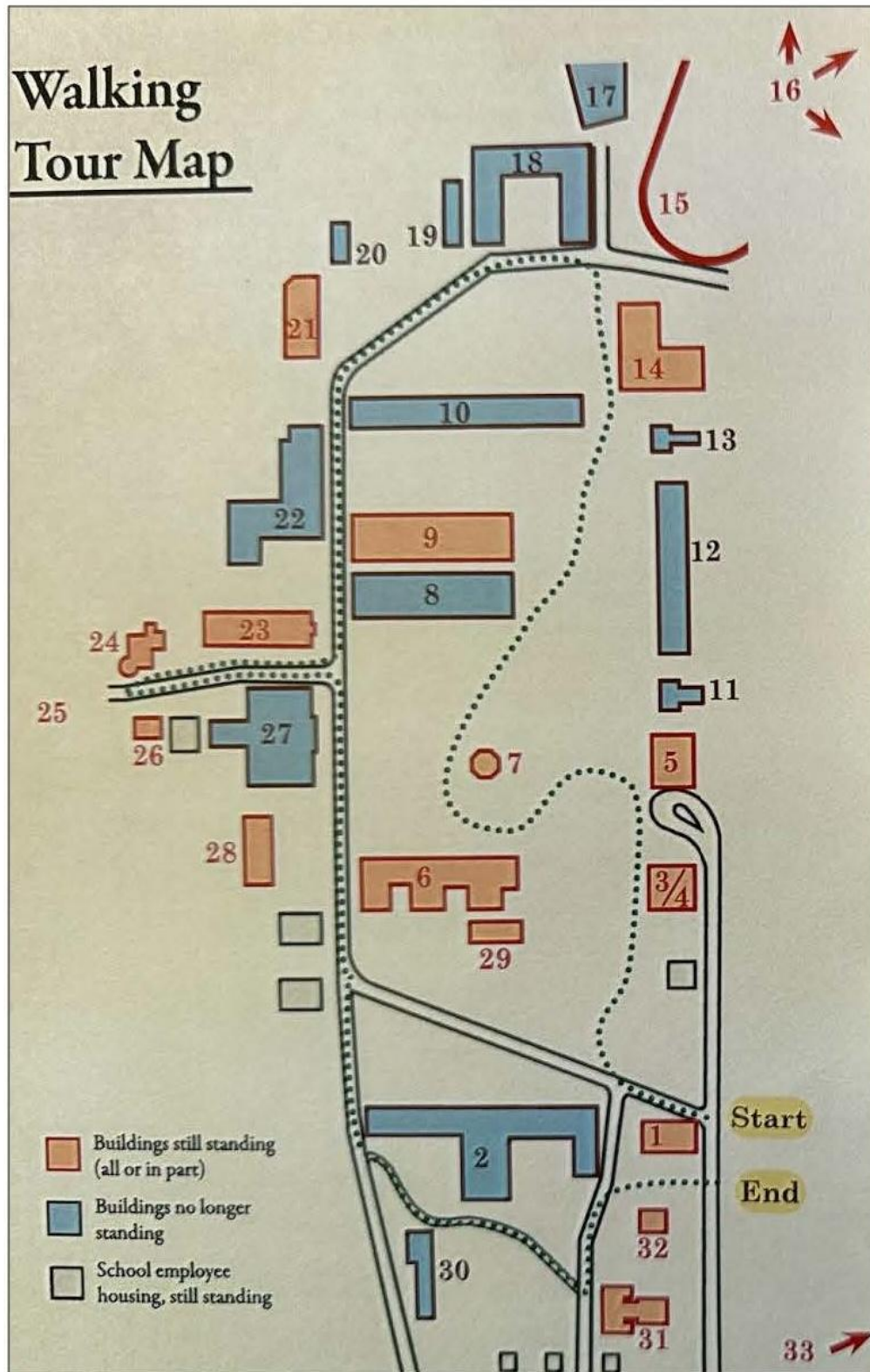


Figure 37: Walking Tour Map with Extant and Demolished Buildings, 2024 (Theimer, 2024)

An important strategy in the architectural site design at Carlisle was the use of monumental architecture to impose a psychological effect of minimizing the individual. Upon entrance to the site, students first walked down a long dirt road through an imposing gate and beside the Guard House, a jail cell where they were taken when punished (see Figures 38 and 39). Built of stone with few windows, the building was imposing and intimidating. The New Guard House, built in 1912, built in a similar fashion to the first – imposing and with few windows, but made of concrete and steel – was sited next to the Large Boys’ Quarters as a constant reminder of the consequence of misbehavior (see Figure 40) (Theimer, 2024). The Academic (see Figure 41) and Administration (see Figure 42) buildings were large, multi-story structures that were decorated minimally, emphasizing their function as spaces of regimented instruction. The staff and faculty residences (see Original Superintendent’s Quarters in Figure 43, and later with the porch addition in Figure 44, the Assistant Superintendent’s Quarters in Figure 45, the Disciplinarian’s Quarters in Figure 46, and the Doctor’s House and Hospital in Figure 47) were also grand, multi-story structures, but were adorned with landscaping, architectural flourishes, and heavily decorated interiors. These spaces were meant to communicate civilized structures, and civilized lifestyles, a model for the students to aspire to.



Figure 38: Original Entrance, 1901 (Theimer, 2024)



Figure 39: Guard House, ca. 1910 (Theimer, 2024)



Figure 40: New Guard House, ca. 1912 (Theimer, 2024)



Figure 41: Academic Building, ca. 1885 (Theimer, 2024)



Figure 42: Administration Building, ca. 1895 (Theimer, 2024)



Figure 43: Original Superintendent's Quarters, ca. 1881 (Theimer, 2024)



Figure 44: Superintendent's Quarters with Porch Addition, ca. 1914 (Theimer, 2024)



Figure 45: Assistant Superintendent's Quarters, ca. 1880 (Carlisle Indian School Digital Archives, Dickinson College)



Figure 46: Disciplinarian's Quarters (right), ca. 1882 (Theimer, 2024)

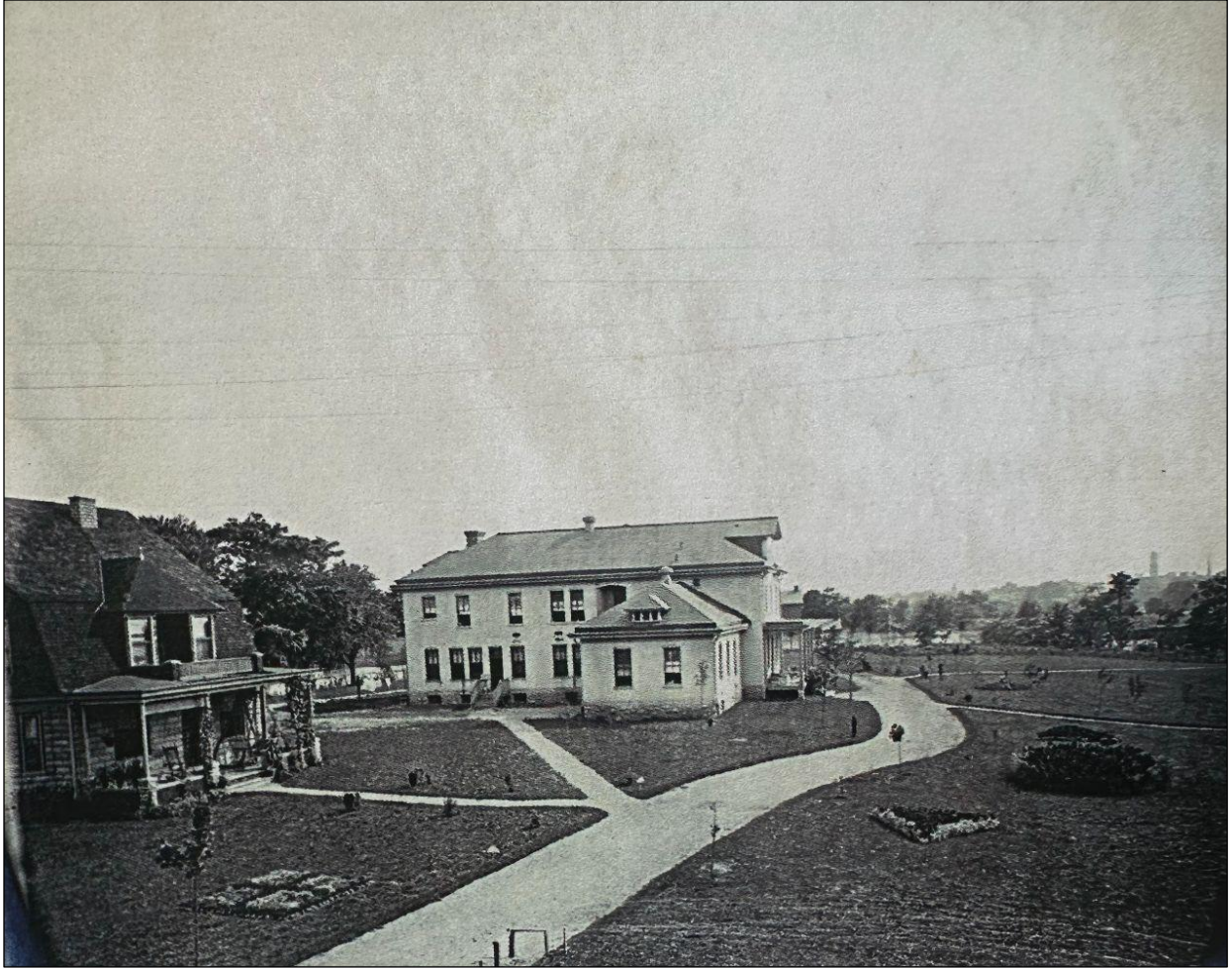


Figure 47: Doctor's House (left) and Hospital (center), ca. 1909 (Theimer, 2024)

Interior space was also highly ordered and organized with rectangular rooms that were uniform and contained, meant for specific functions, specific people, and specific genders. Like the exterior architecture, the interior space was arranged in a way to remove the individual and reinforce the perception and practice of constant surveillance. The dormitories were positioned close to each other and around the perimeter of the long open quad, separated by students' gender and age (see the Girls' Quarters in Figure 48, the Large Boys Quarters in Figure 49, and the Small Boys' Quarters in Figure 50). All very similar in structure, reinforcing the uniformity of the students as subjects, and arranged within

the inner rectangular space on the site along with the staff and faculty houses (see the Teachers' Quarters in Figure 51). The students were always within sight.



Figure 48: Girls' Quarters, ca. 1885 (Theimer, 2024)

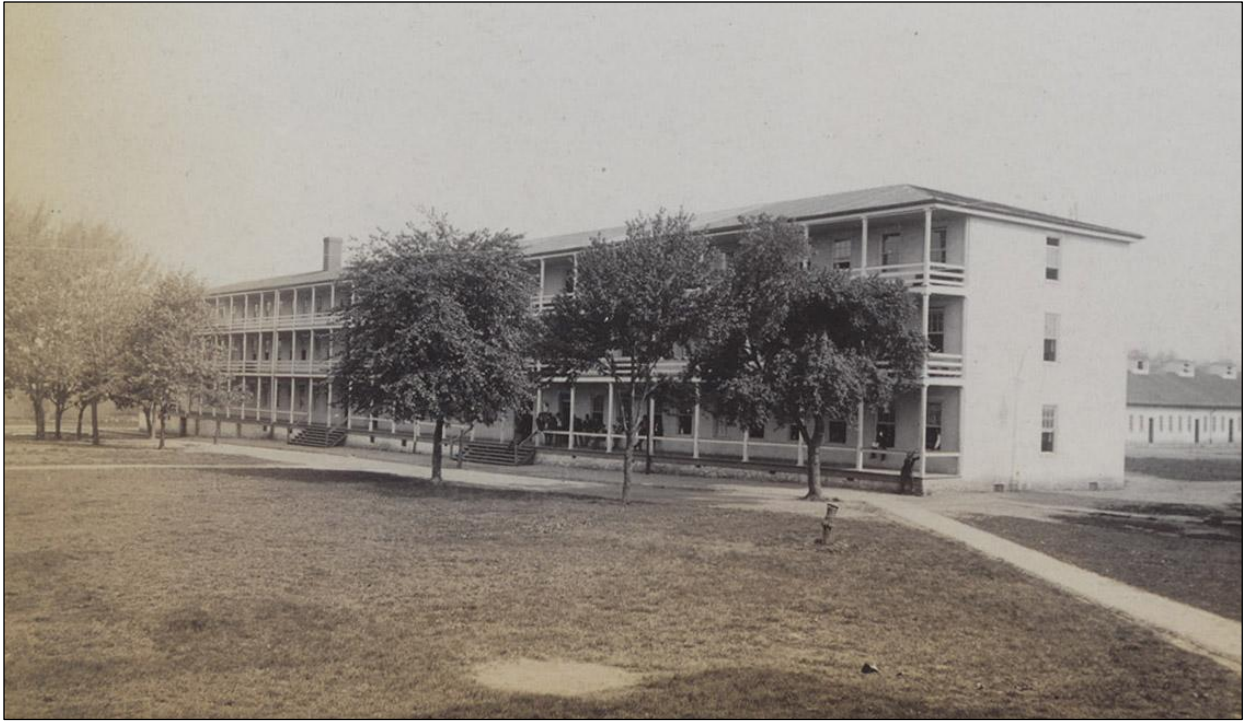


Figure 49: Large Boys' Quarters, ca. 1887 (Carlisle Indian School Digital Archives, Dickinson College)

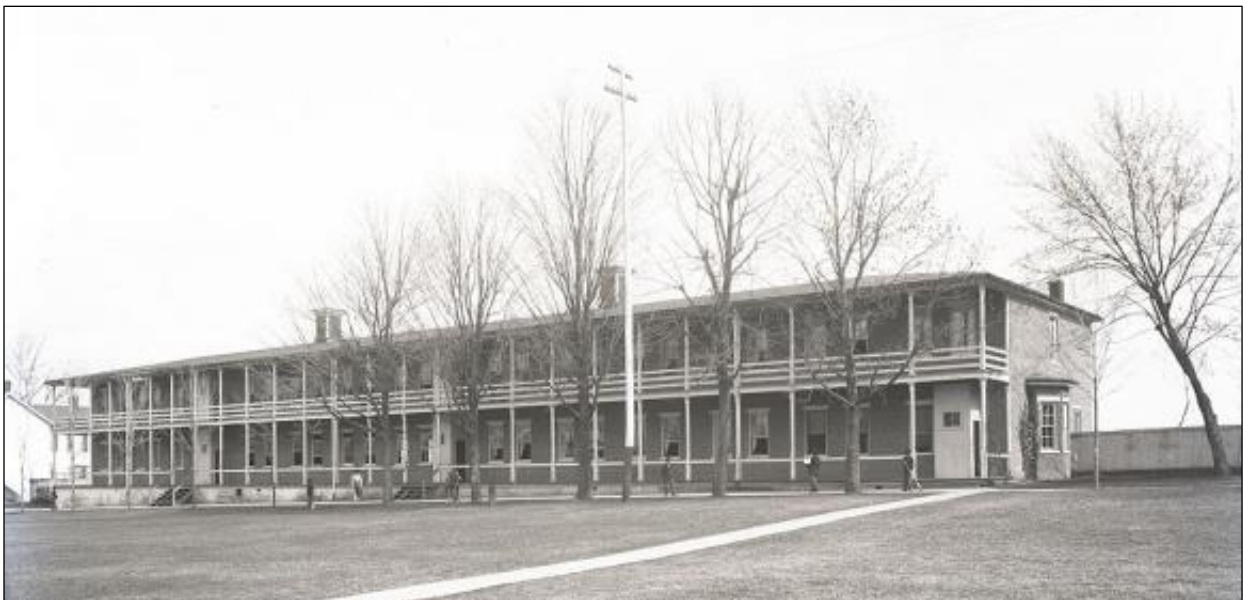


Figure 50: Small Boys' Quarters, ca. 1887 (Carlisle Indian School Digital Archives, Dickinson College)



Figure 51: Teachers' Quarters, ca. 1914 (Theimer, 2024)

The vocational spaces were organized in the outer rectangular space on the site, around the living spaces. Each area of study had its own building to more easily monitor the students' activity and progress. The Industrial Shops (see Figure 52), Blacksmith Shop (see Figure 53), Storehouse (see Figure 54), Boiler House (see Figure 55), Laundry Building (see Figure 56), Art Studio (see Figure 57), and Printing Office (see Figure 58) allowed the students to move through these training areas within their "companies" in order to retain their separation by gender and age. Interactions between the companies were highly regulated – even in leisure time – and took place on the open quad at the center of the site, where they could be watched (see Figure 59). Domestic studies were practiced in the Model Home Cottage (see Figure 60) where students would perfect their skills before participating in the Outing Program, a summer experience in a settler colonial house off-campus where they were exposed to a daily civilized lifestyle and likewise monitored by the family. Agricultural training (see the School Farm and Farmhouse in

Figure 61 and Greenhouse and Garden Beds in Figure 62) and religious studies (see the Chapel in Figure 63) were also major components of the curriculum, which took place across the site.



Figure 52: Industrial Shops, ca. 1890 (Theimer, 2024)



Figure 53: Blacksmith Shop/YMCA, ca. 1895 (Carlisle Indian School Digital Archives, Dickinson College)



Figure 54: Storehouse (now Army Wellness Center), 1984 (Craig et al., 1984)

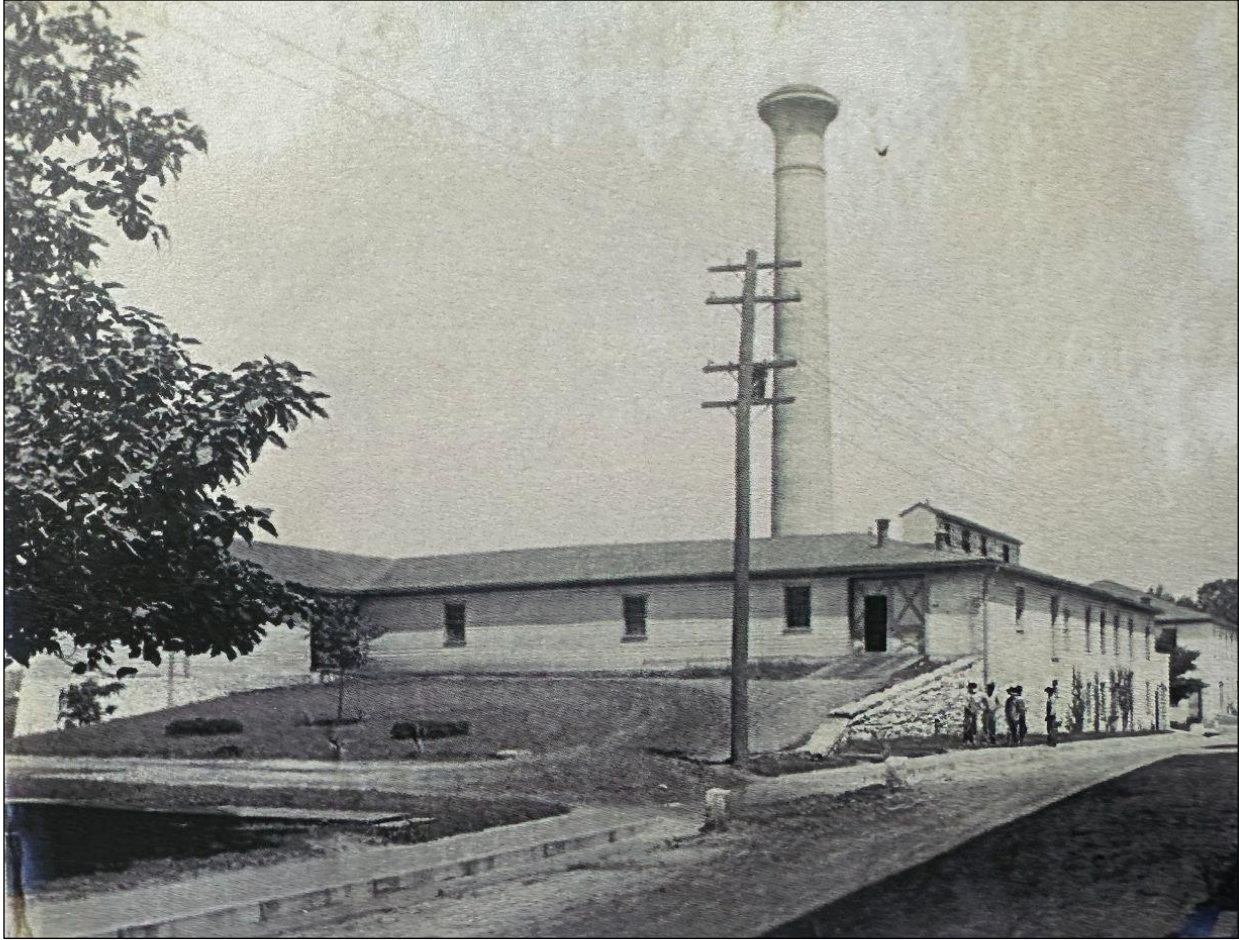


Figure 55: Boiler House with Storehouse in the Background, ca. 1909 (Theimer, 2024)

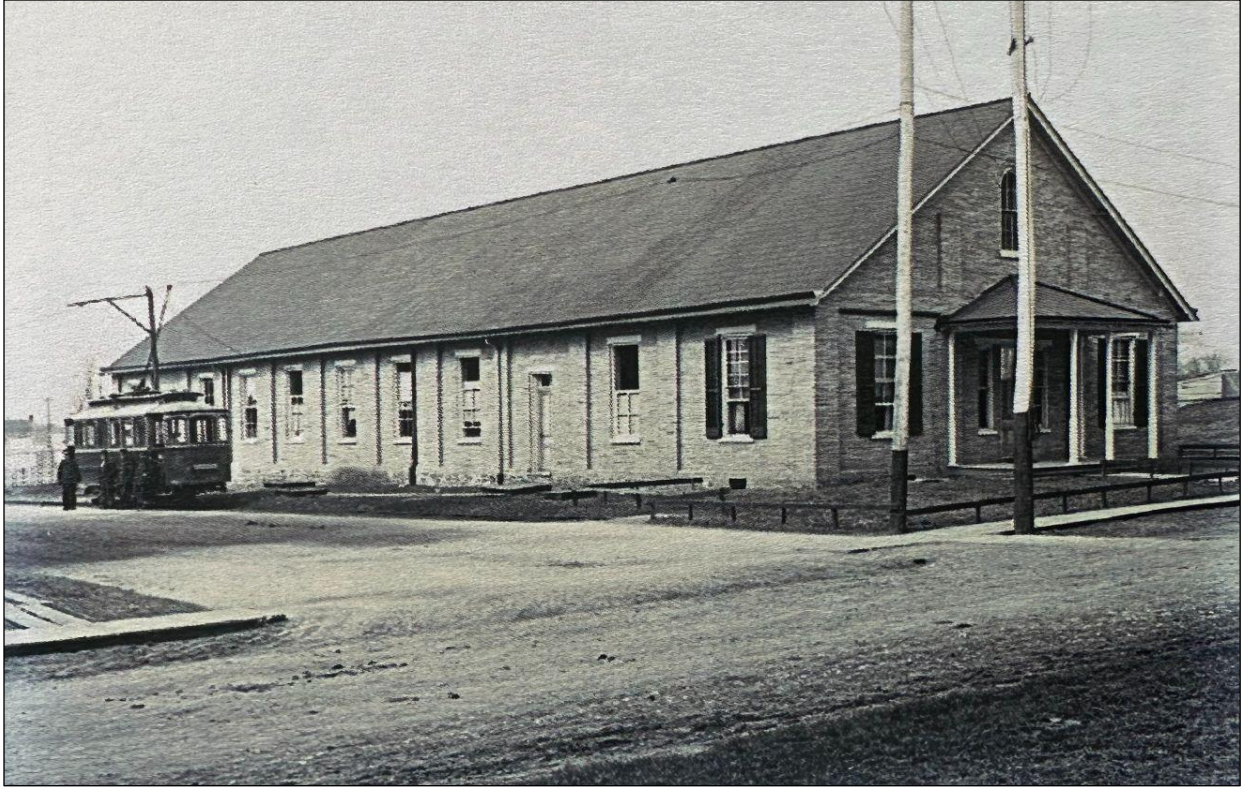


Figure 56: Laundry Building, ca. 1900 (Theimer, 2024)

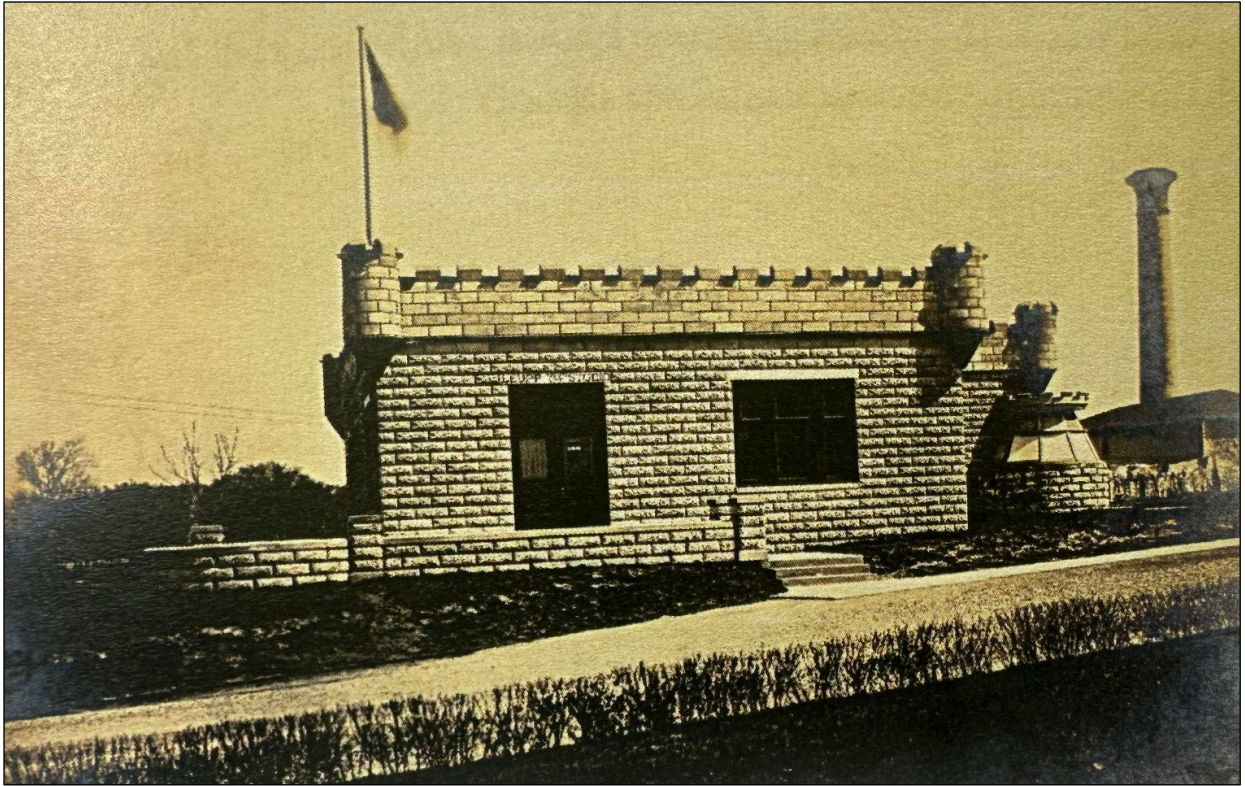


Figure 57: Leupp Indian Art Studio, ca. 1910 (Theimer, 2024)



Figure 58: Printing Office, ca. 1909 (Carlisle Indian School Digital Archives, Dickinson College)



Figure 59: Bandstand, ca. 1883 (Carlisle Indian School Digital Archives, Dickinson College)



Figure 60: Model Home Cottage, n.d. (Carlisle Indian School Digital Archives, Dickinson College)



Figure 61: School Farm and Farmhouse, ca. 1910 (Theimer, 2024)



Figure 62: Greenhouse and Garden Beds (Interior), ca. 1910 (Theimer, 2024)



Figure 63: Chapel, ca. 1887 (Theimer, 2024)

Around the site, the exterior space was demarcated, controlling it just as the interior spaces were controlled (see Figure 64). All was on view, surveilled at any time from any direction. Highly manicured landscaping, paths, and roads created boundaries to designate where the students could and could not go and which behaviors were permissible in each of these spaces. Trees planted in rows on the exterior echoed the neatly arranged rows of beds in the dormitories and chairs in the classrooms. Nothing was out of place, and all was intended to evoke the settler colonial ideology of domination over nature, taming the wildness, civilizing the savage.

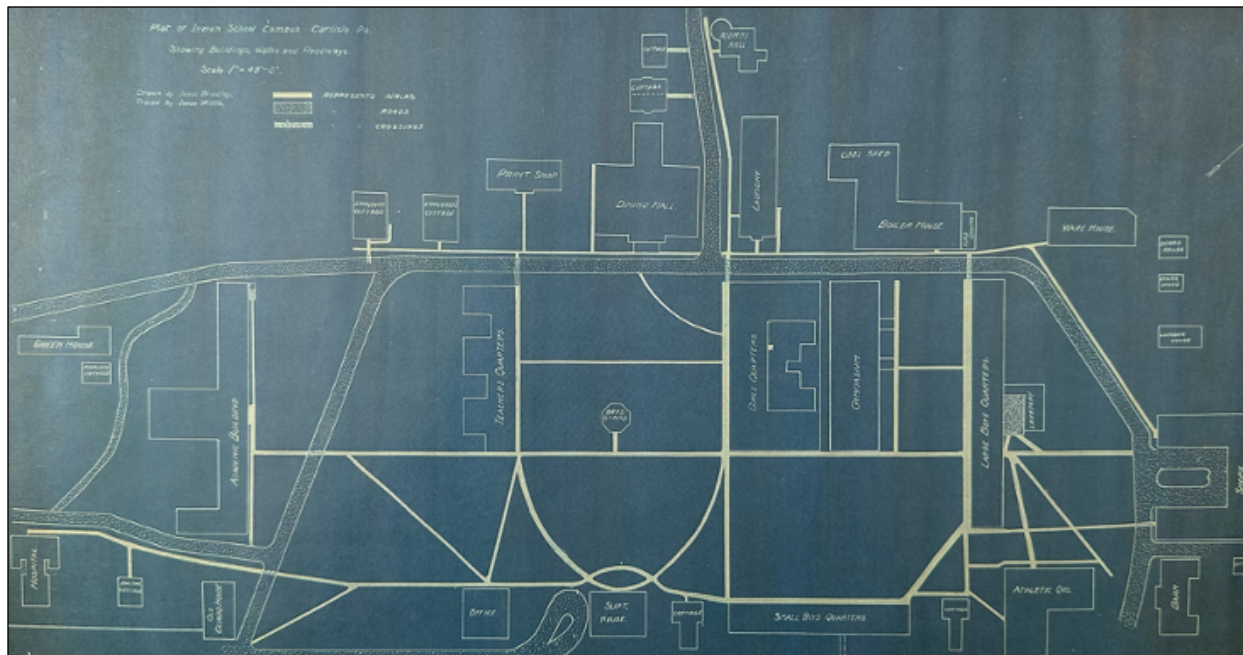


Figure 64: Plat of Indian School Campus Carlisle, Pa. Showing Buildings, Walks, and Roadways, 1879 (Carlisle Indian School Digital Archives, Dickinson College; Drawn by Isaac Bradley; Traced by Isaac Willis)

In 1910, a new entrance to the school site was created as part of Carlisle's extensive marketing and public affairs campaign, centering on the school's athletic program. The new entrance on Pratt Avenue brought visitors into the site near LeTort Creek (see Figure 65), beside the famed coach Pop Warner's house (see Figure 66) and the Dining Hall (see Figure 67), and through the vocational buildings first toward the Gymnasium (see Figure 68), Hospital (see Figure 69), and the Athletic Field (see Figure 70) and Grandstand (see Figure 71). An imposing gate flanked by staff houses, however, served as a reminder for the newly entering students of their role, first and foremost, as subjects (see Figure 72).



Figure 65: Pratt Avenue Entrance over LeTort Creek, ca. 1910 (Theimer, 2024)



Figure 66: Pop Warner's House, 1984 (Craig et al., 1984)

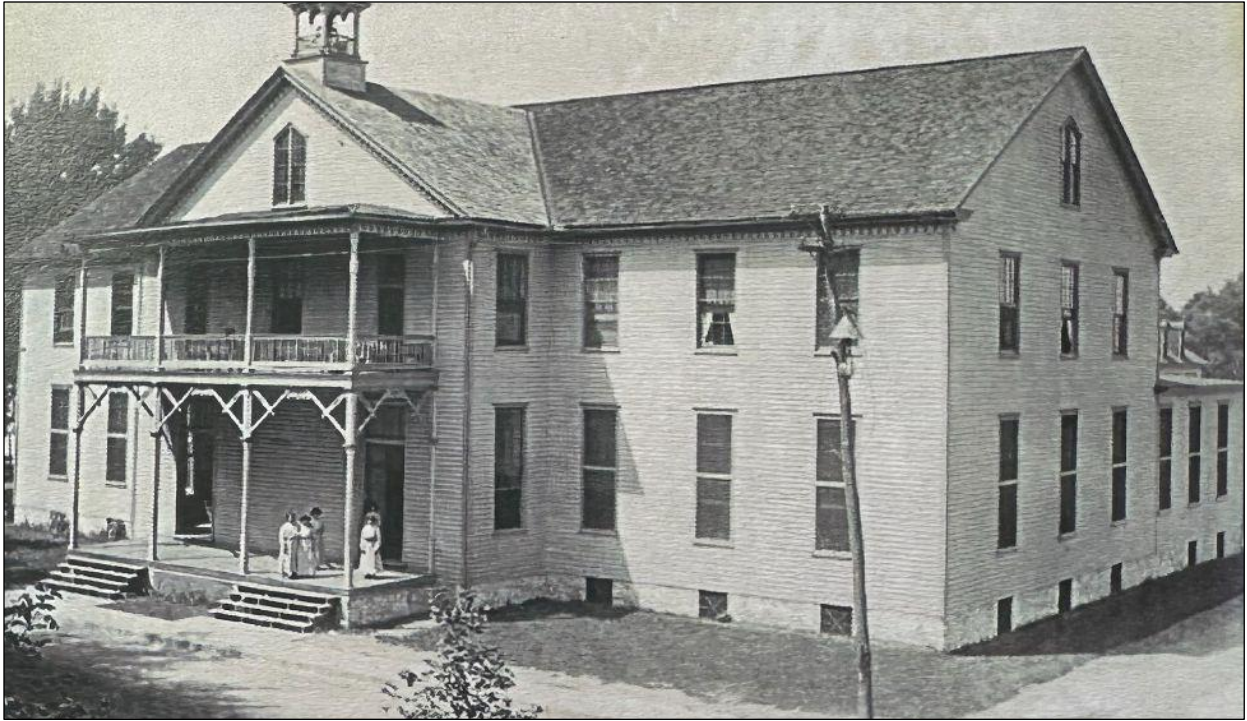


Figure 67: Dining Hall, ca. 1909 (Theimer, 2024)



Figure 68: Gymnasium, ca. 1901 (Theimer, 2024)



Figure 69: Hospital, ca. 1909 (Theimer, 2024)



Figure 70: Athletic Field, 1984 (Craig et al., 1984)



Figure 71: Grandstand, 1984 (Craig et al., 1984)



Figure 72: Gate at Pratt Avenue Entrance, ca. 1910 (Theimer, 2024)

Visiting the Carlisle Barracks

The site has been developed significantly since the boarding school closed in 1918 and its use was resumed by the Department of War (see Figure 73). It is the home of the US Army War College and the US Heritage and Education Center, and houses students, military staff, and officers on site. Though the Carlisle Indian Industrial School holds considerable preservation status including designation on the National Register, as a National Historic Landmark, and as a National Monument, many of the buildings used to operate the boarding school have been adapted for reuse for the current residents, with very little indication aside from some ground signage as to the history of the site. Carlisle is arguably the most important site in the FIBS system given its history as a model of policy implementation, site design, and

curriculum and should be acknowledged and interpreted as well as publicly accessible as such. In addition, it is a significant cultural site for Native communities who have been impacted by the FIBS system, whether or not they have specific connection to the school itself given its status as the system's model, and should be preserved as a means of reconciliation with the past.

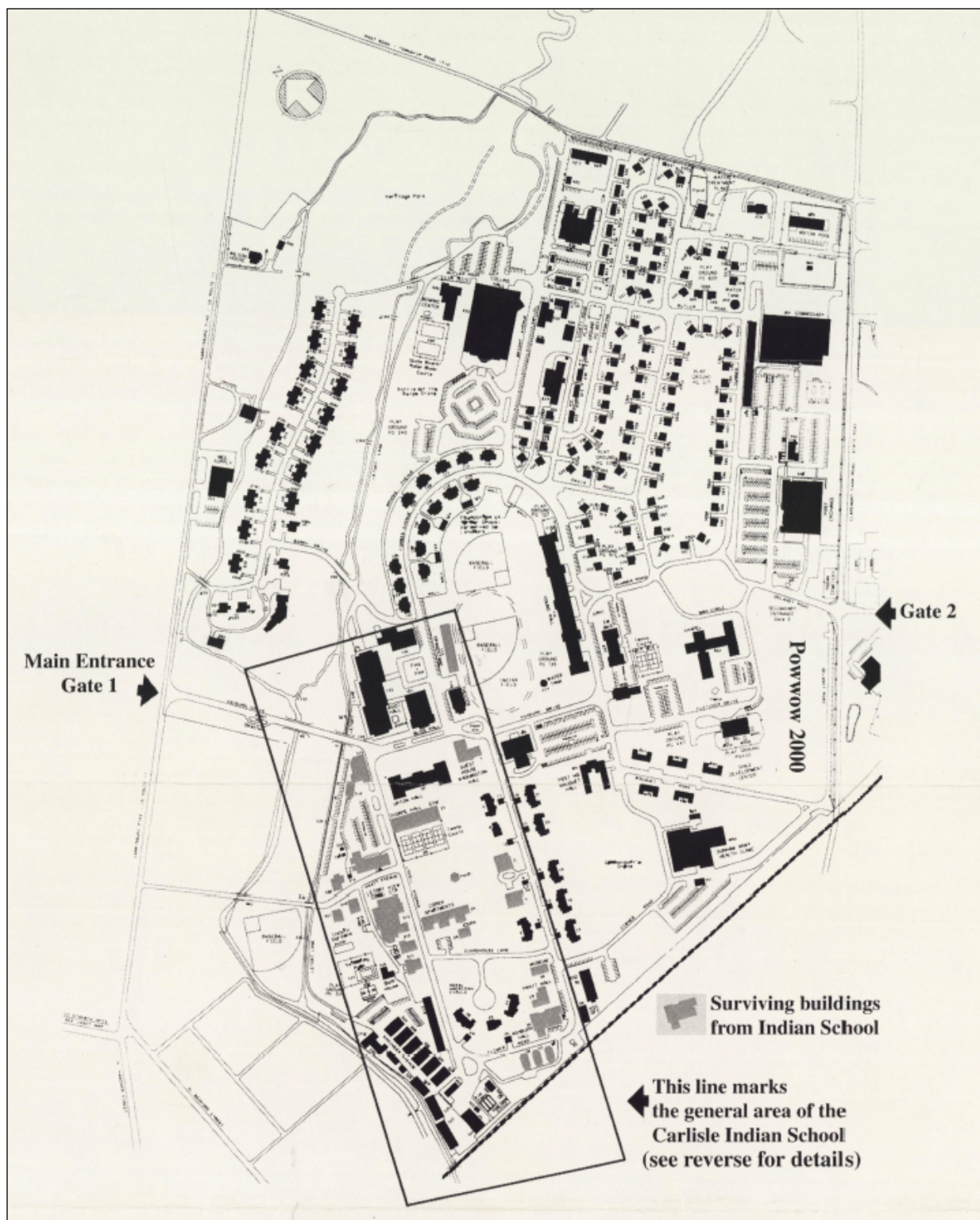


Figure 73: Map of Carlisle Indian School at US Army War College, 2000 (Jacqueline Fear-Segal)

A site visit serves as ground-truthing to this analysis, which was conducted following the visit. The site is still highly surveilled, and while access was communicated upon arrival as being “unrestricted,” the interior of buildings are not accessible to the general public, there are limited public visitors on the site – a background check and an appointment to enter was required – and as a result, there is a clear understanding psychologically of who belongs and who is visiting. Monumental architecture, as it was designed, had its intended effect of minimizing the individual, even now with so many of the original buildings gone and their locations unmarked. The buildings and the grounds are maintained immaculately; there were more people tending to the landscape than there were staff or residents combined, by far.

Walking the grounds, following the main road separating the inner domestic and administrative buildings from the outer vocational buildings and moving through the carefully marked paths was both powerful and cognitively jarring in regard to the immensity of the site, the pristine condition of the buildings given their age, and also – most importantly to this analysis – the lack acknowledgement, documentation, and interpretation given the immense impact the site has had on Native history, US history, and contemporary society today. The importance of the preservation of places, sites, and buildings is no more obvious than at Carlisle.

Without experiencing the site visit, there would have been no logical and evidence-based way to justify this conclusion, but after having walked the grounds, it is absolute: the boarding school site should be separated from the Carlisle Barracks currently under US Army management; the site should be documented and interpreted by Native communities with full and ongoing resources from local, state, and the federal government as reconciliation; and the site should be made easily accessible to the public for visitation and learning. Above all, the site should be accessible at will to Native communities for healing and ceremony.

HISTORIC PRESERVATION POLICY IMPLEMENTATION ANALYSIS

This historic preservation policy implementation analysis will examine the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966 as well as recent federal policy statements describing best practices and recommendations for engagement with Native tribes and Native Hawaiian Organizations. The field of historic preservation has a significant opportunity to shape the future of preservation practice grounded in contemporary Indigenous values, theories, and methodologies as organizations of authority have called for the inclusion of Indigenous knowledge in preservation practice pursuant to the US government's trust responsibility. This analysis will document the legal and administrative framework for current historic preservation practice, providing results to inform recommendations for improved effectiveness in policy implementation.

Historic preservationists have not had consistent and accurate documentation of the intended use of policy and architecture together in the Federal Indian Boarding School (FIBS) program to properly inform viable options for the preservation of its tangible and intangible remnants. Further, as it relates to cultural sites, the policy tools and documentation that does exist fails to account for the multiple paradigms that exist within the field including ways of knowing, methods, and implementation approaches. The analysis, like that conducted for the FIBS policies, will examine and map the policy field, organizational level, and the frontlines that were constructed to implement the NHPA to understand influences and accountabilities between the organizations involved and how the system functions as a whole. In addition, the indicators of effectiveness identified in the implementation strategy in terms of the desired changes in systems operations as well as in the target population, and the process quality results and outcomes will be used as a measure for analyzing implementation. The findings from this analysis will be used to determine recommendations for best practices in preserving FIBS sites.

In settler colonial theory, domination of space is foundational. According to Lefebvre, “the diversion and reappropriation of space are of great significance, for they teach us much about the production of new spaces” (Lefebvre, 1974, p. 167). Indigenous research theories are critical to employ in the practice of preservation of Native sites as they are deeply rooted in connection to place. The US government’s relationship to Native people and their land is complex and traumatic. Solutions to how to manage the legacy of these relationships, the FIBS sites and buildings themselves, and the physical and emotional trauma done to students and their descendants are unclear. Indigenous research theories offer frameworks for relationality, principles of engagement, and processes for analysis to move forward through the complexity of this history and make decisions, which though seemingly impossible, is a necessary step.

Wilson’s Indigenous research paradigm speaks to an ecosystem of ideas rather than a linear path; Smith’s Indigenous research agenda moves the work toward self-determination; Lambert’s spider web model provides principles for undertaking research in Native communities; Lomawaima’s approach of mind, heart, and hands guides the doing; and Kovach’s foundations framework and thematic analysis provide a concept of research as the input and practice as the output as well as a strategy for sensemaking of results. Taken together, these theories, frameworks, models, and tools work in relationship to ground the researcher and the practitioner in making wise next steps guided by those communities most affected by the history, rather than those with the most power. This can guide planners, policy makers, and preservationists in accounting for the multiple ways of knowing, the variety of methods available, and the implementation approaches needed to benefit Native communities.

The implementation of historic preservation policy regarding the FIBS system is the crux of this study. Lefebvre reminds us

If space has an air of neutrality and indifference regarding its contents and thus seems to be purely formal, the essence of rational abstraction, it is precisely because this space has already been occupied and planned, already the focus of past strategies, of which we cannot always find

traces. Space has been fashioned and molded from historical and natural elements, but in a political way. (Lefebvre et al., 2009, p. 170)

The examination and analysis of the history and the architecture are important in that they provide instruction for what practitioners should do to preserve the places, the stories, and the legacies that are important to those whose history has been eliminated because of political agendas.

Forming relationship to place in undergoing this research and practice is non-negotiable – it simply must be done to understand the site and the importance of its history. Cultural sites carry meaning beyond that which is documented, and beyond that which can be known without deep inquiry and intention. Removal strategy was effective because it severed the deep connection of Native communities to their place of origin - and assimilation through the removal of students from their homes and into boarding schools did the same. It is therefore impossible to understand that experience and this history as a researcher and a practitioner without also forming relationships to these places to be able to understand, account for, and make decisions for the benefit of those communities.

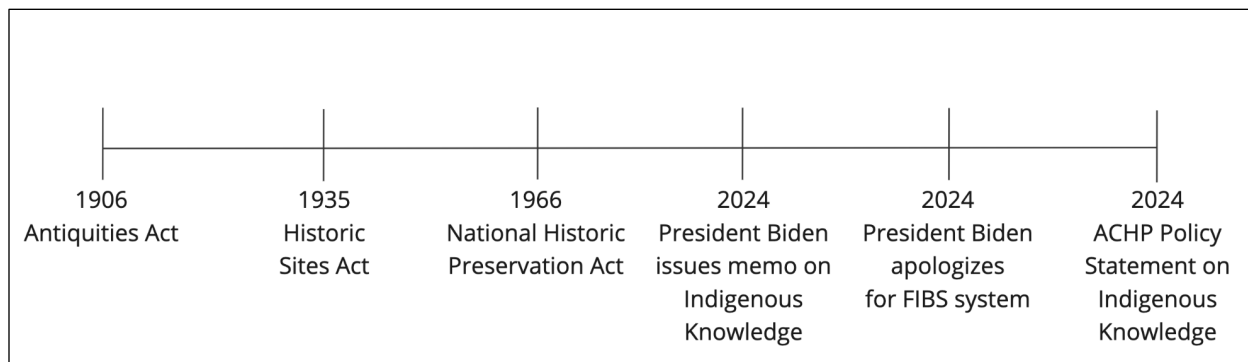
Multilevel Policy Implementation Analysis

Introduction

In the United States (US) post-WWII, urban renewal policies created significant change to the urban landscape: old buildings were razed for slum clearance, making way for massive transportation projects. Out of this political climate, a need was identified to preserve historical and cultural places that defined the nation's collective past. The NHPA of 1966 is the most comprehensive legislation regarding the implementation of preservation of the nation's significant places (National Historic Preservation Act, 1966).

The NHPA established preservation governance through the creation of federal institutions, created the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (ACHP) to guide implementation, and authorized

the National Park Service (NPS) to administer the preservation process. In addition, the NHPA required federal agencies to consider the effects of an undertaking on historic properties through a formal review process, and established a partnership between federal, Tribal, state, and local governments, requiring states to take responsibility for preservation in their jurisdictions. The NHPA builds on the Antiquities Act of 1906 (Antiquities Act, 1906), which authorized the President to designate federal lands containing sites or places of historical interest as national monuments for the purpose of protecting these sites, enabling their preservation for educational purposes, and the Historic Sites Act of 1935, which preserves historic sites for public use (see Figure 4: Historic Preservation Timeline of Policies below which was introduced in the Literature Review). The National Register of Historic Places (National Register) – the official list of designated buildings, structures, districts, objects, and archaeological sites deemed significant given their connection with the past – is a policy tool that was created within the NHPA to further support this purpose (National Park Service, n.d.).



Efforts have been made by the US government to engage with the target population – Native children who were students in the schools and their communities – to identify, evaluate, and document Historic Places and Traditional Cultural Properties (TCPs) for preservation. Though the legislation was focused on the built environment and archaeological sites, amendments to the NHPA and the publication of guiding documents support preservation of places with traditional cultural significance to these

communities. These efforts represent significant changes to implementation strategy. Complex dynamics exist between the implementation system as a whole and the target population, between the three levels in the system – the policy field, organizations, and the front lines – and within the strategic action fields at each level, impacting the effectiveness of implementation (Fligstein, 2001). A multilevel implementation analysis was conducted on the NHPA system at the policy field level to document the authorizing organizations who design and authorize the policy, the organizational level where approaches are managed, and at the frontline level, where the service is delivered to the target population. This analysis maps the implementation architecture that was constructed to implement the policy to understand the context in which efforts across these levels are integrated and where relationships and accountabilities are present.

Policy Field Analysis

Implementation of the NHPA involves coordination throughout the policy field between institutions across the federal, state, and local levels (see Figure 74). The Department of the Interior (DOI) through the NPS establishes criteria for properties to be included on the National Register and promotes regulations for making determinations of eligibility, nominating, and designating properties. State Historic Preservation Offices were established by the DOI and administered by an appointed State Historic Preservation Officer (SHPO) to receive nominations for the National Register, determine eligibility, and make recommendations to NPS. A Tribal Historic Preservation Officer (THPO) may assume all or any part of the responsibilities of the SHPO and may enter into contracts or cooperative agreements with the US government to carry out these responsibilities. Through the critical role of the THPO, Tribes are consulted in assessing and determining cultural significance of historic properties and in developing the cultural component of preservation programs or plans. Local governments including cities and counties enforce state or local legislation and provide local historic preservation support.

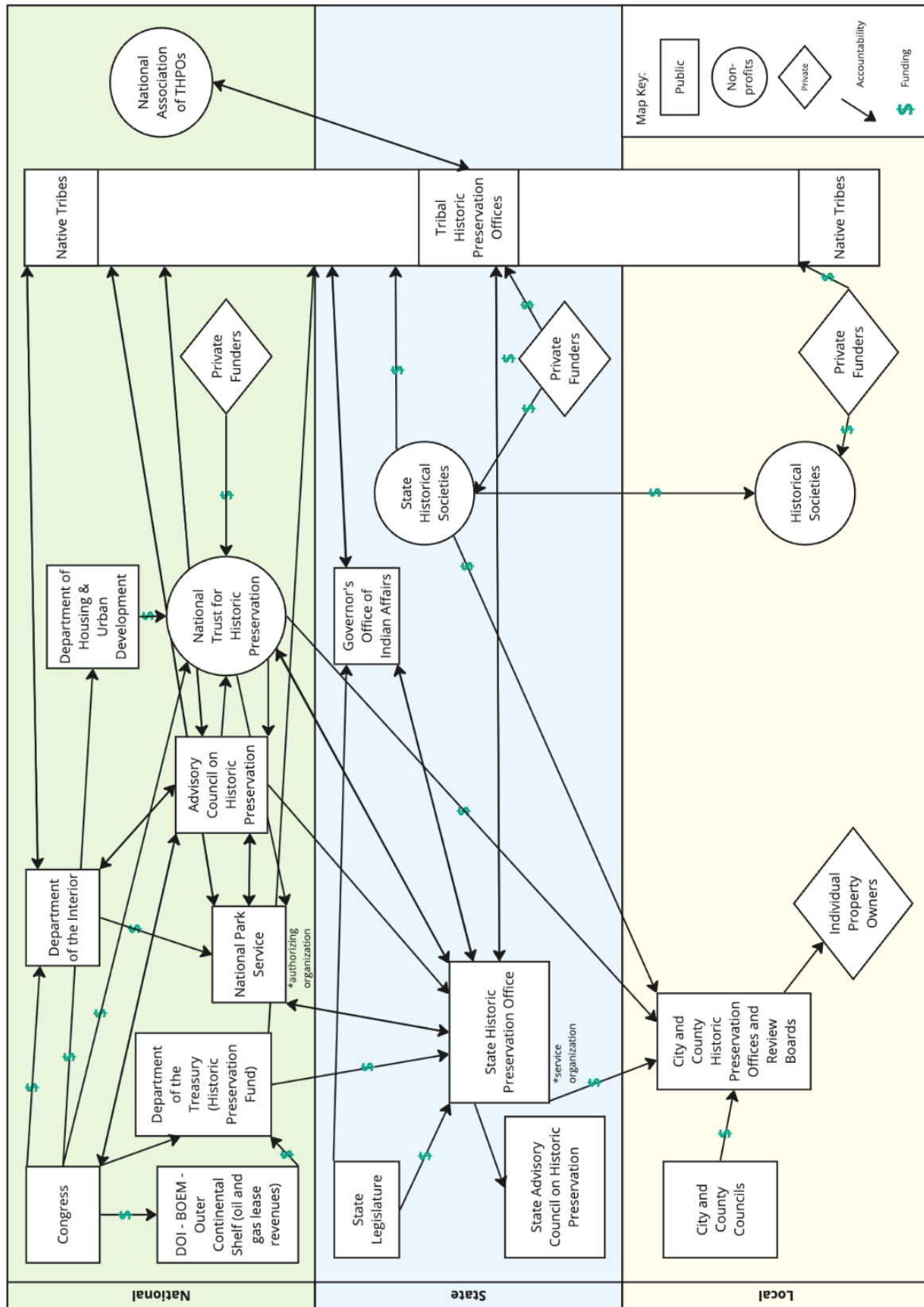


Figure 74: National Historic Preservation Act Policy Field Map

The enabling legislation passed in 1966 was not designed to account for TCPs. In 1980, an amendment to the NHPA directed the Secretary of the Interior to study preservation and conservation of the intangible elements of cultural heritage and recommended that they be systematically addressed in implementation (National Historic Preservation Act, 1966). In 1990, NPS published Bulletin 38: Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting TCPs to provide guidance on nominations to the National Register (National Park Service, 1992); in 2000, the ACHP published the Policy Statement Regarding the Council's Relationships with Indian Tribes (Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, 2000); in 2021, President Biden issued a memo on Indigenous Traditional Ecological Knowledge and Federal Decision Making (Lander & Mallory, 2021); and in 2024, the ACHP published the Policy Statement on Indigenous Knowledge and Historic Preservation, defining Indigenous knowledge as expert knowledge (Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, 2024). These efforts to engage with Indigenous and local ethnic communities are significant in that they introduce a new frame in which “the field becomes open to new logics and new configurations among its constituent organizations” (Gray & Purdy, 2018, p. 39), providing new ways of understanding.

Creating desired change is the purpose of implementation. Effective implementation of the NHPA as amended includes indicators that reflect the desired changes in both systems operations and in the target population, and in the form of both process quality results and ultimate outcomes (see Figure 75) (Sandfort & Moulton, 2015). Desired changes in systems operations include: developing new criteria for determining eligibility and integrity in National Register nominations to reflect the inclusion of TCPs; educating actors in the system so they understand both traditional and contemporary Indigenous knowledge, thereby promoting engagement with Tribes as essential; increasing the number of TCPs on the National Register that include accurate Indigenous history; and institutionalization of Indigenous knowledge as expert knowledge. Desired changes in the target population include: support for Tribes educationally and professionally in terms of access and funding; engagement of Tribes fully as experts in the determination of eligibility and integrity of National Register nominations as well as in co-designing

educational efforts; increasing the number of culturally significant places that are protected and preserved and including accurate Indigenous history in documentation; and deepening of relationships between government and Tribes that result in network building and authentic engagement.

	Process Quality Results	Ultimate Outcomes
Changes in systems operations	New criteria and guidelines developed for National Register; education on Indigenous knowledge for system actors	Increase number of TCPs on National Register, state, and local lists with accurate Indigenous history; institutionalization of Indigenous Knowledge as essential
Change in target groups	Tribes supported with access and funding; Tribes are engaged fully as experts and can co-design educational efforts	Increase number of culturally significant places protected and preserved with accurate Indigenous history; relationships with government deepened resulting in network building

Figure 75: National Historic Preservation Act Indicators of Implementation Effectiveness

Policy tools and resources are used to drive and shape results and outcomes of implementation. The most visible tool related to the NHPA is the National Register. In this policy field, similar lists are replicated on the state and local levels, but “as a strategic action field, the policy tools in use are more often coordinating mechanisms...[that] tend to reflect and reinforce the political and economic authority [laws and regulations as well as market conditions] that shapes the core program” (Sandfort & Moulton, 2015, p. 128). The listing of a property on the National Register is honorary, but often prompts inclusion on replicated state and local lists, which ensures some protections, consideration for grant funding, and the possibility of tax incentives. While increased listings of TCPs on the National Register supports the outcomes of the systems operations by acknowledging their significance, changes to the target population cannot be achieved through this policy tool as it was designed.

Other policy tools and resources include grants and loans from both government agencies and private funders, tax credits, and property easements. Resources developed by the policy field include professional convenings and conferences programmed by non-profit organizations; evidence-based descriptions and tools such as bulletins, advisory support, training, and publications; communication tools such as websites with examples of how to navigate the nomination process; and information-sharing platforms such as databases and inventories. These tools and resources significantly shape the policy field, though effectiveness varies.

As of 2013, of the more than 80,000 properties listed on the National Register, only 23 were TCPs (United States Forest Service, 2013). Events and policies related to the dispossession of Indigenous land have left these communities with severed relationships to place which affects their ability to advocate for preservation. They are cognizant of the political context requiring them to rely on existing policy tools and resources, but their desired ultimate outcome is not listing on the National Register, rather protection and preservation of these significant places.

Implementation is centralized at the national level in the DOI but becomes decentralized in State and Tribal Historic Preservation Offices and further in the local field. The NHPA has set up the role of THPOs to be parallel to that of SHPOs, but the reality of the design is that the authority placed in THPOs is held disparately in their role as representatives of individual Tribes, not collectively. This often results in access barriers to gaining valuable knowledge in utilizing this role in the policy field, thus affecting strategic advocacy and access to funding opportunities, ultimately yielding fewer protected places. Significant efforts have been made to decenter voices from the settler colonialist culture to center the target population. However, Indigenous communities are still often fearful of sharing information about significant sites and there is still a gap in terms of professional representation in the historic preservation field. As a result, actors, institutions, and networks often have a lack of input directly from these communities as policies are designed and program technologies are chosen, reinforcing the need for co-production.

Organizational Level Analysis

Authorizing Organization

NPS is the authorizing organization to which the Secretary of the Interior has delegated the financial and legal authority and responsibility for administering the NHPA, including the National Register. NPS reviews nominations submitted by states, Tribes, and other federal agencies for listing on the National Register, offers guidance on evaluating, documenting, and listing different types of historic places through bulletins and other publications, and helps owners of qualified historic properties receive preservation benefits and incentives such as grants and tax credits.

Actors within NPS have historically expected technical results and outcomes related to increasing the number of properties listed on the National Register, compliance with best practices and informational publications, and utilization of benefits and resources provided by the organization. Of note, the former leadership of the DOI and NPS, Secretary Deb Haaland and Charles Sams III, respectively, were the first people in these roles to identify as Native, and their organizations' programmatic initiatives reflected a prioritization of culturally relevant needs of the target population. Given this significant shift in leadership, both quantitative and qualitative results and outcomes were produced from their administration, including consistent recognition and integration of Indigenous knowledge and increased accountability in engagement, partnerships, and consulting with Tribes. The recent DOI reports and many of the policy statements cited in this analysis are the results of their efforts.

An important relationship defined in Tribal sovereignty law, trust responsibility, frames the authority in the Indigenous knowledge policy statement as

a legal obligation under which the United States has charged itself with moral obligations of the highest responsibility and trust...[which] establishes...a duty to protect Tribal lands and cultural and natural resources for the benefit of Tribes and their members...[and] encompasses all aspects

of historic resources, including associated Indigenous knowledge and other intangible values.

(Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, 2024)

While NPS recognizes that intangible resources are important to cultural preservation, they do not constitute a TCP for the purpose of listing on the National Register; the TCP must be a physical property or place (National Park Service, 2012).

The existing program technology and process for National Register listings is well-defined by the enabling legislation and followed technically by service organizations (see Figure 76). The process begins at the local level with an interest in preserving a property, supported by State or Tribal Historic Preservation Offices where research materials and mandatory forms are available. Evaluation of properties for eligibility consists of examining the property's age, significance, and integrity to determine whether it meets the National Register Criteria for Evaluation including historic context, association with an event, person, style or design method, and/or potential to yield further information through research (National Park Service, 1992). Completed nominations, which include fillable forms and a narrative section, are submitted to the SHPO, or THPO for Tribal properties, by property owners, historical societies, preservation organizations, government agencies, and other individuals or groups. Once received, the SHPO or THPO informs affected local government or property owners and solicits public comment, and completed nominations with recommendations are submitted by the SHPO or THPO to NPS for final review and listing by the Keeper of the National Register.

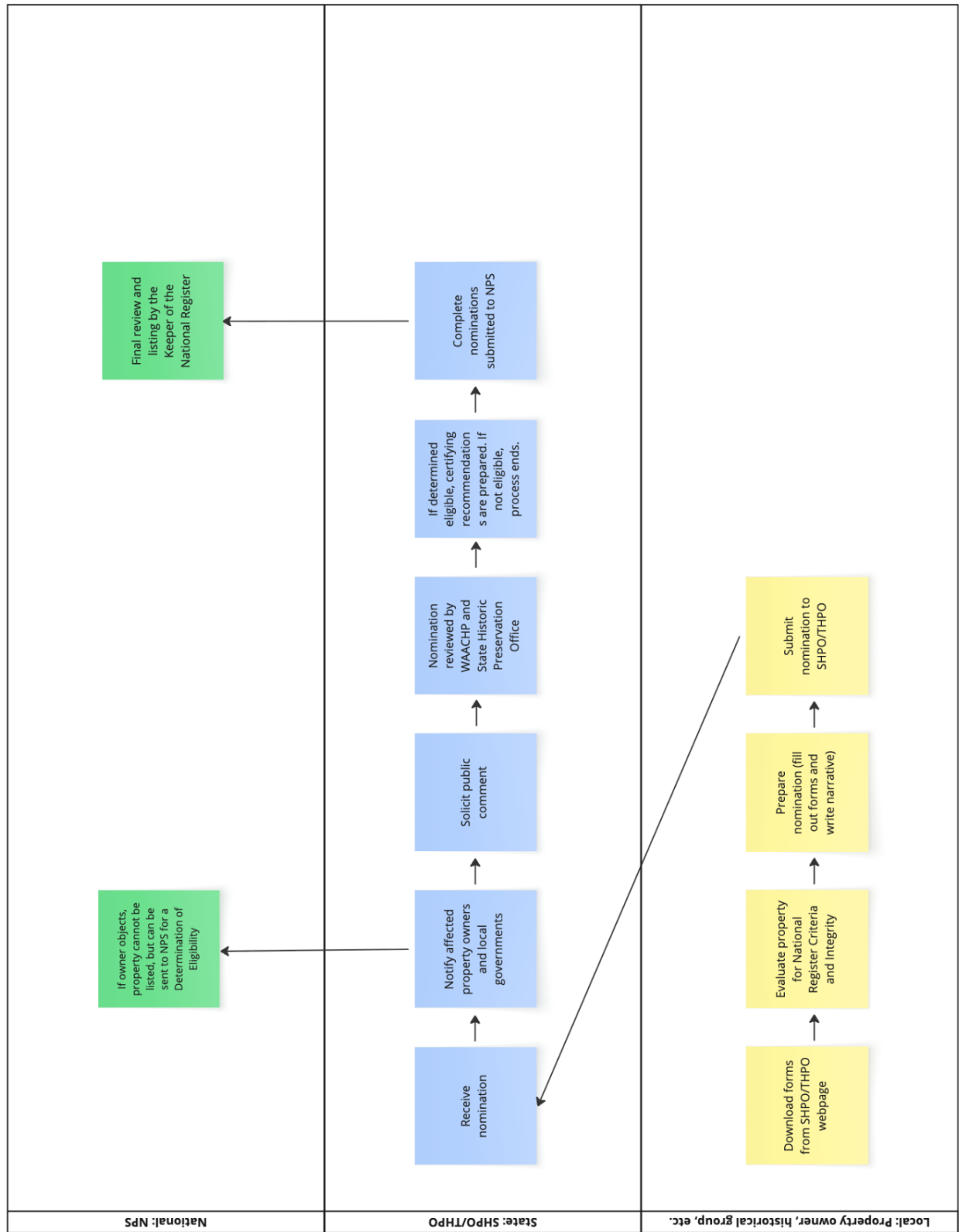


Figure 76: National Register of Historic Places Nominations Program Process Flow

Implementation of the NHPA is funded by lease revenues – not taxes – from the DOI’s Bureau of Ocean Energy Management Outer Continental Shelf Oil and Gas Energy program via the Historic Preservation Fund (HPF), which Congress established in 1976 to support State and Tribal Historic Preservation Offices across the country with operations required by the NHPA. The annual revenue is deposited into the HPF for historic preservation activities; the average annual appropriation over the last 20 years is \$63.7 million (National Park Service, 2023). Given the limited federal funding, private funding through foundations and individual donors accessed by major nonprofit organizations plays an important role. Limited and inconsistent funding causes program technology to remain static for efficiency rather than allowing responsiveness in various contexts.

Administrative burden in the form of rules, regulations, and procedures upheld by the policy field directly limits the preservation of cultural heritage. It is often a function of deliberate political choice, a policy tool that can be used to limit access to the government for certain groups (Nisar, 2018). Administrative burden and red tape disproportionately affect communities at a social disadvantage, in this case, Indigenous communities. In 2022, there were 850 new listings to the National Register nominated by SHPOs, and only seven new listings nominated by THPOs (National Park Service, 2023). In many Tribal Historic Preservation Offices, there is limited program staff, and often the THPO is the only cultural resource manager for the Tribe. The THPO directly holds the costs of administrative burdens, limiting their capacity to proactively advocate for changes to program technology, to research and write nominations, and to apply for grant funding.

Service Organization

In every state, a historic preservation department at the state government level houses the historic preservation office and is the primary service organization in administering it. The SHPO works with stakeholders to operationalize the program technology set by NPS through research and practice, analyzing information about historic resources, ensuring compliance with federal regulations and

requirements, and preparing and implementing a statewide historic preservation plan. The state office provides preservation expertise, services, and training to professionals and local governments, provides opportunities for public participation, certifies local governments' historic preservation programs, administers federal funding, receives and processes nominations of historic properties in the state to the National Register and manages the state's list of historic places.

Historically, results and outcomes at the state level were focused on compliance with the NHPA. State engagement with historic preservation in local and statewide communities varies by geography and administration. Some states view heritage preservation as an economic development and community revitalization tool, focusing on the rehabilitation and adaptive reuse of historic buildings as well as heritage tourism, and others do not, opting instead to meet the minimum compliance regulations without further operationalizing the program. The value of historic preservation in general and specifically related to traditional cultural properties for underrepresented communities varies state to state, making national implementation strategy difficult, if not impossible.

Similarly, some states engage with Tribes in fulfillment of their legal requirement, but many relationships between the state government and THPOs are held between individual actors rather than organizationally. State cultural agency processes are often path dependent, using existing operational routines to implement programs; reporting mechanisms from state agencies to NPS and to Tribal and local stakeholders are in the form of annual reports that are often standardized and generic, and fail to tell the story of preservation efforts through the community's lens. State historic preservation offices have a significant opportunity to change their program technology to better serve the target population.

Frontline Level Analysis

Service Delivery

Exploring the interactions between state historic preservation staff and other frontline groups is foundational to understanding effective implementation; it is at this micro level where public policy is

delivered by staff operating as street-level bureaucrats to deliver the policy to the target population (Lipsky, 1980). Analyzing the ways in which interactions are structured and facilitated gives insight into the impact these interactions have on the quality of the service that is delivered and allows managers to align activities with the expectations of the target population. As it relates to the FIBS system, preservationists are responsible for delivering their service to the benefit and expectations of the students in the schools and the communities that were affected. State historic preservation offices are responsible for carrying out the duties outlined in the NHPA throughout the state, including making available NPS's nomination forms and guidance and providing relevant information. State by state, historic preservation offices will also have responsibilities related to state historic preservation law and policies.

When nominations are submitted, state historic preservation offices refer them to the state's ACHP to review and make recommendations to the SHPO regarding eligibility of properties for the National Register. States have varying criteria to determine who sits on the advisory councils. Effectiveness of knowledge sharing and advocacy for inclusion of Indigenous cultural histories in nominations is dependent on who fills the seats on the advisory council. It is important to keep in mind that safety in voicing potentially non-settler colonialist points of view may be compromised given the burden of disproportionate representation of Indigenous and local ethnic communities on advisory councils nationwide.

Generally, staff members in historic preservation offices act as agents of the state, ensuring compliance with federal, state, and local laws and processes. The SHPO is required by the NHPA to consult with Tribes on the evaluation of federal properties. While some state historic preservation offices have positive reputations for engaging early and often with Tribes in project review processes, the level of engagement throughout each state as well as between states varies on a case-by-case basis. It is important to note that because the SHPO is a political appointment, the actions of the organization are dependent on the political environment. Professionals such as architects, architectural historians, archaeologists, and anthropologists have discretion to make judgements, but adherence to rules and standardized protocols is

the explicit goal of the organization, which can limit opportunities for innovation in program technology to more effectively support preservation of traditional cultural heritage.

It is understandable that the program technology was designed for the target groups who historically used it most – those advocating for the preservation of the built environment – when the NHPA was passed in 1966. However, when new goals for the core program such as the inclusion of TCPs in 1990 and the recent Indigenous knowledge policy statement enter the system at the policy field level, organizations need to create conditions so that frontline staff can act consistently with those changes. Leadership at frontline organizations must be invested in system improvements in order to create positive change for the target group according to shared public values, and can then effectively communicate performance targets and provide incentives in order for the change process to be enacted by staff and ultimately become institutionalized in the organization and beyond.

There is often limited staff capacity due to resource constraints in state historic preservation offices, resulting in limited support for THPOs navigating the system as well as for consultants and the general public who want to engage with Tribes and need the state's support to do so. Coupled with a lack of diversity of professionals working in the organization, there are often few staff members at most who view it as their responsibility to 'fix' policies by changing their implementation. When they do, they can be met with pushback or unsupportive responses, sending a message that these efforts are not worthwhile. Engaging these staff members using emotionally and socially using iterative reflection and clear communication creates relationships that allow for shared understanding and purpose.

Target Group

It is equally important to understand implementation of the NHPA from the perspective of the target group. The NHPA states that THPOs are officially designated by a federally recognized Tribe to direct their historic preservation program. THPOs can assume the functions of SHPOs, yet THPOs often lack access to resources, organizational support, and professional development which limits information

sharing, capacity, and effective engagement. THPOs are often the only Tribal staff member dedicated to preservation and cultural resource management for all the Tribe's activities. While THPOs are not always a member of the Tribe they represent, they often function in impossible situations within the larger policy field as they simultaneously hold the role of being a representative of the target group, the Tribe itself (Zacka, 2017).

Like SHPOs, THPOs must submit a formal preservation plan to NPS for approval describing how preservation activities will be implemented by the Tribe. Tribal plans differ from those made by State Historic Preservation Offices in the emphasis they place on the importance of oral tradition, consultation with elders and spiritual leaders as well as contemporary Indigenous researchers regarding Indigenous knowledge, and protection of TCPs. Cultural values are embedded into Tribal preservation programs as an active expression of Tribal sovereignty, which can be seen across THPOs' activities including supporting federal agencies in compliance with the NHPA, advocating for Native language revitalization and cultural heritage tourism, providing educational programs to youth, and overseeing repatriation activities, among others (National Association of Tribal Historic Preservation Officers, n.d.).

Related to the National Register, THPOs advise SHPOs, consultants, and the public on preparing nominations related to TCPs when resources and capacity allow, which can be a limiting factor in the inclusion of Tribal history. This is determined by the extent to which the individual actor who is preparing a nomination values Tribal consultation. Neither the state advisory councils nor the SHPO have a requirement to include Indigenous history and current Indigenous practices in nominations, but because the SHPOs in some states value Tribal input, those councils prioritize it in their nomination review. While adherence to rules and standardized protocol is necessary for federal compliance, Tribal sovereignty status and THPOs' structural responsibility to the Tribe they serve allows for discretion in interpretation of policy directives to prioritize beliefs and values related to TCPs, which results in customization and innovation in implementation from the frontlines.

THPOs across the US have created the National Association of Tribal Historic Preservation Officers, a network for THPOs to strategize around key initiatives and issues, discuss experiences and lessons learned, and share implementation resources (National Association of Tribal Historic Preservation Officers, n.d.). While this shared identity across Tribes is critical in shaping advocacy for prioritizing preservation of TCPs, Tribes are not a monolith. The target group is seen as homogenous by the policy field in the legislation, but Tribes are diverse from each other along many categorical lines including population, resources, structure, proximity, and access which greatly affects each Tribe's ability to navigate the system successfully and requires customized engagement. Ample opportunities exist in the NHPA's implementation system to advance efforts that support changes in systems operations, ensuring the protection and preservation of culturally significant places to Indigenous and local ethnic communities across the country.

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Using an interpretive and theoretical model that holds the complexity of the field – settler colonial theory, Tribal sovereignty, power/knowledge theory, production of space theory, Tribal governance, and Indigenous relationality – policy and architectural analyses were conducted to understand the administrative logic and the use of architectural design to inform viable historic preservation options for the tangible and intangible remnants of the Federal Indian Boarding School (FIBS) system. Settler colonialism is an indicator of structural genocide that has held the social network in the United States (US) since its founding, and one that can be interrupted, if the strategy behind its intent, logic, and implementation is recognized (Wolfe, 2006).

Analysis of Findings

Federal Indian Boarding School Policy Implementation Analysis Findings

Multilevel implementation analysis of the FIBS policies included the Civilization Fund Act of 1819 (Civilization Fund Act, 1819), which authorized federal resources for the civilization of Native people; the Indian Removal Act of 1830 (Indian Removal Act, 1830), removing Native people from their ancestral land to the West; the Indian Appropriations Act of 1851 (Indian Appropriations Act, 1851), which established the reservation system; Grant's Peace Policy in 1869 (Peace Policy, 1869), which authorized the forced assimilation of Native children through education; and the Dawes Severalty Act in 1887 (Dawes Severalty Act, 1887), which divided tribal lands into individual agricultural allotments. Spanning three distinct eras in Indian Law, the Treaty Era (1778-1871), Removal Era (1830-1850), and Reservation Era (1850-1891), the FIBS policies are a complex web of strategic political agendas.

Modeling the construction of the policy field, actors and relationships at the organizational level, and the agency of actors at the frontlines shows that the intent of these policies was a logic of elimination targeted at Native communities. The implementation architecture supports this intent: public-private partnerships between the US government and religious organizations were institutionalized to design and

build a large-scale system of 417 federal boarding schools for Native children for the purpose of genocide. This analysis suggests several key implementation issues and potential areas of improvement to guide future practice:

- The Office of Indian Affairs, later the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), was authorized to administer the US government's trust responsibility to Tribal communities, and over decades through multiple changes in strategy, acted thoroughly and significantly against that responsibility to the detriment of Native communities. Trust, where it existed between the US government and Native communities, is fraught as a result, especially in light of the research over the last two decades, that illuminates this history. A thorough understanding of trust responsibility and its function related to the FIBS system must be examined from a legal perspective with education on its implications provided to agency staff and Tribal communities.
- Related, the BIA is the sole agency with jurisdiction over Indian Law which in effect delegates the US government's plenary power over Tribes. This gives the final authority on legal and policy matters to the BIA, undermining a true government-to-government relationship; they cannot be in partnership if a trustee/beneficiary relationship exists.
- The strategic action fields in this implementation system are entrenched in the original organizational structure. These organizations do not change easily, and left as is, will continue to reproduce and replicate harmful norms, beliefs, regulations, and budgetary decisions in their implementation practices. Systems redesign is needed to redistribute political and economic authority and to change culture.
- Redress and reconciliation must be established between the US government and Native communities to address the outcomes achieved by the FIBS system: the institutional removal of Native children from their communities to transform their identity. Acknowledging the history, documenting the intention and implementation strategy, and supporting restitution efforts that are identified by Native communities is necessary to address the trauma associated with the FIBS

system. Notably, agency must be given to Tribes to be decision-makers regarding the next steps for these significant places.

The US government must make significant changes in the organizational structure related to Indian Law to begin a reconciliation process for Native communities related to the FIBS system.

Architectural Analysis of Early Federal Indian Boardings Schools Findings

An architectural analysis of the FIBS sites and buildings including the Lahainaluna Seminary, Hilo Boarding School, Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute (Hampton), and the Carlisle Indian Industrial School (Carlisle) were conducted to understand the strategic implementation of architectural design to construct controlled space. Tracing the architectural design through these schools over time reveals significant similarities to the site planning and buildings as it relates to the form, function, and structure that contributed to the effectiveness of policy implementation:

- The built environment was used as an assimilation tool, a strategy that quickly became institutionalized in the policy field. Settler colonial ideology required that the physical environment model a highly civilized atmosphere: monumental structures for administrative spaces; highly organized and contained rooms with minimal decor for domestic spaces; and boundaries of demarcated areas in the exterior open space. This structure was meant to convey the transformation dichotomy between “savage” and “civilized.”
- Ideal boarding school sites were initially located within students’ communities as they provided familiarity, accessibility, and, before the school received funding for manufactured building materials, proximity to natural materials that the students would collect and use in construction. An iteration on this model prototyped at Hampton, and later institutionalized at Carlisle, was to site the boarding schools far from Native communities, but within a highly civilized, religious, and agreeable community that was accessible by train.

- At the school sites, the arrangement of space created an environment for consistent domination and surveillance of the students. In the dormitories, authoritative paternalism was enacted by “house fathers” and “house mothers” who were always watching; the children were removed from their communities, to be rehoused and monitored by a civilized ‘parent’ instead of their own. The separation of space by gender was consistently implemented across the FIBS system: boys and girls had separate dormitories, and in some cases, they were further divided by age. Monitoring and control were also easier to enforce in classrooms, in academic and vocational training, and in manual labor efforts when groups were separated by activity.

Analyzed together, form, structure, and function were used as symbols and tools to uplift and transform students into a new level of civilization at the boarding schools. As such, the built environment set a standard to be aspired to while reminding students of who they were: subjects.

Historic Preservation Policy Implementation Analysis Findings

A multilevel implementation analysis of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966 examines the policy field, organizations, and frontlines of that system. It provides valuable information to current organizational leaders in managing technical and adaptive challenges to effectively implement change that creates public value, in this case as applied to the preservation of the tangible and intangible remnants of the FIBS system. Examining the ways in which authority and culture in the form of laws and regulations, market conditions, legitimizing practices, and beliefs and values operate within this complex implementation system is essential to understanding how viable options are established, the logic of change is identified, and activities are coordinated to shape a core program. This analysis suggests several key implementation issues and potential areas of improvement:

- There are fundamental differences between how the US government and Indigenous communities engage in human and place-based relationships. Traditional cultural values are central to

Indigenous communities' identity, therefore the protection and preservation of such values by designating Traditional Cultural Properties (TCPs) as significant is critical to preserving cultural identity. Strategic action field theory suggests that people are motivated by sociability and collaboration. Using this framing to educate system actors around these differences to create a sense of belonging, understanding, and shared purpose in protecting significant places is foundational. Knowledge sharing and experience analysis can be done by convening groups for discussion through a human centered design approach. Increasing representation of the target group on advisory boards and in organizational staffing can further support cultural identity education.

- The criteria for evaluation of historic places for eligibility for the National Register of Historic Places (National Register) and on state and local lists has not been updated to reflect the inclusion of TCPs, making identification, evaluation, and documentation of such places difficult in the current framework, resulting in very few listings to the National Register. Backwards mapping can be used to identify potential changes that need to be made to the nomination process and implementation resources. Solutions can be co-produced with Native communities through all phases of the service cycle.
- Engagement with Native communities is essential, yet capacity, access, and resource constraints often limit this interaction to a formality, leaving important histories undocumented. In addition, Native communities are diverse from one another in their needs, abilities, interests, and resources. Strategies for engagement with Native communities must be customized, which can be done through tools to better understand user experience, and creating program process flows to uncover gaps in context that are helpful in considering how to make effective changes.
- Finally, a significant lack of funding greatly impacts the preservation of historic places, specifically TCPs. Limited funding from the federal government is supplemented by private funders through grant programs, which are competitive and require significant time and resources to apply for and manage. Federal and state governments should direct more funding to Native

communities to support access through network building and increase those communities' capacity to engage in preservation efforts.

Opportunities exist in the NHPA's implementation system to advance efforts that support changes in systems operations, ensuring the protection and preservation of culturally significant places to Indigenous and local ethnic communities.

Limitations

As expected, limitations in this study included resources such as time, funding, travel opportunities to sites and archives, and site access. Specifically, archival research is intensely time-consuming work, and though librarians and archivists have made significant contributions to digitizing collections over the last two decades in particular, there are countless boxes of documents and files that went unassessed in this study, and exponentially more that are unknown.

Formal relationships between the university and Native communities are relatively nonexistent in academic programs that are traditionally unrelated. As students conduct research that affects Native communities, those relationships are both necessary to do justice to the topic and to be in good relationship with that community. The lack of existing opportunities to engage in research where trust has been established between the university and the community is a detriment to students who are interested in these research inquiries, and coupled with the nature of the academic timeline, there simply is often not enough time for students to build the trust that is required to do this work well.

Access to FIBS sites presented a complicated reality in this research, particularly at Carlisle, but also at Hampton and in Hawai'i, though for very different reasons. Hawai'i's sites are quite accessible: Lahainaluna Seminary is now a public school in a relatively accessible location, but the deep history of the site is not well documented publicly either physically or in digital archives, and while the Hilo Boarding School's site is open, the buildings are all demolished and have been replaced. Hampton is

similar in that the campus is physically accessible, though the history on site is relatively unacknowledged.

The Carlisle site is complex; after the school closed in 1918, it was transferred back to the Department of War and is currently used as a military installation and the US Army War College. An application to enter the site is required which includes a background check and an assigned appointment time. The arrival process is intimidating, proceeding through a monumental guard post. While access to the open spaces is “unrestricted,” there is no public access to the interiors, and the site is heavily surveilled. None of these places function as historical sites, let alone as places of memory.

Specifically, archival research into social policy, like biographical research into individuals and places is never finished, as there is never one single truth to be uncovered. Efforts to reconstruct a strategic action field archivally without the benefit of interviewing actors in that system is merely an attempt at uncovering intentions, relationships, and biases. The lesson here is that this study is just a first step into a deeper dive into the topic, a way to shed light in a new area of the gap.

Recommendations

In 2021, President Biden issued a memo to the heads of federal departments and agencies committing to strengthening the relationship between the US government and Native communities, ensuring that federal agencies engage regularly and meaningfully with these communities to consult on research, policy, and decision-making related to the incorporation of Indigenous knowledge (Lander & Mallory, 2021). In 2024, the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (ACHP) published the Policy Statement on Indigenous Knowledge and Historic Preservation describing Indigenous knowledge as “special expertise” that is “critical” for federal agencies, state and local governments, and nongovernmental institutions to incorporate into their decision-making processes (Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, 2024). Government agencies are required to consult with federally recognized Tribes and other Native communities on projects related to properties of cultural significance, but the

national historic preservation community has not consistently upheld this requirement efficiently or effectively.

The findings of this study suggest that increased efforts are needed to improve identification and preservation of culturally significant places by engaging with Native communities, providing opportunities for shared learning to all stakeholders, contributing accurate and increasing documentation to the body of literature around this history, preserving and interpreting FIBS sites as historic cultural sites, and developing reparations efforts for Native communities. Recommendations for next steps include:

- **Consistent and meaningful engagement with Native communities.**

Recognizing the expertise that Native communities hold as essential in consultation and decision-making, including within the specific roles of Tribal Historic Preservation Officers, engagement must be consistent and provide meaningful, trust-based opportunities to influence preservation action. Leadership in key organizations at the national and state levels are advancing initiatives that support changes in systems operations to directly benefit Indigenous communities by prioritizing the protection and preservation of their culturally significant places. Broader and deeper efforts are needed from all stakeholders involved in preservation efforts of FIBS sites so that intersectional lenses are used to describe a more accurate and complete history, including the inclusion of painful and traumatic history. This will contribute to bringing more voices into the process, educating all stakeholders more fully and accurately, and creating connections across communities and generations.

Consistent and meaningful engagement builds trust between communities. As a fiduciary responsibility of the US government, trust must be built and re-built with Native communities to redefine the legal relationship of trust responsibility. The government must also commit to upholding their trust responsibility for the benefit of Native communities, recognizing that

government actors are working on the communities' behalf toward the ultimate outcome of self-determination and legal authority for decision-making. This will necessitate a transfer of power from the dominant settler colonial ideology. It can be facilitated by hiring more qualified Native individuals into leadership roles and educating Native communities to be able to advocate successfully for their needs, thus contributing to the documentation of Native histories to increase the preservation of culturally significant sites.

- **Educate stakeholders in Indigenous knowledge and legal and administrative frameworks.**

Utilizing the robust network of relationships that exist nationwide at the federal, organizational, and local levels of professional and academic structures, education must be prioritized for stakeholders regarding differences in how Indigenous communities understand human and place-based relationships, and how relationship to place shapes cultural identity. Further, education must also be prioritized to support Native communities in understanding the legal and administrative frameworks and implications of preserving cultural sites within a settler colonial governance structure. In particular, Tribal Historic Preservation Officers as key contacts in the implementation process need resources to navigate the complexities of the policy field. Education and connection around how preservation policy is designed and implemented is critical so that they can advocate effectively and knowledgeably for increasing preservation outcomes.

This shared education model will create a sense of belonging and purpose for all stakeholders in their efforts to protect significant places in good partnership. Knowledge exchange can be done using participatory approaches to convene groups for discussion, grounding the work in a shared understanding of what currently exists, generating ideas for what changes could be made, and deciding together what to test and how to assess results.

- **Research and document accurate Native history.**

The academic and preservation communities must support research efforts to document accurate histories and contribute to the gaps in the body of literature related to both scholarly publications

and in documents providing guidelines and best practices. These efforts must be led by Native communities to properly direct the inquiries and ensure accurate and complete information, including the history of painful and traumatic pasts. Guidelines for utilizing Indigenous methodologies in research and in engagement processes should be identified with commitments of adherence from all stakeholders. Hiring Native individuals into roles advising academic research and increasing the number of Native research consultants in practice is critical so that new approaches to documenting history that integrate multiple ontologies and epistemologies can be implemented.

Changes to federal and state guidelines must include modifications to the criteria for inclusion of cultural sites in preservation programs such as the National Register. Many of the FIBS sites are listed on the National Register, for example, but their significance often reflects association with settler colonial events or people, with little to no documentation – or incorrect documentation – regarding association with Native communities. Updating the nomination criteria to be inclusive of multiple stakeholders and intangible cultural heritage is critical. In addition, place-based context statements written by Native communities could be published that include appropriate Indigenous knowledge that would be useful for many researchers in a variety of contexts.

- **Integrate Indigenous knowledge into practice.**

Working directly with Native communities, federal agencies must develop an approach to integrate Indigenous knowledge into the criteria for evaluation of historic places to ensure that cultural sites are assessed and documented in alignment with Native histories and contemporary practices. Explicit goals must be set at the federal level in terms of expectation for engagement, education, documentation, and integration of Indigenous histories in historic preservation records. The ACHP and the National Trust for Historic Preservation could proactively issue a “Dear Tribal Leader” letter, outlining President Biden’s memo (Lander & Mallory, 2021) and the Indigenous Knowledge Policy Statement (Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, 2024),

addressing the ways in which their organizations are committed to the responsibility of integrating Indigenous knowledge into practice. This could be followed by a request of Native communities to engage in a participatory process to identify goals and co-design an implementation plan rooted in contemporary Indigenous methodologies and practices.

Recognizing the administrative burden placed on Native communities to secure funding for preservation efforts, federal and state agencies can prioritize the direction of their own funding as well as advocate for nonprofit grant funding and private philanthropy to support preservation initiatives in partnership with Native communities. Several federal programs beyond the National Register exist that could be utilized and expanded to further promote the awareness and support for the preservation of FIBS sites, including cultural site funds, the Sacred Places program, and the 11 Most Endangered Historic Places list. The US government must take the lead in changing policy and organizational structures so that Native communities can be legally empowered to invest meaningfully in their social history.

- **Implement reconciliation.**

Regarding preservation of the tangible and intangible history of FIBS sites, there is a range of responses and recommendations relating to preservation and healing from the boarding school experience for Native individuals, families, and communities. Some approaches consider preservation of the built environment while others call for demolition; some call for the recording of oral history and others for monuments memorializing the experience; some engage in resistance and social activism while others wish to collectively remember to collectively forget. There is no one right way; a variety of approaches are necessary for the communities affected to move forward as is appropriate for them.

What is clear is that reconciliation is needed to address the harmful legacy of the FIBS system as

outlined in the Department of the Interior (DOI) reports (Newland, 2022; Newland, 2024), and that the decision-making process should be led by Native communities themselves with full support, authority, and resources from the US government. Preservation has the potential to provide a pathway for healing within Native communities, which will require a multitude of approaches based on individual contexts. As a first step, every approach should include full acknowledgement of painful pasts. Further, approaches such as transferring ownership of both the land and any existing buildings on FIBS sites to those Native communities and providing ongoing and ample support for next steps in maintaining, renovating, interpreting, and overall management as those communities decide, should be explored.

Public administrators, planners, and preservationists have a responsibility to engage, learn and educate, document, and integrate Native histories into their fields to ensure that we can all benefit from accurate documentation that can be shared widely in service to preservation of the FIBS sites and reconciliation for Native communities.

Future Research

The literature review and the subsequent research into this topic – the intersection of the FIBS policies and the use of architecture as implementation strategy – have made it clear that there is a need for more research in this area. The gaps in the literature in these topic areas alone are vast, and without this documentation, the fields of public administration, urban planning, and historic preservation are at a loss as to understanding the structure of the system so that viable options for improvements, redesign, and new efforts can effectively address the history.

Significant research is needed to conduct an architectural history of the FIBS sites, starting with the first five schools: Carlisle Indian Industrial School, Fort Simcoe Indian Boarding School, Chemawa Indian Training School, Chilocco Indian Agricultural School, and Haskell Indian Industrial Training

School. Following this, an architectural history on all the off-reservation schools, which were built by 1908, would yield documentation on all the 27 off-reservation schools in the system, an enormous contribution to the field. Replicability of this research is important so that the results can be compared across sites. In addition, documenting the current preservation status of all FIBS sites would allow for comparison as well as prioritization of efforts, perhaps through a crowd-sourced approach.

Specifically, research into the FIBS boarding schools in Hawai‘i is critical especially given the influence the Lahainaluna Seminary and the Hilo Boarding School had on the foundations of the FIBS model. While research was conducted in the DOI’s Federal Indian Boarding School Initiative’s Investigative Reports, data on the Hawaiian schools is sparse given reasonable limitations in the scope of that project. However, because the geography is compact and the archives accessible, research into this context should be feasible.

Research into the policy fields by state would support historic preservation efforts for FIBS sites across the country. Because the NHPA’s service organizations are the State Historic Preservation Offices, understanding the opportunities and limitations in each strategic action field would contribute to state and national policy redesign efforts and program implementation targeting the preservation of these sites. In addition, national efforts to prompt healing, documentation of stories, and memorialization would benefit from state-level context research, especially in identifying where preservations can build relationships with Tribal Preservation Officers and local history-focused nonprofits.

Further inquiry into the effect the Hampton Method had on Historically Black Colleges and Universities across the South beginning with Tuskegee University would be a valuable lineage to trace, especially through the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions companies that were sent internationally into colonized countries, and through domestic land-grant university policies. Expanding the topic area to relationships between boarding schools, prisons, asylums, hospitals, and public university campuses domestically would also be of interest, as would expanding to other large-scale systems of dominance and control, like that of Nazi Germany.

Organizations such as the National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition and academic institutions such as the Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center at Dickinson College in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, have conducted significant research in boarding school history and made a substantial number of archival documents digitally accessible. Their efforts should be further acknowledged and increasingly resourced. While federal funding to agencies like the National Trust for Historic Preservation can be unpredictable, advocacy efforts of both federal and nonprofit policy, planning, and preservation organizations should prioritize researching, documenting, and preserving this history and these sites. For too long, the onus of initiating research and reconciliation efforts has been on the Native communities that have been affected; it is time for others to join the effort.

CONCLUSION

The goal of this study was to contribute to the gap in the literature at the intersection of policy and the built environment in the Federal Indian Boarding School (FIBS) program by answering the following research questions:

- What was the administrative logic used by the United States government in the implementation of the Federal Indian Boarding School program?
- How was architectural design used intentionally for the construction of controlled space in the Federal Indian Boarding School program?
- On what basis might preservationists use accurate documentation of the intended use of policy and architecture in the Federal Indian Boarding School system to inform viable historic preservation options for its tangible and intangible remnants?

Findings from the research provide a clear line of documentation of the administrative logic of the FIBS program in terms of its organizational structure, the design and implementation strategy of both the policies and the architecture, and the intended results and outcomes in terms of changes to the system and in the target population. Documentation of the policy's intent of elimination of Native people through the strategic use of the built environment in implementation provides insight to those working to preserve cultural properties. Preservationists can consider these findings to aid their efforts in the management of the tangible and intangible remnants of the FIBS system to support accurate and informed decision-making and provide engagement process recommendations with, by, and for Native people.

Several research methods were employed in this study including multilevel policy implementation analyses of the FIBS policies from the Civilization Fund Act of 1819 to the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887, as well as of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966; archival research and analysis on records, architectural plans, and documentation regarding site and building design; and semi-structured interviews with key informants in the fields of public administration, planning, and historic

preservation. Analysis of the policy and architectural implementation strategy allows for application of the findings to the fields of public administration, planning, and historic preservation in terms of site management, preservation action, and future study to protect cultural sites.

This research was a humbling journey: one that has opened windows, doors, and spaces once completely unknown; one that has seeded relationships between new people and new places; one that is not nearly over. What is clear from this journey is that we may be uncertain about how to move forward, but we must do it anyway. We must document painful history. We must acknowledge, prioritize, and resource efforts to hear the stories. We must change the framework in which we use this history to inform a better future.

The purpose and most important outcome of this study is care: for place, for being in pono (right) relationship, and for holding the kuleana (responsibility) of inquiring on a topic as sensitive as this. The intent is that this research might contribute to a field where much light is needed, and that it can be used to provide visibility and support for the identification and implementation of reconciliation efforts for Native communities.

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