1. NAME AND LOCATION OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: Stewart Indian Boarding School

Other Name/Site Number: Carson Indian School, Carson Indian Industrial School, Stewart Indian School, Stewart Institute

Street and Number (if applicable)**:** 1 Jacobsen Way

City/Town: Carson City **County:** Carson City (Independent City) **State:** NV

2. SIGNIFICANCE DATA

NHL Criteria: 1, 4, 5

NHL Criteria Exceptions:

NHL Theme(s): I. Peopling Places
6. encounters, conflicts, and colonization
II. Creating Social Institutions and Movements
2. Reform Movements
IV. Shaping the Political Landscape
2. Governmental Institutions
VII. Changing Role of the United States in the World Community
3. Expansion and Imperialism

Period(s) of Significance: 1890-1980

Significant Person(s) (only Criterion 2)**:** n/a

Cultural Affiliation (only Criterion 6)**:** n/a

Designer/Creator/Architect/Builder: Frederick R. Snyder (Superintendent)
US Indian Service Construction Division (USIS) (also known as Office of Indian Affairs and later Bureau of Indian Affairs), US Department of the Interior

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement. We are collecting this information under the authority of the Historic Sites Act of 1935 (16 U.S.C. 461-467) and 36 CFR part 65. Your response is required to obtain or retain a benefit. We will use the information you provide to evaluate properties nominated as National Historic Landmarks. We may not conduct or sponsor and you are not required to respond to a collection of information unless it displays a currently valid OMB control number. OMB has approved this collection of information and assigned Control No. 1024-0276.

Estimated Burden Statement. Public reporting burden is 2 hours for an initial inquiry letter and 344 hours for NPS Form 10-934 (per response), including the time it takes to read, gather and maintain data, review instructions and complete the letter/form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate, or any aspects of this form, to the Information Collection Clearance Officer, National Park Service, 12201 Sunrise Valley Drive, Mail Stop 242, Reston, VA 20192. Please do not send your form to this address.

Carl Cederstrand (USIS Construction Division)
A. R. Warne (USIS Construction Division)
Ernest Wungnema
Burton Wungnema
Randall (Randy) Wungnema
Joseph James "Joe" Brittain
Joe Buckhart
Hugh O. Tyler
James M. (Jim) Christopher
Native students and stonemasons (further research needed)

Historic Contexts: *Arts and Sciences: Education* (1960)
(draft) *Federal Indian Boarding Schools: Nationwide Historic Context Study* (2026)

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3. WITHHOLDING SENSITIVE INFORMATION

Does this nomination contain sensitive information that should be withheld under Section 304 of the National Historic Preservation Act?

___ Yes

_X_ No

4. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

1. **Acreage of Property:** 109.78 acres

2. **Use either Latitude/Longitude Coordinates or the UTM system:**

Latitude/Longitude Coordinates (enter coordinates to 6 decimal places)**:**

Datum if other than WGS84:

Latitude: **Longitude:**

1) 39.117578, -119.759253
2) 39.117492, -119.758331
3) 39.117583, -119.757766
4) 39.117887, -119.757769
5) 39.117930, -119.757328
6) 39.117566, -119.757581
7) 39.117316, -119.756454
8) 39.117661, -119.756154
9) 39.116573, -119.754572
10) 39.110381, -119.751419
11) 39.110407, -119.753309
12) 39.110587, -119.753683
13) 39.110918, -119.754028
14) 39.110907, -119.754246
15) 39.110984, -119.754500
16) 39.111435, -119.755789
17) 39.111424, -119.756050
18) 39.111633, -119.756190
19) 39.111638, -119.756486
20) 39.111814, -119.756881
21) 39.111546, -119.758318
22) 39.111557, -119.759608

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23) 39.112079, -119.760220
24) 39.112271, -119.760735
25) 39.112628, -119.761052
26) 39.112654, -119.761165
27) 39.113929, -119.761165
28) 39.113930, -119.761462
29) 39.114660, -119.761373
30) 39.117587, -119.761275

OR

UTM References:

Zone	Easting	Northing

3. Verbal Boundary Description:

The nominated property consists of 110 acres of land owned by the State of Nevada in independent Carson City. The current property consists of the core of the Stewart School campus containing the majority of historic resources associated with operation of the school from 1890 to 1980. The boundary is a multi-point irregular polygon, roughly paralleling several existing roads and includes parcels 00924119, 00924107, 00931144, 00931140, 01028147, and 00924105. The NHL boundary on the east side roughly begins at the intersection of Snyder Avenue and Bigelow Drive, then runs southeast along Bigelow Drive for approximately 0.45 miles. At this point, the nominated property's southern boundary proceeds west from Bigelow Drive 0.08 miles to Clear Creek. The remainder of the southern property boundary follows Clear Creek to the Carson City-Douglas County line. At the county line, the boundary turns north to roughly parallel Center Drive up to Clear Creek Avenue. At Clear Creek Avenue, the boundary proceeds east along Crescent Drive for roughly 0.05 miles, then drops slightly south to pass below three buildings situated on a parcel of land (00924118) owned by the American Baptist Home Missionary Society between Snyder Avenue and Crescent Drive and continues east for approximately 0.13 miles to a point just west of Wa-Pai-Shone Avenue. The boundary then extends north to Clear Creek Avenue, east to Wa-Pai-Shone Avenue, then follows Wa-Pai-Shone south to Crescent Drive. The northern property boundary continues along Crescent Drive to its intersection with Jacobsen Way, where it moves north approximately 0.03 miles before turning east to parallel Snyder Avenue and connects back to Bigelow Drive.

4. Boundary Justification:

The current boundary includes the majority of historic resources and designed landscape associated with the residential (both faculty and student), recreational, and educational function of Stewart Indian School between 1890 and 1980. Additional extant resources directly associated with the Stewart campus are present on adjacent properties, as the original Stewart Indian School lands encompassed several hundred acres of land (including discontiguous agricultural or ranch lands in Jack's Valley). Much of this surrounding land is held in trust by the Bureau of Indian Affairs for the Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California. One parcel just north of the Superintendent's Cottage (Resource 3) is owned by the American Baptist Home Missionary Society. Inclusion of these parcels would provide an even more cohesive representation of the original property, but at this time only the state-owned property is included.

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5. SIGNIFICANCE STATEMENT AND DISCUSSION

INTRODUCTION: SUMMARY STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Stewart Indian Boarding School (also known variously as Carson Indian School, Carson Indian Industrial School, Stewart Indian School, and Stewart Institute), located about three miles southeast of Carson City, Nevada, is nationally significant under National Historic Landmark Criterion 1 as outstandingly representative of broad national patterns in U.S. history regarding the development and operation of off-reservation boarding schools for the forced assimilation of Native children, and under NHL Criterion 4 for the distinctive architecture and layout of its largely intact campus. As a historic district under NHL Criterion 5, Stewart Indian Boarding School is an exceptionally well-preserved collection of buildings, designed landscape, and related features that together convey the span of evolving operations and policies associated with a national system over a ninety-year duration. Collectively, these resources comprise a non-reservation residential school campus representative of both the federal effort to culturally assimilate Native students forcibly removed from their families and Native resistance and persistence despite this generational trauma. Stewart also presents an uncommon case wherein the state acted to establish the school before turning it over to the federal government for operation. The period of significance extends from 1890 to 1980, which spans the time that Stewart operated as an educational institution, and is reflective of the federal Indian policy of assimilation in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Established as a non-reservation boarding school to assimilate children from the Washoe, Paiute, and Shoshone Tribes, Stewart was the first Federal Indian boarding school built in Nevada. At the time of its construction, the only other Indian schools in Nevada included one day school and one reservation school. Over time, school officials were permitted to expand admissions, enrolling children from other states. Many of these children were initially from California, Oregon, and Washington, but some children came from as far away as Alaska and New York, underscoring the system's commitment to sending children away from their Tribes and families. National Park Service ongoing research indicates students potentially represented more than 140 and as many as two hundred Tribal groups from sixteen states by the time Stewart closed in 1980.[1] The diversity of Tribal Nations

[1] The U.S. Department of the Interior's *Federal Indian Boarding School Initiative Investigative Report*, Volume II, Appendix B (School Profiles) (July 2024), provides a list of known student Tribal affiliations for each school. At the time of publication, the report identified forty-six Tribes associated with Stewart. Since that time, the National Park Service has reviewed contemporary school superintendent reports in an attempt to further refine understanding of possible student Tribal affiliations. As available documentation can be cursory, the list errs towards a broad accounting it is hoped can be refined through consultation and additional research. The combined list includes: Ak-Chin Indian Community; Alaskan; Apache; Assiniboine & Sioux Tribes of the Fort Peck Indian Reservation, Montana; Berry Creek Rancheria of Maidu Indians of California; Big Pine Paiute Tribe of the Owens Valley; Big Sandy Rancheria of Western Mono Indians of California; Big Valley Band of Pomo Indians of the Big Valley Rancheria, California; Bishop Paiute Tribe; Blue Lake Rancheria; Bridgeport Indian Colony; Buena Vista Rancheria of Me-Wuk Indians of California; Burns Paiute Tribe; Cachil DeHe Band of Wintun Indians of the Colusa Rancheria, California; Cahto Tribe of the Laytonville Rancheria; California Valley Miwok Tribe; Cedarville Rancheria of Northern Paiute Indians; Central Council of the Tlingit & Haida Indian Tribes; Chemehuevi Indian Tribe of the Chemehuevi Reservation, California; Cherokee Nation; Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe of the Cheyenne River Reservation, South Dakota; Chicken Ranch Rancheria of Me-Wuk Indians; Chinook; Chippewa Cree Indians of the Rocky Boy's Reservation, Montana; Cloverdale Rancheria of Pomo Indians of California; Colfax-Todds Valley Consolidated Tribe; Cocopah Tribe of Arizona; Colorado River Indian Tribes of the Colorado River Indian Reservation, Arizona and California; Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes of the Flathead Reservation; Confederated Tribes of Goshute Reservation; Confederated Tribes of Siletz Indians of Oregon; Confederated Tribes and Bands of the Yakima Nation; Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde Community of Oregon; Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation; Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs; Cow Creek Band of Umpqua Tribe of Indians; Cowlitz Indian Tribe; Coyote Valley Band of Pomo Indians of California; Crow Creek Sioux Tribe of the Crow Creek Reservation, South Dakota; (Death Valley) Timbisha Shoshone Tribe; Dry Creek Rancheria Band of Pomo Indians, California; Duckwater Shoshone Tribe; Eel River Lassik; El Dorado Miwok; Elem Indian Colony Pomo Indians of the Sulphur Bank Rancheria,

DRAFT

represented among Stewart students reinforces the government's continued efforts to remove children from reservations as a means of assimilation.

Stewart was named for William Morris Stewart, a US Senator from Nevada who obtained federal funding for the school.[2] Although at founding the school's official name was Stewart Institute, annual school superintendent

California; Ely Shoshone Tribe of Nevada; Enterprise Rancheria of Maidu Indians of California (Enterprise Rancheria Estom Yumeka Maidu); Federated Indians of Graton Rancheria, California; Flandreau Santee Sioux Tribe of South Dakota; Fond du Lac Band of Lake Superior Chippewa; Fort Bidwell Indian Community of the Fort Bidwell Reservation of California; Fort Independence Indian Community of Paiutes; Fort McDermitt Paiute and Shoshone Tribes of the Fort McDermitt Indian Reservation, Nevada and Oregon; Fort Mojave Indian Tribe of Arizona, California, & Nevada; Gila River Indian Community of the Gila River Indian Reservation, Arizona; Grindstone Indian Rancheria of Wintun-Wailaki Indians of California, Guidiville Rancheria of California; Habematolel Pomo of Upper Lake; Havasupai Tribe of the Havasupai Reservation, Arizona; Hoopa Valley Tribe; Hopi Tribe of Arizona; Hopland Band of Pomo Indians; Hualapai Indian Tribe of the Hualapai Indian Reservation, Arizona; Ione Band of Miwok Indians; Jackson Rancheria Band of Miwuk Indians; Kaibab Band of Paiute Indians of the Kaibab Indian Reservation, Arizona; Kashia Band of Pomo Indians of Stewarts Point Rancheria; Kern Valley Indian Community/Tubatulabals of Kern Valley; Kiowa Tribe; Klamath Tribes; Kletsel Dehe Wintun Nation of the Cortina Rancheria; Klikitat; Koi Nation of Northern California; KonKow Valley Band of Maidu Indians; Las Vegas Tribe of Paiute Indians of the Las Vegas Indian Colony, Nevada; Lone Pine Paiute-Shoshone Tribe; Lovelock Paiute Tribe of the Lovelock Indian Colony, Nevada; Lower Brule Sioux Tribe of the Lower Brule Reservation, South Dakota; Lower Sioux Indian Community in the State of Minnesota; Lytton Rancheria of California; Manchester Band of Pomo Indians of the Manchester Rancheria, California; Mechoopda Indian Tribe; Middleton Rancheria of Pomo Indians of California; Moapa Band of Paiute Indians of the Moapa River Indian Reservation; Modoc from Klamath, Oregon; Molala, Molale, Molele, Molalie; Mono Lake Kootzaduka'a Tribe of California and Nevada; Mooretown Rancheria of Maidu Indians; Nashville-Enterprise Miwok-Maidu-Nishinam Tribe; Navajo Nation; Nez Perce Tribe of Indians; Nooksack Indian Tribe; Nor Rel Muk Wintu Nation; Northwestern Band of the Shoshone Nation; Noyo River Indian Community; Oglala Sioux Tribe; Ohkay Owingeh, New Mexico; Oneida Indian Nation; Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah (Cedar Band of Paiutes, Kanosh Band of Paiutes, Koosharem Band of Paiutes, Indian Peaks Band of Paiutes, and Shivwits Band of Paiutes); Paiute-Shoshone Tribe of the Fallon Reservation and Colony, Nevada; Picayune Rancheria of Chukchansi Indians of California; Pinoleville Pomo Nation; Pit River Tribe, California (includes XL Ranch, Big Bend, Likely, Lookout, Montgomery Creek, and Roaring Creek Rancherias); Potter Valley Tribe; Pueblo of Nambe, New Mexico; Pueblo of Pojoaque, New Mexico; Pueblo of San Ildefonso, New Mexico; Pueblo of Santa Clara, New Mexico; Pueblo of Tesuque, New Mexico; Pulikla Tribe of Yurok People; Pyramid Lake Paiute Tribe of the Pyramid Lake Reservation, Nevada; Redding Rancheria; Redwood Valley Little River Band of Pomo Indians; Reno-Sparks Indian Colony, Nevada; Robinson Rancheria Band of Pomo Indians; Rosebud Sioux Tribe of the Rosebud Indian Reservation, South Dakota; Round Valley Indian Tribes of the Round Valley Reservation; Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community of the Salt River Reservation, Arizona; San Carlos Apache Tribe; San Juan Southern Paiute Tribe of Arizona; Santee Sioux Nation; Scotts Valley Band of Pomo Indians; Shakopee Mdewakanton Sioux Community of Minnesota; Sherwood Valley Rancheria of Pomo Indians of California; Shingle Springs Band of Miwok Indians; Deer Creek, Snake Creek, Newe, Newenee Shoshone; Shoshone-Bannock Tribes of the Fort Hall Reservation; Shoshone-Paiute Tribes of the Duck Valley Reservation, Nevada; Sisseton-Wahpton Oyate of the Lake Traverse Reservation, South Dakota; Skull Valley Band of Goshute Indians of Utah; Snohomish Tribe of Indians; Southern Sierra Miwuk Nation; Standing Rock Sioux Tribe of North & South Dakota; Strawberry Valley Rancheria (Pakan'yani Maidu of Strawberry Valley Rancheria); Summit Lake Paiute Tribe of Nevada; Susanville Indian Rancheria; Swinomish Indian Tribal Community; Te-Moak Tribe of Western Shoshone Indians of Nevada; Tohono O'odham Nation of Arizona; Tonto Apache Tribe; Tulalip Tribes of Washington; Tule River Indian Tribe of the Tule River Reservation, California; Tuolumne Band of Me-Wuk Indians of the Tuolumne Rancheria of California; Twenty-Nine Palms Band of Mission Indians of California; United Auburn Indian Community of the Auburn Rancheria of California; United Keeetowah Band of Cheroke Indians in Oklahoma; Upper Sioux Community, Minnesota; Ute Indian Tribe of the Uintah and Ouray Reservation; Utu Utu Gwaitu Paiute Tribe of Benton Paiute Reservation, California; Walker River Paiute Tribe of the Walker River Reservation, Nevada; Washoe Tribe of Nevada & California (Carson Colony, Dresslerville Colony, Woodfords Community, Stewart Community, and Washoe Ranches); White Mountain Apache Tribe of the Fort Apache Reservation, Arizona; Wilton Rancheria, California; Winnemem Wintu Tribe; Winnemucca Indian Colony of Nevada; Wintu Tribe of Northern California; Yankton Sioux Tribe of South Dakota; Yavapai-Apache Nation of the Camp Verde Reservation, Arizona; Yerington Paiute Tribe of the Yerington Colony & Campbell Ranch, Nevada; Yocha Dehe Wintun Nation, California; Yomba Shoshone Tribe of the Yomba Reservation, Nevada; Yukiah, Yuki, Ukaih; and Yurok Tribe of the Yurok Reservation. This list does not account for Tribal affiliations of any Native faculty and/or staff who worked at Stewart.

[2] Samantha M. Williams, *Assimilation, Resilience, and Survival: A History of the Stewart Indian School, 1890-2020* (University of Nevada Press, 2022), 28; *The Native American* 6, no. 19 (May 13, 1905): 163.

DRAFT

reports rarely refer to it by that name, instead referring to "Carson school."[3] In 1931, the Carson Indian Agency Annual Report noted that "the name had been changed and is known as the Carson Indian School," though the school post office retained the Stewart name.[4] In 1951, the school's name changed to "Stewart Indian School" and alumni continue to refer to the school by this name.[5] Stewart is used throughout this document, though occasionally Carson is used as well.

Stewart's largely intact campus and associated designed landscape is nationally significant under NHL Criterion 1 as strongly representative of the patterns of encounters, conflicts, and colonization, reform movements, governmental institutions, and expansionism and imperialism embedded in the Federal Indian boarding school system from the late nineteenth century to well into the twentieth century.[6] Under NHL Criterion 4, as an outstanding example of the off-reservation facilities characteristic of the Federal Indian boarding school system, the Stewart campus complex is the result of government design over time completed largely through the physical labor and creative initiative of Native students and stonemasons who built approximately sixty-five stone buildings. Further, Stewart is one of few largely intact federal off-reservation boarding school campuses in the West and thus its evolving use over time as Indian educational policy shifted remains intact. Under NHL Criterion 5, the national significance of the historic district as an intact collection of historic resources expressing these associations. The Stewart built environment represents a stylistically distinctive, highly adapted expression of native stonework executed with an extraordinary level of craftsmanship and demonstrating a creative use of Nevada native stone of myriad varieties.

The Federal Indian boarding school system originated with the Civilization Fund Act of 1819 and is deeply rooted in colonial perspectives and ideology that influenced legislation and Indian policy with regard to Native education.[7] This system affected all Native families, leaving a layered and tangled legacy that continues to affect current generations of Native people. At Stewart, this history began in 1890 with the school's establishment. A range of experiences, including some that were more positive toward the end of Stewart's tenure as a school in 1980, has left alumni and their descendants to reconcile what is sometimes conflicting emotion and experience. The period of national significance, 1890 to 1980, spans the entirety of time that Stewart was open to students.

The buildings and resources that comprise the Federal Indian boarding schools were physical manifestations of decades of US government policies that targeted Native American people and culture under the pretext of education. These institutions were in part fulfillment of the United States' treaty obligations toward Native Americans, but their priority was assimilation over education. The 1819 legislation authorized funding for organizations to educate and Christianize Native children in church- and later government-run schools across the United States.[8] Although policies changed over time under different administrations, the government's official position was that an academic education coupled with vocational training would help Native students assimilate into White culture and prepare them for work outside the reservation. Unofficially, boarding schools were designed to eradicate Native American culture and create a workforce of lower-wage laborers, tying into

[3] The other Indian Boarding Schools in these reports seem to be referred to by their official names. See annual reports of the Superintendent of Indian Schools between 1890 and 1930.
[4] Carson Indian Agency, Annual Report, Narrative Section, Introduction (1931), 1, National Archives and Records Administration [NARA], San Bruno, CA.
[5] Stewart Indian School Cultural Center & Museum, "Stewart Timeline," https://stewartindianschool.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/03/Stewart-Timeline.pdf
[6] For an exploration of these themes, see Marie Archambeault and Nesta Anderson, "Nationwide Historic Context: Federal Indian Boarding Schools" [draft] (2026).
[7] The Civilization Fund Act of 1819, or "An Act making provision for the civilization of the Indian tribes adjoining the frontier settlements," approved March 3, 1819, is commonly known as the Indian Civilization Fund Act or the Indian Civilization Act.
[8] 117th Congress, 2d Session, S. Con. Res. 28, https://www.congress.gov/117/bills/sconres28/BILLS-117sconres28es.pdf (accessed October 13, 2026).

DRAFT

Assimilation-era (1871-1934) policies that sought to force integration, dismantle reservation lands, and undermine Tribal cultural systems.

Stewart Indian School opened in 1890 with thirty-seven students.[9] Like other boarding schools, it was subject to federal policies, rules, and regulations that focused on strict adherence to a program of assimilation.[10] As Nevada's only off-reservation boarding school, Stewart also had to attract and retain students in its early years, as the Washoe and Southern Paiute Tribes did not have reservation lands and were mobile. The school had to establish relationships with these Tribes to convince them to send their children to Stewart, as they could easily move elsewhere and discontinue their relationship with the school administration. Early interactions between the school administration and parents provide insight into how students and parents resisted forced policy to seek some degree of autonomy. Within the larger context of oppressive federal policies, Native parents and children found ways to both actively and passively resist assimilation. As the dynamics between Native parents, students, and government/school officials changed, a thread of resistance and resiliency remained in Native students and communities. This thread allowed many of the students who attended Stewart in later years to reclaim their Tribal heritage and form bonds with members of other Tribes, which coalesced into a layered pan-Indian identity and an overall change into a more positive perspective of their Stewart school experience.

SIGNIFICANCE STATEMENT

Federal Indian Boarding Schools in the United States

The idea that Native American children should receive a Western education dates to at least 1609, when the Virginia Council directed the Governor of Virginia to educate some Native children to accelerate conversion of Native people to Christianity. Within a decade, this directive was amended to encourage the use of force, with the Virginia Company directing the Governor to kidnap children and hold them in chains until they converted, spoke English, and behaved according to Western norms.[11] While this directive did not result in widespread practice, there were several attempts at Indian education, much of it through missions and religious conversion, throughout the Colonial Era (1500-1776), US Federal Era (1776-1830), and even the Removal Era (1830-1871). Some of these attempts were partially government sponsored: as early as 1801, the US government was providing an annual subsidy for Spring Place Mission School in Georgia. Students were able to live at the school, making it one of the first Federal Indian boarding schools.[12] However, the US government officially became involved in creating government-run schools for Native children with passage of the Civilization Fund Act of 1819.[13]

[9] The U.S. Department of the Interior, *Federal Indian Boarding School Initiative Investigative Report*, Vol. 2 (July 2024), Appendix A (List of Federal Indian Boarding Schools) defines a Federal Indian boarding school as an institution that provided housing or overnight lodging to attendees, provided formal academic or vocational training, received federal government funds or other support, and was operational prior to 1969. Prior to the Civilization Fund Act of 1819, documentation of government support is limited, and the number of schools considered Federal Indian boarding schools may increase as research continues. Appendix A documents non-reservation and reservation boarding schools as well as day schools, orphanages, and industrial and training schools. At the time Stewart opened, sixteen non-reservation boarding schools were operating in the continental U.S.

[10] U.S. Department of the Interior, *Federal Indian Boarding School Initiative Investigative Report*, Vol. 2, Appendix K (List of Federal Indian Policies Related to Federal Indian Boarding Schools).

[11] Archambeault and Anderson, 15-16.

[12] Archambeault and Anderson, 26.

[13] For a comprehensive overview of United States policy and legislation affecting Native American education, see Archambeault and Anderson. This nationwide context provides an overview of how US actions influenced Native education prior to the US Federal Era (1776-1830) as well as how the United States enacted government policy to legitimize the assimilationist idea that Native American children should receive a Western education.

DRAFT

Through this act, many existing schools used available funding to become contract schools run by missionaries and at least partially funded by the government. Some schools were also supported by the Tribe they served. Many of these schools were day schools located on Indian reservations, though several were boarding schools.[14]

As the Removal effort (1830-1871) began to forcibly displace Native people in a push for Western expansion, a corresponding shift away from funding schools east of the Mississippi River followed. Tribes forced westward experienced a completely new environment during and after their traumatic journey, and the boarding school experience compounded the disorientation for Native children forced away from their homelands and then sent to a foreign school. As the era ended, President Ulysses S. Grant allocated funding to establish religious schools, many on reservations, stipulating only one denomination could be present per reservation.[15]

Moving into the Assimilation Era (1871-1934), the US government became more actively involved in Indian education instead of delegating authority to the church. Richard Henry Pratt's "success" in establishment and administration of the Carlisle Indian School (NHL designated July 4, 1961) in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, prompted the US to pass legislation to authorize forts to be converted into boarding schools. As a result, boarding schools became increasingly militarized with less emphasis on religion. The Carlisle example included harsh discipline and hiring students out to work for White families as domestics or farmhands, a program which became known as the "outing" program. Other Federal Indian boarding schools throughout the US instituted outing programs after Carlisle's perceived success.[16]

STEWART INDIAN SCHOOL (1890-1980)

Establishment of the Stewart Indian Boarding School and the Assimilation Era

The hallmark of the Assimilation Era (1871-1934) that sought to eliminate Native cultures and languages was forced integration, which the government attempted to do in several different ways. The government ended treaty making, outlawed Native American religious and cultural ceremonies, and passed the Dawes Severalty Act of 1877, which effectively provided the means to diminish and dismantle reservation lands.[17] Together, these actions compounded the attempt to force Native Americans to live as prescribed by European American cultural standards, with no regard for the physical, spiritual, and emotional impacts on Native people. By establishing boarding schools, the government could physically isolate an entire generation of Native youth and teach them to behave, live in, and navigate a European American world. This was the social environment within which many new boarding schools were created, including Stewart Indian School.

Stewart was one of several Indian boarding schools established to follow the Carlisle model during the Assimilation period and it appears to be one of the only schools created by a state legislature on behalf of the federal government. In 1887, the Nevada State Legislature agreed to issue bonds for the purchase of land and construction of a school for Indian education. Once established, the property was to be conveyed to the United States to become part of the Federal Indian boarding school system.[18] The proposal was for the state to buy a suitable tract of land and construct school buildings, before conveying them to the federal government to own

[14] Archambeault and Anderson, 22.
[15] Archambeault and Anderson, 32-33.
[16] Archambeault and Anderson, 34-40. See also Kevin Whalen, *Native Students at Work: American Indian Labor and Sherman Institute's Outing Program, 1900-1945,* Indigenous Confluences, eds. Charlotte Cotè, Matthew Sakiestewa Gilbert, and Coll Thrush (University of Washington Press, 2016).
[17] Archambeault and Anderson, 36, 41
[18] State of Nevada, 1887 Statutes of Nevada, Chapter XII: An Act to establish and provide for an Indian school [approved January 25, 1887], https://www.leg.state.nv.us/Statutes/13th1887/Stats188701.html.

DRAFT

and operate an Indian school. The US government benefitted from this proposal as it allowed expediting the process at a time when there was only one reservation school and one day school in Nevada, and "the majority of the Indians in that state are not on any reservation, and are homeless wanderers."[19] The prevailing opinion was that by enrolling these Native children in school, assimilation would occur more quickly. It also provided the government with an advantage to push Tribes onto allotments.

With this agreement in place, the state commission of H. M. Yerington, former governor J.W. Adams, and Dr. S.S. Lee acquired two hundred acres of land from S. C. Wright in 1888 and notified the Indian office. Unfortunately, when the Indian agent inspected the land, he deemed it unsuitable for a school due to a lack of timber and water.[20] The commission then posted a public advertisement find a more suitable site of not less than two hundred acres.[21] Three sites were in contention, but two were ruled out due to difficulties with water rights and issues with the legal land titles. In January 1889, the US government (Secretary of the Interior) received title to 223 acres from Henry and Ellen Ross (Tract G-2) and Charles F. and Amelia Miller (Tract G-3). The property contained nine buildings, a creek with water rights, and approximately two hundred acres already under cultivation, providing evidence of viable farmland.[22]

At the time Stewart opened, Nevada had three Indian reservations located at Pyramid Lake, Walker River, and Duck Valley. Pyramid Lake and Walker River were established for the Paiute people while Duck Valley was for the Shoshone people. The Washoe Tribe did not have an established reservation at this time. According to the 1889 Commissioner of Indian Affairs report, the Pyramid Lake reservation had a small boarding school (opened in 1878), while Walker River and Duck Valley each had a day school.[23] These schools had reached enrollment capacity, and prior to establishing Stewart, the Office of Indian Affairs determined that older students should be sent out of state to boarding schools that had more to offer educationally. This decision was made without consulting parents, who loudly objected. Local Indian agent William D. C. Gibson heard the objections and observed the negative effects of children's removal on their families. Rather than investing additional funds into reservation schools, however, he advocated for a boarding school to be established in Nevada. His reasoning was that some Native parents were supportive of their education but did not want to send their children far from them. This touchstone issue foreshadowed Gibson's early years as the first Superintendent of Stewart of, during which parents continued to assert their rights to see their children.[24]

Table 1 *Superintendents at Stewart Indian School by Era*

Assimilation Era (1871-1934)

William D. C. Gibson (1890-1894)
William M. Moss (May 1894-June 1894)
Eugene Mead (1894-1899)
James K. Allen (1899-1903)
Calvin H. Asbury (1903-1912)
Howard Hall (1912-1912)

[19] US House of Representatives, 50th Congress, 1st session, Report 1195 (1888).
[20] U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs [OIA], *Sixty-First Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior: 1892* (Government Printing Office, 1892), 883-884.
[21] "Indian School," *The Daily Appeal (Nevada Appeal)*, November 14, 1888, 2.
[22] OIA, *Sixty-First Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior: 1892*, 884-885.
[23] U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, *Fifty-Eighth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior: 1889* (Government Printing Office, 1889), 394.
[24] Williams, *Assimilation, Resilience, and Survival*, 27-28. This nomination acknowledges an overall debt to Williams' comprehensive scholarship on the history of the school.

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Frank A. Thackery (1912-1912)
S.A. M. Young (1912-1912)
Jesse B. Mortsolf (1912-1915)
James B. Royce (1915-1919)
Joseph D. Oliver (1919-1919)
Frederick R. Snyder (1919-1934)

Reorganization Era (1934-1953)
R.C. Berskiewicz (1934-1934)
Alida Bowler (1934-1939)
Don C. Foster (1939-1944)
Ralph M. Gelvin (1944-1948)
E. Reeseman Fryer (1948-1950)

Termination Era (1953-1968)
Burton A. Ladd (1951-1961)
Harry Rainbolt (administrative officer) (1961-1962)
Dale M. Baldwin (1963-1966)
Joseph A. Zuni (also known as Jose and Abe) (1966-1974)

Self-Determination Era (1968-1980)
Joseph A. Zuni (also known as Jose and Abe) (1966-1974)
William C. Whipple (acting) (1974-1975)
Van A. Peters (1975-1979)
Douglas Philbrick (1980)

Early Years and Traumatic Beginnings (1890-1900)

Stewart opened in 1890 with thirty-seven students, a superintendent, and eleven employees.[25] Students were recruited from the Shoshone, Paiute, and Washoe tribes, though over time student composition changed to include members of Tribes outside Nevada.[26] While there were fluctuations in attendance in early years, the administration attempted to instill a sense of organization among the students, who wore uniforms and marched to classes, activities, and the dining hall. The school day was organized with academic instruction in the mornings and vocational instruction in the afternoons, with an emphasis on the vocational component throughout the school's operation. The school started with grades kindergarten through eighth grade, and in 1935, added high school grade levels. Students were also expected to attend religious instruction on the weekends and occasional evenings.[27] Over time, Stewart also offered students opportunities to participate in extracurricular activities that included band, the student newspaper, dances, sports, and clubs.[28]

[25] U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, *Fifty-ninth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior: 1890* (Government Printing Office, 1890), 360.
[26] Williams, *Assimilation, Resilience, and Survival*, 28.
[27] Williams, *Assimilation, Resilience, and Survival*, 47-49.
[28] Williams, *Assimilation, Resilience, and Survival*, 66-68. For instance, the 1947 *Desert Braves* yearbook features a Lettermen's Club, Triple K, Lettering Club, Typing Club, Art Club, Leathercraft Club, ballroom dancing, Modern Dance Club, Square Dance Club, Hop and Glide Club, Melody Boys' Club, Teen-age Cooking Club, Stewart Junior Cooking Club, Knitting Club, Junior Needle Craft Club, Model Airplane Club, and Dramatic Club, among others.

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W.D.C. Gibson assumed administration of the Stewart school in 1890. Several buildings constructed by the previous owner, including both residential and agricultural buildings, were present. In addition, Charles H. Peters of Carson City was awarded a contract to construct the school building, which he worked to finish prior to the first snowfall.[29] A two-story, Colonial Revival-styled, wood-frame building was constructed. Upon inspection, one of the US Indian Commissioners deemed it an "architectural monstrosity" and called for the immediate firing of anyone involved with developing the plans.[30] Gibson moved ahead, even though all the windows and doors had to be reset due to wood shrinkage. Historian Kent Seavey described "[S]tructures completing the first school complex included a carpenter shop, harness and tool house, laundry, wood and coal shed, storehouse, boys' and girls' water closets, and a three-story, 10,000-gallon water tower. The facility also incorporated a horse corral, calf pens, and a wagon yard. (These first structures were replaced c. 1920)."[31] Gustavus Elmer Emanuel Lindquist, a member of the Home Missions Council of the Federal Council of Churches, extensively photographed Indian schools, missions, and training centers throughout the United States between 1897 and 1955; his May 1920 photographs of Stewart show rare views of wood-frame facilities from this early period.[32]

A 1915 inspection of the property by Special Indian Agent Colonel L.A. Darrington prompted him to recommend immediate abandonment of the Colonial Revival building due to its deterioration. The building was demolished sometime around 1923, when a new Administration Building was completed.[33]

Gibson hired workers and Native women to clean the school building prior to students' arrival. He also supervised construction and repair of several other buildings. When the Indian Office wouldn't approve some of the expenditures, Gibson reduced the cost of improvements by hiring day laborers instead and shopping for materials himself. He hired a plumber to install water pipes and flushing toilets in the boys' and girls' bathrooms, which were attached to the laundry.[34] He also purchased food, fuel, and planted 176 ornamental trees, 160 fruit trees, and twenty rose bushes, transforming a desert landscape through cultivation, a visual contrast symbolic of European American "civilization."[35]

It was within this dramatically transformed landscape that in mid-December 1890, Gibson opened the school to Paiute, Shoshone, and Washoe students, with thirty-seven children enrolled. At the first of the year, this number increased to ninety-one students. Gibson reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that several Native leaders had visited the school and subsequently asked for their band's children to attend.[36] While there may have

[29] "The Carson Indian School," *The Sacramento Bee*, October 16, 1889, 4; "Carson Indian School," *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 16, 1889, 6.
[30] "The Indian School Building," *Nevada State Journal*, December 18, 1890, 3.
[31] Kent Seavey, "Stewart Indian School," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1982), Section 7, 1, available at https://catalog.archives.gov/id/63816340.
[32] For more on Lindquist, see Brigette C. Kamsler, "Gustavus Elmer Emanuel Lindquist Papers, 1897-1955," Columbia University Libraries, November 12, 2012, https://blogs.library.columbia.edu/burke/2012/11/12/gustavus-elmer-emanuel-lindquist-papers-1897-1955/. For Lindquist's photographs of Stewart, see https://dlc.library.columbia.edu/lindquist/search?q=stewart+indian+school&search_field=all_text_teim.
[33] Kent Seavey, "A Completion Report on the Historic Resources Inventory and Adaptive Use Recommendations for the Stewart Indian School, Carson City, Nevada," prepared by the Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada, Reno, partially funded with assistance from the Department of the Interior, National Park Service, and Nevada Division of Historic Preservation and Archaeology (May 31, 1982), 47-48, available online via Public Works Nevada.
[34] It should be noted that despite the presence of "flushing" toilets, a 1903 condition assessment of buildings on the property describes two privies as being in poor condition. The contemporary flushing mechanism simply conveyed the waste into an area a little distance away from the school buildings. U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, *Statistics of Indian Tribes, Agencies, and Schools: 1903* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1903; Millwood, NY: Kraus Reprint Co., 1976), 136.
[35] U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, *Sixtieth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior: 1891* (Government Printing Office, 1891), 570-571.
[36] OIA, *Sixtieth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior: 1891*, 571.

been some Native interest in educational opportunities at Stewart, the implication that all enrolled children arrived there willingly is deceptive. Government officials traveled throughout Nevada, enrolling children both voluntarily and involuntarily, as permitted under compulsory attendance laws in effect in 1891.[37] Gibson noted the school enrolled 105 students the first year despite having a one hundred-student capacity, and claimed that he could have easily enrolled up to three hundred children if he had been able to accommodate them.[38]

Gibson's estimates were possibly inflated, as records indicate that within the first six or seven years Stewart was in operation, superintendents realized that Native parents' acquiescence was necessary to successfully build and maintain student enrollment. Native parents had such an influence on enrollment and retention that they were able to establish visiting days (Wednesdays from 9 am to 12 pm) and ensure that students were able to travel home during the summer holiday.[39] Early photographs show parents camping at Clear Creek, indicating that despite federal policy of no interaction between students and their families or communities, Native resistance made some headway at Stewart. Given that the government expected the school to not only recruit children but to keep them there until they graduated or turned twenty-one, Stewart school officials were acutely aware they needed parent support.[40]

This was not an active and open negotiation, however, nor were the superintendents relaxing their standards voluntarily. Federal policy was to both increase student enrollment and ensure that children attended school consistently.[41] This proved challenging in the founding years of Stewart, as parents who did not want to send their children simply moved when Indian agents came to collect their children for school. In addition, some parents who had enrolled their children at Stewart may have changed their minds about leaving their children at school due to outbreaks of disease. About a month after it opened, there was a mumps outbreak at the school. Approximately ninety percent of students became ill, and no infirmary was present on campus in which students could be treated or quarantined until 1904. Many children ran away, and several parents also came to retrieve their children.[42]

During summer 1891, a smallpox outbreak occurred at Stewart, sickening two seventeen-year-old boys, for whom a pesthouse was constructed about a quarter-mile from the school.[43] Local Carson City residents recalled that the previous property owners, the Ross family, had buried two children who died from smallpox on what was now Stewart school property. Their graves were probably unmarked, as the newspapers do not reference a cemetery or markers, just that the children had been buried under a few cottonwood trees where the Native boys played. Local residents hypothesized that the Stewart students could have contracted the disease from the soil over the burials, though it is likely one of the boys was exposed during his recent visit to a nearby community.[44]

Interestingly, there are varying accounts as to whether other children remained at Stewart during this outbreak. One newspaper reported only about fifteen Indian youth were present at the school, most of whom fled for "parts unknown."[45] Another reported that parents attempted to visit their children at Stewart every day but were denied

[37] See 26 Stat.989, 25 USC § 284; Williams, *Assimilation, Resilience, and Survival*, 29; Archambeault and Anderson, 44.
[38] OIA, *Sixtieth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior: 1891*, 571.
[39] OIA, *Sixtieth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior: 1891*, 571; Williams, *Assimilation, Resilience, and Survival*, 30.
[40] Williams, *Assimilation, Resilience, and Survival*, 25.
[41] Williams, *Assimilation, Resilience, and Survival*, 36.
[42] OIA, *Sixtieth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior: 1891*, 571.
[43] "Smallpox: Two Cases of the Disease in the Indian School," *Morning Appeal (Nevadan Appeal)*, August 11, 1891, 3.
[44] *The Central Nevadan*, August 27, 1891, 3; "Death from Small Pox at Pine Nut," *The Carson Daily Appeal*, January 7, 1869, 3; "After Twenty Years: Where the Indians got the Small Pox," *Morning Appeal (Nevadan Appeal)*, August 19, 1891, 3.
[45] "After Twenty Years," *Morning Appeal*, 3.

entry by authorities.[46] Both of these reports indicate the larger community was aware that assimilation efforts were not immediately successful. Native students and their parents were actively seeking to protect their families from disease rather than trusting in the federal system, and Stewart administration did not have complete control over the student population.

Native families and students may also have been protecting themselves from spiritual hazards. While they may not have known there were burials present on the property, there were other introduced behaviors, practices, and ideas that may have been dangerous to the spiritual health of the students. Cutting students' hair is an example of a practice that left Native students culturally and spiritually vulnerable.[47] Parental involvement and student runaways may have sought to mitigate these harms and resist White attempts at control.

Disease outbreaks continued, and parents responded accordingly. Over the summer of 1892, the community and school experienced outbreaks of smallpox, scarlet fever, and diphtheria, which Gibson theorized had deterred parents from sending their children to Stewart. It does appear to have had an effect, as at the beginning of the school year in 1892, when less than half of the enrolled students showed up at school (see Table 2).[48]

Table 2 *Student Enrollment at Stewart Indian School 1890-1899*[49]

Schoolyear	Beginning Enrollment	Average Enrollment	Total Enrollment	Stayed at Stewart during summer
1890-1891	37	83.5	105	23
1891-1892	79	79	173	Not provided
1892-1893	79	91	141	27
1893-1894	34	75	122	Not provided
1894-1895	Not provided	119	139	92
1895-1896	92	117	141	126
1896-1897	Not provided	126	154	Not provided
1897-1898	Not provided	144	182	Not provided
1898-1899	Not provided	145	213	Not provided

Ongoing Native resistance forced the superintendents to capitulate, allowing families to have some contact with their children at Stewart. In part this was due to the Office of Indian Affairs having a small staff that had duties on campus and could not travel to convince, coerce, or coerce students to come to Stewart. As a result, good relationships between Indian parents and Stewart were an essential component to the school's success.[50] Recognizing this, Gibson employed a Washoe man named Dick Bender to recruit Native students. Traveling throughout the region, Bender spoke to Native councils to advocate for Western education.[51] However, Native

[46] "Brevitie," *Daily Nevada State Journal*, August 13, 1891, 3.
[47] Jessica R. Hughston, "Negotiating Space and Maintaining Place: Time, Materiality, and Lived Experience at Stewart Indian School" (master's thesis, University of Massachusetts Boston, 2017), 82.
[48] Williams, *Assimilation, Resilience, and Survival*, 30-32. Williams provides a thorough and compelling argument for Native resistance during the early years at Stewart. She also provides a detailed picture of the wider social context in Carson City at the time.
[49] Data is from Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for these years, specifically from the narrative superintendent report section.
[50] Williams, *Assimilation, Resilience, and Survival*, 30.
[51] "Indian Matters," *Reno Gazette Journal*, December 15, 1892, 3.

communities were often relatively close to Stewart (between a one and six-hour journey), making it easy for students and their families to visit each other, and Gibson had insufficient staff for keeping all the students at school. Part of the superintendent's solution to address this was to appoint students to serve as "sergeants" to keep other students on campus. Forcing students to police their peers was intentionally divisive and undoubtedly uncomfortable and reflects military influence on how the boarding school operated Gibson did not report whether this program was successful but given continued reports of runaways and children leaving school, it is unlikely that it was truly effective.[52]

This does not mean that Stewart officials willingly let students leave, and over time school administration became increasingly more restrictive. Regardless of personal circumstances, the administration coerced students to stay at school even during summers. At times, personal interest appeared to have played a role, as in the instance of Louise Dixon, who asked to return home for the holiday in 1920. Superintendent Snyder denied her leave, as she was scheduled to work for his wife Charlotte that summer. It is likely Snyder did not want to find a replacement or set a precedent, as he backed down only after Louise's mother wrote directly to the Secretary of the Interior about the matter. The Secretary did not intervene but did forward the missive to Snyder. Both parents and students appear to have appealed to the administration for student permission to leave school and the outing program.[53]

For the students who stayed at Stewart in the summer, an "outing" program was instituted in 1896. Although Carlisle modeled and is the most well-known of these programs, most boarding schools developed outing systems that placed students with White families or companies during the summer to work as domestic or agricultural laborers. They were paid a wage for this work, but the money was sent directly to the schools to manage instead of being given to the students. The intent of the program was for Native students to learn to better assimilate by learning how to live in White society, although Native individuals were to be positioned as a laboring class with only certain limited opportunities and no instruction as to how to manage their own money).[54] Stewart's inaugural program in 1896 included 126 students who remained at school during the summer and expanded over time. Both male and female students participated, with the boys working on ranches in and around Carson City and the girls being placed with families through the outing program in the California Bay Area or working locally in Carson City.[55]

During the last part of the nineteenth century, Stewart Indian School was under the supervision of three successive Superintendents, William D. C. Gibson, William M. Moss, and Eugene Mead, all who encountered parental and student resistance to consistent school attendance. In 1895, Superintendent Mead acknowledged parental resistance to the school's proposal for keeping students at school year-round. In his annual report to the Indian Commissioner, he wrote that the school had announced their intention to retain students for twelve months but omitted the reasons for continuing to allow students to return home in the summer. While acknowledging that "there was some discontent," he launched into a long list of activities and chores the school assigned to students

[52] Williams, *Assimilation, Resilience, and Survival*, 30-32.
[53] Williams, *Assimilation, Resistance, and Survival*, 44-45.
[54] Archambeault and Anderson, 40, 84.
[55] Stewart's program in the Bay Area was well-documented, and additional information can be found in several places. See Carson Indian School Files at the National Archives and Records Administration, for the years 1910, 1912, 1913, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1922, 1929, 1931; Margaret D. Jacobs, "Working on the Domestic Frontier: American Indian Domestic Servants in White Women's Households in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1920-1940," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 27, nos. 1-2 (2007): 165-199 [studies student placement in San Francisco Bay Area, 1920-1940, under Bonnie Royce, Office of Indian Affairs matron and wife of Stewart Indian School superintendent, and subsequent matrons]; Robert A. Trennert, "Educating Indian Girls at Nonreservation Boarding Schools, 1878-1920," *Western Historical Quarterly*, 13, no.3 (July 1982): 271-290; Caitlin Keliiaa, *Refusing Settler Domesticity: Native Women's Labor and Resistance in the Bay Area Outing Program* (University of Washington Press, 2024); and US Senate, *Survey of Conditions of the Indians in the United States: Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Indian Affairs*, United States Senate, 71st Congress, Third Session (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1932).

DRAFT

in the summer.[56] This suggests Mead was acutely aware he was not meeting federal expectations yet understood he still needed Native cooperation to succeed. School agents appeared to understand this as well, as the Yerington, Nevada, newspaper reported in 1899 that Stewart staff looking for a young Indian woman who was presumably a student ended up returning to school without her.[57] The community likely knew her whereabouts but were not compelled to help the recovery agent. Despite continued resistance, the school gradually succeeded in enrolling more students and increasing overall attendance (see Table 2).

Notwithstanding, Native parents expected to have access to their children, and removed them from school during disease outbreaks.[58] Parents were appropriately concerned about sanitary conditions at Stewart, as the school did not have a doctor on campus or hospital or infirmary until 1904.[59] When the school experienced epidemics, such as the smallpox outbreaks in 1895 and 1896, they were forced to quickly build pest houses and establish quarantines after healthy children and staff had already been exposed.[60] For example, despite residing with her family rather than with students, Superintendent Mead's daughter contracted smallpox in 1895.[61]

The Stewart staff did take precautions, such as ordering new mattresses after burning the mattresses of the sick individuals in 1895.[62] In 1896, the school hurried to vaccinate students after the smallpox outbreak. While no students or staff died during this outbreak, four children died in the flu epidemic that swept the school later that year.[63] A measles outbreak at Stewart was reported in the newspaper in 1897.[64]

In addition to illness caused from disease, the gravity flow sewage "system" at Stewart (like most contemporary waste management infrastructure) was not designed to handle the volume of material produced.[65] In 1894, Superintendent Mead noted that the sewer system had 6"-pipe that was insufficient for the school's needs. He wrote, "it is almost a daily occurrence that it clogs and has to be dug up. In consequence of this a great many of the sections have been broken and it is little better than an open ditch."[66] This would have put students and staff at a high risk for cholera and other diseases that are preventable with adequate sanitation. The issue was fixed the following year.[67]

Prior to the 1938 passage of the federal Fair Labor Standards Act, which limited forms of child labor, student education included a heavy component of manual labor disguised as vocational work. Although the 1893

[56] U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs:1894* (Government Printing Office, 1895), 389-390.
[57] *The Yerington Rustler*, March 25, 1899, 4
[58] Williams, *Assimilation, Resilience, and Survival*, 40.
[59] U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, *Sixty-Second Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior: 1893* (Government Printing Office, 1893), 426.
[60] *The Wadsworth Dispatch*, October 9, 1895, 4; *The Wadsworth Dispatch* October 23, 1895, 5; *The Silver State*, November 5, 1895, 3; *The Eureka Sentinel*, November 2, 1895, 3.
[61] *The Wadsworth Dispatch* October 23, 1895, 5.
[62] *The Eureka Sentine*l, November 2, 1895, 3.
[63] U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs: 1896* (Government Printing Office, 1896), 381-382.
[64] *Walker Lake Bulletin*, April 14, 1897, 3.
[65] Late nineteenth-century waste management was typically via privies or in some municipalities through gravity-flow sewer pipes into cesspools. The pipes were often not of adequate size to convey the amount of wastewater being produced within a common sewer system. For more information, see Steven J. Burian, "Developments in Water Supply and Wastewater Management in the United States during the Nineteenth Century," Water Resources IMPACT 3, no. 5 (Sep 2001): 14-18; Martin V. Melosi, *The Sanitary City: Urban Infrastructures in America from Colonial Times to the Present* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000).
[66] OIA, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs: 1894*, 391.
[67] U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs: 1895* (Government Printing Office, 1896), 381.

DRAFT

superintendent's annual report provided some insight into grade level structure, the 1894 report conveyed there were no grades or tracking of student academic progress, an odd circumstance for an educational institution. This minimal oversight was attributed to the inconsistency of new and returning students. Meanwhile, the report on student progress continued, noting the carpentry department, which had been overwhelmed with work, had been able to keep up with repairs and work on new construction thanks to the work of the students. Additionally, the student work was "really better than that done on the main school buildings," suggesting the curriculum emphasized the manual labor component of the curriculum.[68] Student complaints about fieldwork and other duties further suggests their labor was an integral component of the daily function of school maintenance.[69] Male Stewart students hauled fertilizer 3.5 miles to the school farm/ranch property every year and were responsible for spreading it, an example of the clear pattern of using students to perform manual labor.[70] The school expanded the farm with the acquisition of thirty-eight acres in 1897, at the same time attendance and the labor pool increased.[71]

By 1895, the school employed three teachers for a student body of approximately 119 students.[72] Teacher and superintendent appointments appear to have been subject to agency politics. In 1894, a newspaper reported that teacher Walter G. Gayhart had been questioned about his politics by Inspector McCormick of the US Indian Service. Gayhart resigned a few months later, and the article notes that "To-day every single Republican employee in the Indian service at Carson is out, driven out by politics."[73] An 1894 newspaper mentions that Bill Gibson, who had been the superintendent at Carson Indian School, had been fired, and was being replaced by "a carpet-bagger from Oshkosh."[74] Similarly in 1898, a female teacher who was local to Nevada was dismissed in favor of a new teacher from the eastern states.[75] These articles suggest the Indian Office may have preferred not to have local teachers at a school where there was difficulty enforcing the rules due to relationships with the Native community. Stewart hired its first band teacher in 1897. The Office of Indian Affairs assigned a new band director in August 1897, an Oneida man named Edwin Schanandore.[76] Schanandore was a graduate of Carlisle Indian School, and his role at Stewart included that of disciplinarian.[77] Perhaps not coincidentally, the school added a military drill program that year as well, which would have introduced the order and precision necessary for a marching band and simultaneously began a to instill military concepts of obedience and "discipline." [78]

The superintendent felt the band deterred runaways by providing students with an activity they enjoyed. Interestingly, it seems that the band inadvertently provided students with a way to express and maintain their Native culture after hours. At night, students would take the drums from the music room so they could drum and

[68] OIA, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs: 1894*, 390-391.
[69] OIA, *Sixty-Second Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior: 1893*, 426.
[70] The school farm may refer to Jack's Valley Ranch, an agricultural tract southwest of the school property used for ranching in the twentieth century. However, it is also possible that the farm was a separate tract, and that the ranch was acquired later. OIA, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs:1898*, 377; *Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior: Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Fiscal Year ended June 30, 1899* [Part II] (Government Printing Office, 1899).
[71] U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, *Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior for the Fiscal Year ended June 30, 1897: Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the year 1896* (Government Printing Office, 1897), 358.
[72] OIA, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs: 1895*, 380.
[73] "Editorial Notes," *The Independent*, New York, November 8, 1894, 12.
[74] *The Wadsworth Dispatch*, February 17, 1894, 3.
[75] *The Eureka Sentinel*, February 12, 1898, 2.
[76] OIA, *Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior for the Fiscal Year ended June 30, 1897*, 358. Schanandore only stayed at Stewart for a year before being transferred to Albuquerque Indian School in 1887: see Edwin Schanandore personnel folder, NARA, available at Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/personnel-folder-edwin-schanandore.
[77] Major W.A. Mercer, letter to Edwin Schanandore, January 21, 1907, Student File, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student_files/edwin-schanandore-student-file.
[78] *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 3, 1895, 7

DRAFT

dance outside away from the eyes of the Superintendent. Faculty were aware of these activities but chose to ignore them.[79] As with sport, discussed below, the practice of music paradoxically provided both a vehicle for Native resiliency and self-expression as well as a tool employed in service of assimilation and control.[80] Over time, the band became one of the most popular student activities at Stewart and was well-known within the wider Carson City community.

Reports indicate students continued to actively resist in other ways as well, especially the rule of not speaking Native languages. In 1896, the superintendent reported: "it is rather the exception now than the rule that you hear the Indian language spoken among the pupils."[81] Mead further observed in 1897 "[t]hat miserable practice of pupils siting about in idle knots discussing idle nothings, and always, too, in the Indian language, has been very conspicuous by its absence."[82] While these observations comment on children not speaking their native languages, they also inadvertently provide the insight that six to seven years into Stewart's operation, children had still been speaking their Native languages somewhat openly at school. Speaking Native languages at school was forbidden, and children were often harshly punished for violating this rule.[83] Whether Stewart's administration was more lenient during these early years is unknown, but children had been openly defying this rule for several years and undoubtedly continued to do so out of sight and hearing of school staff.

While disciplinary actions are not necessarily detailed in early reports for Stewart, the Commissioner for the Office of Indian Affairs provides insight into what was advised for Indian schools. The Commissioner notes many students bring with them "impunity or vice," reflecting an ingrained bias toward Indian children and their behavior. Sending children home was a last resort, and if milder forms of punishment did not work, the Commissioner recommended corporal punishment, confinement, removing privileges, or withholding food.[84] Given these directives, it is likely that punishment was severe for a female Stewart student who struck her teacher on the head and severely injured her.[85] The circumstances of this specific incident are unclear, but it suggests there were also incidents of physical resistance during these early years.

The idea that children coming to school were somehow immoral may have made them easy targets for untrustworthy adults. Predatory behavior is not documented in these early years within the commissioners' reports. However, in 1898, the Eureka *Sentinel* published a news item about an investigation reportedly occurring at the Carson Indian School. Without being explicit, the news item mentions the "moral training" of the students had not been strict, resulting in three sudden marriages and four more pending. In addition, there is suggestion that adults were involved, as the item claims "things are coming to a head that will implicate several citizens of this city." As Native people were not considered citizens, it is likely this statement refers to non-Native residents of Carson City, which may have included Stewart staff or employers who were involved in the outing system. Overall, the article suggests there may have been inappropriate interactions and/or relationships between White adults and Native students.[86] The results of the investigation were not included in the annual reports, but Superintendent Mead was forced to resign the following year.[87]

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[79] Bonnie Thompson, "The Student Body: A History of the Stewart Indian School, 1890-1940" (PhD diss. Arizona State University, 2013), 198.
[80] Melissa D. Parkhurst, *To Win the Indian Heart: Music at Chemawa Indian School* (Oregon State University Press, 2014).
[81] OIA, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs: 1896*, 381-382.
[82] OIA, *Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior: Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Fiscal Year ended June 30, 1897*, 358-359.
[83] Thompson, "The Student Body," 7; Williams, *Assimilation, Resilience, and Survival*, 54.
[84] OIA, *Sixty-First Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior: 1892*, 617.
[85] *Redwood City Standard*, March 30, 1893, 1.
[86] "The Carson Indian School: Another Investigation," *The Eureka Sentinel*, November 26, 1898, 3.
[87] *Walker Lake Bulletin*, February 8, 1899, 3.

The arrival of new Superintendent James Allen appears to have ushered in some changes at Stewart. In April, the Department of the Interior asked for proposals for a brick shop building, indicating the school continued to expand.[88] Allen used the boys' band to recruit new students and showcase the school's progress to the public, taking the band to the Walker River Reservation in June, and giving a concert in the park at Hawthorne.[89] Also, by 1899, the Stewart School had a football team that played against non-Native school teams, which was likely promoted to attract new students.[90]

Early Twentieth Century (1900-1934)

The turn of the twentieth century brought expansion to Stewart. The Office of Indian Affairs drew up plans to construct a new wood-frame dormitory in 1900. The call for proposals was limited to materials only, suggesting that the intent may have been to continue the earlier practice of using student labor to erect the building.[91] However, a 1901 opening indicates John Johnson and the firm of Clough & Gulding bid on construction of a wood-frame workhouse at the school, so it is as yet unclear what measure of student versus other labor was used for this building.[92] Another request for proposals was issued in 1905 for building materials, a boiler, plumbing supplies, etc. The itemized materials do not provide insight into the type of building(s) these materials might be used to construct, though it appears that bathrooms were to be included given the request for a boiler, closets, sink, and lavatory.[93]

The 1903 superintendent's report provides insight into the buildings present on campus, indicating the campus had expanded along with the student population and verifying that bathrooms had been added. The main building, a two-story, wood-frame building with a single-story ell, served as a dormitory, kitchen and bakery, dining room, schoolhouse, sewing room, chapel, and employee quarters, and had two bathrooms. In addition, the property contained a storehouse, water tank, engine house, laundry/bath house, hennery, warehouse, privies, root house (stone), two employee cottages, a girls' dormitory, workshops, a bath and clothing room, and a gas house. Outbuildings included barns, sheds, toolhouses, old carpenter and blacksmith shops, an icehouse, and two pest houses. Infrastructure included gas lighting, steam heat for the girls' dormitory, running water pumped from the tank, and a sewer system connected to a gravity-fed 8"-sewer pipe.[94]

In the 1906 Commissioner of Indian Affairs' annual report, Superintendent Calvin Asbury documents Stewart kept infrastructure work in house "for the benefit of the pupils." The children worked on plumbing, bricklaying, stone laying, cement work, and wagon painting, tasks which seem to have a clear benefit for the school. The report also noted the school bought forty acres for pasture and additional water access in 1905.[95] In 1911, the superintendent reported they did not have a curriculum for the vocational program because "work in the various shops has been actual work required by the institution."[96] The school thus appears to have benefitted from student manual labor with minimal or only on-site instruction. In part, this may have been due to Superintendent Asbury's belief:

[88] "Proposals for Brick Workshop Building," *Reno Gazette Journal*, April 10, 1899, 1.
[89] *Walker Lake Bulletin*, June 21, 1899, 3; "The Nevada Indian Band," *The Eureka Sentinel*, June 24, 1899, 1.
[90] *The Silver State*, December 4, 1899, 1.
[91] "Legal and Official," *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 21, 1900, 9.
[92] *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 6, 1901, 3.
[93] Legal and Official," *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 31, 1905, 12.
[94] *Statistics of Indian Tribes, Agencies, and Schools*, 136-137.
[95] U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, *Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior, 1906, Indian Affairs: Report of the Commissioner and Appendixes* (Government Printing Office, 1906), 269.
[96] U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year ended June 30, 1911* (Government Printing Office, 1912), 9.

DRAFT

> "(…) in the dignity of any kind of honest labor, and faith in the result of earnest endeavor. He teaches that bread making is more important to an Indian girl than piano playing, or even making Battenburg lace for exhibition purposes, and that the knowledge of the use of tools, together with a disposition to use this knowledge, is more important to any kind of a boy than the date of De Soto's crossing the Mississippi, the name of the largest river in Siberia, or the spelling of the name of the greatest Russian battleship afloat or at the bottom of the sea."[97]

At some point, the Carson City community began to complain that the school used federal funds and did not provide any economic boost to the community. A 1904 article in the *Morning Appeal* outlines how much money entered the community that year to better illustrate the school's contributions. According to receipts from the previous year, the school spent approximately $28,000 on materials that went directly into the local economy. The unnamed author also notes ongoing improvements at the school that would cost $40,000, much of which would be spent on local labor and materials.[98] Whether that investment materialized is unclear, but by 1908, the state considered purchasing Stewart. The Office of Indian Affairs intended to abolish Stewart and, per a March 1909 resolution, the state studied it for use as a prison.[99] This did not come to fruition, and by 1911 the US Department of the Interior informed the Nevada Board of Prison Commissioners that the property was not available for consideration for a prison.[100] Stewart continued to operate as a federal Indian boarding school until 1980.

Absence and Running Away

In the early twentieth century, Stewart appears to have had a practice of allowing some students to leave for extended periods of time if they planned to return, likely in response to parental pressure and recruiting difficulties. This practice appears to have included allowing absences for illness, visiting family, working for the school, or securing employment; several reports in the school newspaper indicate students had taken a leave of absence for these reasons.[101] An analysis of Stewart student demographics in 1900 suggest recruiting was an issue during this period. Forty percent of school students were outside the usual age range for attendance at non-Indian schools – the youngest child was four years old and the oldest was twenty-six. This suggests the school recruited indiscriminately in these early years, and demands for leave might have been granted to incentivize students to return to school.[102] The presence of the Minden Branch Virginia & Truckee Railroad spur on campus from 1906 through 1950 provided an easy means of transportation for students both for school-approved travel and as a means to run away.[103] By 1919, there were two trains per day, suggesting passenger travel was as an important consideration as freight.[104] A 1944 schedule indicates that bus travel from Stewart to Reno, Virginia City, and

[97] *The Native American* 6, no. 19 (May 13, 1905), 163.
[98] "The Indian School: Carson Benefits Largely from the Government Institution," *Morning Appeal* (Carson City, NV), August 4, 1904, 3.
[99] "Inspecting Property: Government Wants State to Buy Stewart Institute," *Carson City Daily Appeal*, December 10, 1908, 1; 1909 Statutes of Nevada, Chapter 131, approved March 20, 1909, https://www.leg.state.nv.us/Statutes/24th1909/Stats190901.html.
[100] "Report of Committee Investigating Conduct of the Board of Prison Commissioners, March 16, 1911, in *Appendix to Journals of Senate and Assembly of the Twenty-Fifth Session of the Legislature of the State of Nevada*, Vol. II (1911), Resolution of State Board of Prison Commissioners, January 18, 1910, 5.
[101] Williams, *Assimilation, Resilience, and Survival*, 35-36; "Happenings at School," *The Indian Advance* 2, no.5 (January 1, 1901); "Local and Personal," *The Indian Advance* 2, no.10 (June 1, 1901); *The Indian Advance* 4, no. 9 (May 1903); *The Indian Advance*, 4, no. 10 (June 1903).
[102] Joshua Jerome Meisel, "Historical Demographics, Student Origins, and Recruitment at Off-Reservation Indian Boarding Schools, 1900" (master's thesis, University of Kansas, 2014), 85-86.
[103] OIA, *Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior, 1906, Indian Affairs: Report of the Commissioner and Appendixes*, 112.
[104] OIA, *Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year ended June 30, 1919*, 1.

DRAFT

Lake Tahoe was also available.[105] The railroad appears to have stopped running trains to Stewart in 1946. A wood platform built in 1906 allowing access to the train is visible in several historic photographs on file at the museum. A small frame shelter was also built in 1920 (burned in 1948).[106]

Sometimes traveling children were escorted by adults, as reported in 1909 for a group of eleven children from Stewart who traveled to Redding, California, where they met family members. According to the article, the children had to attend Stewart for three years before the government would pay their fare home for summer vacation.[107] This seems surprising given federal policy, unless the school provided this as a retention incentive. In 1912, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs' annual report indicated many students were not finishing school, instead leaving to find jobs.[108] The 1914 report indicates Stewart still allowed children to return home during the summers, suggesting that recruiting and enrollment remained a challenge for the school.[109] In subsequent years this practice grew increasingly less common. Gradually, the school limited access to student families year-round.

Due to these absences, Stewart staff reasoned children who lived further away would be less likely to leave and sought to recruit students from greater distances. In 1902, Stewart enrolled students from northern California and southern Oregon and hoped this would help reduce the number of runaways.[110] Staff also likely thought this would reduce parental pressure on the administration to let students see family and leave school given that parents would be hundreds of miles away. Adding students from these areas also meant the Tribes represented within the school changed, affecting in turn how students from different Tribes interacted with one another. Tribal-specific clothing, hairstyles, and other cultural identifiers would have been removed once the children arrived at school, which may have made it difficult for students to identify members of other Tribes. However, no accounts have provided insight into how these interactions may have affected individual students.

Running away continued to occur somewhat regularly though the school administration did not track runaway data until 1926. Historian Samantha Williams compiled runaway data for Stewart Indian School for the years 1904 to 1909, demonstrating it was a relatively common occurrence. Runaway rates ranged from roughly eight percent of the total student population in 1908-1909 to thirty-two percent during the 1906-1907 school year. In addition, the percentage of those runaways who never returned to school was high, typically ranging from forty-nine to sixty-eight percent, with only the 1908-1909 school year having about thirty-five percent of runaways never returning.[111]

The school responded by shifting the duties of its recruiter, Dick Bender, to tracking runaways.[112] In addition, Superintendent Allen worked with law enforcement to arrest students who ran away from Stewart. Upon enrollment, students agreed to stay at school for a particular length of time; if they ran away, they were to be arrested.[113] Newspaper accounts that reported runaways often spoke about Stewart as a prison facility.[114] For

[105] Personal communication, Chris Ann Gibbons, May 15, 2026, 1944 schedule on file with the Stewart Indian School Cultural Center & Museum.
[106] A Nevada State Railroad Museum ca.-1941 image shows a frame board-and-batten siding building associated with the freestanding wood train platform (https://wnhpc.com/details/com0161). See also VT Telegraph No. 62 [newsletter], shared by Chris Ann Gibbons, May 15, 2026.
[107] "Indian Children Arrive from Carson," *The Shasta Courier*, June 29, 1909, 3.
[108] Superintendent Sam Young, "Annual Report for 1912: Carson," 6, on file with NARA, San Bruno.
[109] Superintendent [Jesse Mortsolf], "Annual Report for 1914: Carson Indian School," 3, on file with NARA, San Bruno.
[110] Williams, *Assimilation, Resilience, and Survival*, 35-36.
[111] Williams, *Assimilation, Resilience, and Survival*, 32-33.
[112] "Charlie Bender, the Piute [sic] Detective," *Nevada State Journal*, March 14, 1908, 8
[113] Bodie Miner, "Runaways Captured," *The Morning Appeal*, January 28, 1902, 3.
[114] The newspapers often used language that was evocative of prison. An April 7, 1915, article in *Carson City Daily Appeal*, for example, reported that a seventeen- year-old Native girl who had committed fraud and was on her way to the reformatory at Santa Fe

example, a 1905 newspaper article refers to two runaways as being "absent on parole for a limited time." This language immediately evokes the idea that Stewart was a prison from which students were escaping. Considering students were expected to move away from family and live at school year-round, wear uniforms, perform manual labor, and were subject to rules that denied them basic privileges, there were some striking similarities. The article also mentions that two of these runaways were in jail and that the "Disciplinarian" from Stewart was looking for two others.[115] The disciplinarian oversaw the school jail, a windowless room somewhere on campus (location as yet unidentified).[116]

The threat of arrest did not appear to be a deterrent for runaway students. In 1910, within a week two boys ran away from Stewart, followed by three girls. Both groups were caught. The boys were sentenced to ten days in jail. (The girls appear to have had a police escort back to school but possibly were not jailed.) One of the boys said, "he would rather work on the chain gang all his life than be compelled to return to the school."[117] Such a strong statement conveys that this student's experience (and likely many others) at Stewart was so awful that the runaway risk was worthwhile. It also suggests punishment at Stewart was harsher than some prison punishments.

Arrest was not the only threat for runaways. Environmental conditions could be dangerous, and some students risked their lives by leaving during inclement weather. In 1905, four girls ran away from Stewart and were found unconscious outside in below-zero temperatures.[118] Five years later, a girl named Edith Buckskin ran away from Stewart with two other girls. Weather was not a factor that time. However, Edith may be the same Edith Buckskin from the Greenville Indian School in California who ran away with four other girls in the winter of 1916. Two of the girls died due to the severe cold, and Edith got frostbite so severely that she had to have her feet amputated and later died.[119] These acts of resistance show student desperation to return to their families and culture.

Illness

One of the most significant buildings added in the early twentieth century was the infirmary, which opened in 1904. While the hospital was being constructed, several illnesses swept the campus, including pneumonia. Five students died from the disease.[120] Despite the presence of an infirmary, Stewart did not have always have a doctor living on site. Annual reports (1891-1905) indicate that Stewart employed a physician, though the records do not specifically note whether that physician lived on campus. The first full-time nurse at Stewart arrived in 1905. The nurse, Allie H. Barnett, was one of Stewart's first African American employes.[121] The 1910 Ormsby County Census shows that both a physician, William Shank, and a nurse, Barnett, lived at Stewart at that time.[122] However, by 1911, the school contracted with a physician in Carson City who had his own practice and employed

was "an inmate" of the Carson Indian School. The connotations of this language reflect the public (White) perception that Native students were incapable of functioning outside such an institution.

[115] "Carson Indian School Official after Runaways," *The Weekly Nugget*, October 10, 1905, 1.

[116] Williams, *Assimilation, Resilience, and Survival*, 54-55.

[117] "Three Indian School Girls are Arrested," *Reno Gazette Journal*, October 13, 1910, 2.

[118] Williams, *Assimilation, Resilience, and Survival*, 35.

[119] Kate Elizabeth Mook, "The Greenville Investigation: Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Boarding School Runaways" (master's thesis, California State University San Bernardino, 2020).

[120] OIA, *Annual Report of the Department of the Interior for the Fiscal Year ended June 30, 1905: Indian Affairs*, Part I, 255.

[121] Thompson, "The Student Body," 103. Williams reports that Barnett left Stewart in 1917 after nine years of service, suggesting there is a discrepancy in how long she worked at Stewart. See Samantha Williams, "Understanding Her Position and Place: An African American Nurse at the Stewart Indian School, 1908-1917," 2020, https://nursingclio.org/2020/05/20/understanding-her-position-and-place-an-african-american-nurse-at-the-stewart-indian-school-1908-1917/, accessed March 26, 2026.

[122] Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910, Ormsby County, Nevada.

DRAFT

a nurse who lived on site.[123] Contracted doctors typically did not travel to the school every day.[124] Specialists, such as dentists and eye doctors, visited the school as part of their traveling routes, and were not local.[125]

Despite the presence of the infirmary, Stewart struggled to treat tuberculosis (TB) patients, and resorted to sending children with TB home since they did not have a facility where these patients could be quarantined away from other students in the dorms or infirmary.[126] Both TB and trachoma, a bacterial eye infection caused by close personal contact, were widespread at Stewart as well as in other Indian boarding schools and Native communities. Initially, federal policy assumed the prevalence of these diseases, along with smallpox, among Native people were tied to perceived biological and social inferiority. However, as germ theory developed and the administration acknowledged the contributions of schools in spreading communicable disease, Stewart staff recognized the need for an infirmary. They also focused on instructing the students in how to practice good hygiene, though the school's continued overcrowding likely made these attempts difficult. Communicable diseases, including flu, meningitis, and chicken pox still swept school, but the infirmary provided a place where ill children could be kept under observation by a medical professional. Unfortunately, school administration found that it was too small for quarantine purposes and consistently asked the Indian Office for additional funding to expand.[127]

In 1916, Stewart added a separate sanatorium that could be used to quarantine up to twenty TB patients.[128] The sanatorium (demolished in the 1940s), which was located in the vicinity of the current Ranch housing, became a place where the Native community could go to get medical care, while students continued to be seen at the school infirmary on the east side of campus.[129] Although the school had grown increasingly restrictive of allowing students to see their families, the presence of this facility may have provided opportunities for students to interact with family or Tribal members, though the Tribal composition of the student body had diversified by this time to include students from Tribes located outside Nevada.[130] By the time Stewart closed in 1980, students potentially represented more than 140 Tribes from Nevada and sixteen other states.

Newspaper reports of deaths from the early twentieth century suggest Stewart was also a place the Native community may have used for funerals. In 1918, an elderly Washoe woman died of pneumonia in a camp west of the city. Her funeral was held at Stewart, which seems to contradict the practice of keeping students separated from Native life and traditions.[131] However, the Washoe cemetery located across Snyder Avenue from the Main Building served both the Tribe and the school, implying the relationship between the Washoe and school administration may have overlapped with the superintendent's additional responsibilities as Indian Agency superintendent for the region.[132] Since Stewart's sanitorium treated the local community, it may have been logical

[123] Superintendent C. H. Asbury, Annual Report for 1911: Carson Indian School, Narrative, 5, on file at NARA [San Bruno].
[124] Superintendent Jesse Mortsolf, Annual Report for 1913: Carson School, 2-3, on file at NARA [San Bruno].
[125] Superintendent, Annual Report for 1915, Carson Indian School, 3, on file at NARA [San Bruno]; Superintendent James B. Royce, Annual Report for 1916: Carson Indian School, 5, on file at NARA [San Bruno].
[126] OIA, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year ended June 30, 1911*, 5; Mortsolf, Annual Report for 1913: Carson School, 2.
[127] Thompson, "The Student Body," 96-107.
[128] Royce, Annual Report for 1916: Carson Indian School, 8.
[129] Thompson, "The Student Body," 81; Superintendent [Frederick R. Snyder], Annual Report 1923: Carson Indian School, 6a, on file with NARA [San Bruno].
[130] Snyder, Annual Report 1923: Carson Indian School, 6a. Tribes represented by students at Stewart in 1918 included Shoshone, Paiute, Washoe, Digger (a derogatory term for a member of what could have been several different tribes), Concow, Mono, Wintun, Cornish, Pitt River, Tule River, and Cahto.
[131] "Old Squaw Dies," *Carson City Daily Appeal*, April 3, 1918, 4.
[132] It seems not all students were buried in the school cemetery. A 1905 newspaper article indicates that a student named Milt Clark had died at Stewart, but that his body was shipped back to California for burial. This concession may have been due to Carson's early negotiations with the Tribes but may indicate more interaction between the school and the Tribes than previously understood. *Ulare County Times*, January 12, 1905, 6.

DRAFT

for them to use the cemetery. A month after the elderly woman died, a Native man (no Tribal affiliation provided) named John Porterfield died at the Stewart hospital from TB and was buried at Stewart, presumably in the same cemetery.[133] It is possible that the Washoe Tribe may have been using Stewart as a place to hold funeral ceremonies. Students would likely been aware when ceremony took place across the road and may have had opportunities to interact with Tribal members during these times. Regardless of the larger context of forced assimilation, students were not able to be completely isolated from Native activities.

During the 1918-1919 Spanish flu pandemic, boarding schools were particularly concerned about how to handle potential outbreak. The Office of Indian Affairs directed superintendents to keep schools open, in contrast with public school temporary closure.[134] Some federal schools instituted quarantines. However, four waves of the virus swept through the nation, and affected schools differently according to whether they had hospitals, whether a previous outbreak had afforded students and staff some immunity, and whether new students were enrolled at the time. Stewart was the only off-reservation boarding school to have a significant outbreak during the third wave, but quarantined successfully all fall and winter.[135] In 1919, Stewart had a total enrollment of 371 students and an average attendance of 287 students.[136] In March, 208 of those students contracted the flu along with twenty-two staff and staff family members. Five children (including a White employee's child) and three employees died. Employee deaths included school Superintendent James Royce and the school matron.[137] Royce's widow and domestic science teacher Bonnie, who was pregnant with her fourth child, assumed operation of the school. After that child was born and contracted polio, Bonnie Royce requested a transfer to Oakland where she had served as the supervisor of the Bay Area outing program since its inception.[138]

Student death counts were reported annually, but it is unclear what the status would have been for ill students sent home and later died. In addition, it is unclear whether births or deaths would have been reported on for female students who had miscarriages. For example, in 1905, the *Feather River Flyer* mentioned a Native student at Stewart who miscarried and then disposed of the infant's remains in the school furnace. At fourteen years old, she was likely scared to tell the matron or other staff for fear of punishment.[139] This incident was not included in the superintendent's annual report, raising the question of whether it was tracked. Since the incident appeared in the newspaper, it was not successfully kept secret from the administration.

Outing Program

The outing program at Stewart expanded during this period, and in 1916, the program began to provide Native student labor to White families in Oakland and in San Francisco. Bonnie Royce appears to have been the catalyst for the program in the Bay Area. In 1916, Superintendent Royce wrote a letter to the commissioner of Indian Affairs explaining that his wife did not want to be the field matron at Stewart and suggesting that a new outing matron position be created for her. This was not without some controversy, as after two years, the commissioner suspected Royce of not doing any work, and worked with Superintendent Royce to redefine her role in the Bay

[133] "Indian Dies," *Carson City Daily Appeal,* May 17, 1918, 4.
[134] Mikeala M. Adams, Jessica Dimka, Svenn-Erik Mamelund, and Lisa Sattenspiel, "'I Would Advise that it Be Kept from the Schools at All Cost': The Influenza of 1918-1920 at Nonreservation Indian Boarding Schools," *Ethnohistory* 72, no. 1 (2025), 2.
[135] Adams, et al., 11; Letter, Superintendent James B. Royce to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 9, 1918, NARA; Superintendent Frederick Snyder, "Annual Report for 1919: Carson Indian School," 4, on file with NARA [San Bruno].
[136] U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year ended June 30, 1919* (Government Printing Office, 1919), 164.
[137] Adams, et al., 11; Letter, Superintendent James B. Royce to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 9, 1918, NARA; Superintendent Frederick Snyder, "Annual Report for 1919: Carson Indian School," 4, on file with NARA [San Bruno].
[138] Thompson, "The Student Body," 181-182.
[139] *Feather River Bulletin*, July 27, 1905, 1.

Area.[140]

According to historian Catlin Keliaa, girls as young as fourteen were sent to the Bay Area.[141] Keliaa also notes advertisements placed in the Berkeley newspaper in 1913 sought girls ages twelve to eighteen, suggesting younger children also worked within the system.[142] While summer was the most common time for outing students to be placed, they also may have worked there during winter break.[143] Some girls even remained in the Bay Area for the duration of the school year.[144] In 1922, Stewart Indian School sent fifty girls to Oakland and Berkeley for the summer. The girls were paid between twenty and forty dollars per month, an average of between $0.66 and $1.33 per day. In contrast, boys working on ranches near Stewart were paid between three and four dollars per day (approximately ninety to $120 per month), with board.[145]

In 1918, the Office of Indian Affairs hired Bonnnie Royce to make placements for Stewart students, matching girls with families, which included evaluating the families.[146] Stewart girls made up a significant percentage of the girls working in the program, but they also took girls from Chemawa Indian School and Sherman Institute as well as Native girls who attended public schools, though they did not start detailed record keeping until 1925.[147] Royce served as the Berkeley-Oakland-San Francisco matron until the 1930s when her assistant Jeannette Traxler took over. Mildred Van Everty held the position from 1934 until 1946.

The Office of Indian Affairs framed the matron's duties within a maternalistic framework, allowing White women to justify their positions as caretakers, ignoring that Native girls were being placed into situations of social inequality and compensated minimally. The matrons, meanwhile, were able to provide themselves with a path to career advancement in a socially acceptable field, while the women hiring the Native girls elevated their own social status both in "helping" the less fortunate, but also by showing their status by having a servant.[148] There was no formalized plan or process to prepare Native girls for a career. The program was intended to provide girls

[140] Margaret D. Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880-1940* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 353-354. The commissioner also suspected the Royces of using the position as a salary increase and questioned why Bonnie would travel to the Bay Area to work when there was ample work to be done at Stewart.
[141] Caitlin Aimee Keliaa, "Unsettling Domesticity: Native Women and 20th-Century U.S. Indian Policy in the San Francisco Bay Area" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2019), 9-10.
[142] Keliaa, "Unsettling Domesticity," 58.
[143] Keliaa, "Unsettling Domesticity, 70; Brenda J. Child, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families 1900-1940* (University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 82.
[144] Keliaa, "Unsettling Domesticity," 9-10.
[145] US Office of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the year 1922*, 1-3.
[146] Margaret D. Jacobs, "Working on the Domestic Frontier: American Indian Domestic Servants in White Women's Households in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1920-1940," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 27, nos. 1-2 (2007): 173. See also Kevin Whalen, "Labored Learning: The Outing System at Sherman Institute, 1902-1930," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 36, no. 1 (2012): 159-160, for a description of the type of work typically conducted by the outing matron and the corollary outing agent for male students at non-reservation boarding schools: "During the winter months, [outing matron] Jewett corresponded with prospective recipients of Sherman student-laborers and supervised female Sherman students who remained with their employers year-round. During the summer months, she remained in almost constant motion. She answered the letters of concerned Native American parents, forwarded letters from parents to children, and met students at train stations as they traveled to and from their jobs. Beckoned by angry employers and homesick or obstinate student-employees, Jewett made frequent house calls. At times, she served as a sort of surrogate parent, attending recitals and award ceremonies (…) In supervising the hundreds of male student-laborers fanned out among the ranchers of Southern California, ["boys outing agent'] Long filled a dire need at Sherman. When ranchers or citrus operators requested laborers, he often visited and inspected work sites before sending students. Once student-laborers departed Sherman for their outing work sites, Long rode a motorcycle from ranch to ranch in order to monitor their living and working conditions. Long also made personal visits to employers who failed to pay student-laborers."
[147] Jacobs, "Working on the Domestic Frontier," 174.
[148] Jacobs, "Working on the Domestic Frontier,", 176.

DRAFT

with entry-level experience that would translate to a "career" as a domestic servant or wife.[149]

The outing system was an extension of boarding school life. The girls lived with their employers, were expected to behave in certain ways, and their money remained controlled by the school. Snyder insisted on handling student wages and controlled their spending. Superintendents and matrons also exercised control over female students' social activities. For example, Snyder and Royce denied a young adult woman, Etta, the right to marry her chosen partner, even though Etta was twenty-two-years-old. Her father wrote to the Office of Indian Affairs to advocate on her behalf. In his letter, the father specifically noted that a White woman in the same situation would be allowed to make her own choice.[150] Despite this documented resistance, Matron Royce and Superintendent Snyder successfully prevented the marriage.

Female students in the outing program resisted against this control. Some ran away and were returned to Stewart when caught.[151] Others used the matron to negotiate on their behalf with their employers for terms such as increased wages.[152] Many socialized with young men and other women regardless of their employers' preferences. In socializing with other workers from different Tribes, these girls echoed their boarding school experience, bonding over their shared experiences in the outing program, providing a sense of common identity.[153]

Sometimes relationships resulted in pregnancy, which placed a burden on young women forced to board their babies or leave them at home with their families while they continued working in the outing program. The girls were also pressured to give their children up for adoption, though if the baby or child looked "too Indian" they were less likely to be adopted out.[154] It is unclear whether young mothers were able to return to school, as the 1929 superintendent's report to the Indian Commissioner states "problem girls" shifted to other local agencies.[155] For those students who had several children out of wedlock and resisted school intervention, the matron and Office of Indian Affairs often had the young women committed to mental institutions. Matron Royce and Superintendent Snyder, in fact, did this to Etta, the woman they had prevented from marrying her chosen suitor a few years prior, after she objected to them removing her eldest child to school at Stewart based on her experiences. After she was committed, they brought the child to Stewart as they had intended.[156]

Part of the federal government's goal was to control the body, and in Native women, this included both a physical transformation, "a reconstruction of her very body, appearance, manners, skills, and habits," along with a desired inner transformation to internalize concepts of civilization, morality, and ultimately, White superiority.[157] Surveillance and control over women's bodies were components not only of the outing program, but more broadly of boarding school. Despite Stewart's outing program at a significant distance from campus, Native girls had both government matrons and White employers observing and controlling how Native girls conducted themselves.[158]

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[149] Reno Sparks Indian Colony Tribal Historic Preservation Officer Michon Eben recounts that her mother, who attended Stewart, specifically stated that the school ensured students would not attend college, focusing women's training to become domestic help and men to enter the trades. Conversation, Michon Eben with Authors, August 25, 2024.
[150] Jacobs, "Working on the Domestic Frontier," 184-185.
[151] Williams, *Assimilation, Resilience, and Survival*, 35.
[152] Jacobs, "Working on the Domestic Frontier," 166-167.
[153] Jacobs, "Working on the Domestic Frontier," 179.
[154] Keliaa, "Unsettling Domesticity," 141-142.
[155] Superintendent [Frederick Snyder], Annual Report 1929: Carson Indian Agency, Berkeley Outing Center, 1, on file at NARA [San Bruno]
[156] Jacobs, "Working on the Domestic Frontier," 190.
[157] K. Tsianina Lomawaima, "Domesticity in the Federal Indian Schools: The Power of Authority over Mind and Body," *American Ethnologist* 20, no.2 (1993): 236.
[158] Jacobs, "Working on the Domestic Frontier," 182.

DRAFT

Student Life

At Stewart, there were multiple agents of the federal system monitoring the children, and in some instances, Native teachers. In 1925, Miss Winifred was called out as the weakest teacher at Stewart – she was also the only Native teacher.[159] As mentioned previously, the Stewart disciplinarian lived in the dorm with the boys aged eleven and older. Girls of the same age were supervised by a matron, with younger children in separate wings of the main building with other matrons.[160] Privacy was hard to attain in all cases. A 1922 report indicates that neither the small boys' or girls' bathrooms had modesty panels or partitions between the toilets and showers. Older girls had partitions between toilets, but no doors. This lack of privacy meant that children had no space within the dorm to be by themselves and had no choice but to put their bodies on display.[161]

Initially, students in the early twentieth century weren't much better off than they had been in the previous century with continued heavy emphasis on vocational labor. This changed with time, starting with Alida Bowler's tenure. She worked to enrich the academic curriculum and incorporate Native history.[162] Prior to this, the school taught English, basic reading and math, history, and geography.[163] In addition, there was emphasis on hygiene and cleanliness.[164] Ironically, in 1920 the school had to install a new sewer system and septic tank due to the State's complaints that school sewage was being dumped into a stream the nearby prison used to irrigate their crops.[165] Several other instances of unhygienic conditions were also documented, including dorms so crowded that girls were doubling up to sleep two to a single bed and that there was no good ventilation in the dorms.[166]

As evident in earlier years, the focus of instruction appears to have been the vocational component. In the afternoons, students worked campus agricultural land. Boys learned blacksmithing, carpentry, farming, tailoring, plumbing, and early on, harness making and shoemaking. Girls received domestic science instruction in how to cook, bake, sew, do laundry, and keep house. Other assignments were to assist school employees with office work, infirmary duty (once constructed), teaching assistance, and working in the barber shop. While the goal was ostensibly to provide students with practical training that would enable them to enter the workforce, the reality was that student labor is what kept the school running while at the same time intended to reinforce European American gender roles.[167]

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[159] Supervisor of Indian Schools E. H. Hammond, Report on the Carson Indian School at Stewart, Nevada, Section III, Employees (1925), 5, NARA.
[160] U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the year 1909* (Government Printing Office, 1909), 1.
[161] Chief Medical Supervisor Robert E. L. Newberne, Report on Carson School, September 27 to October 5, 1922 [filed with Superintendent Annual Report], 3-4, NARA.
[162] Williams, *Assimilation, Resilience, and Survival*, 89-90.
[163] Historian David Wallace Adams explains how history was weaponized against Native students to justify White civilization as a desirable goal in contrast to the "uncivilized" Native life. He writes, "The Indian student would have to study American history and in the process come to internalize the national myths that were central to it, including the idea that the westward sweep of the American empire, that is to say the dispossession of Indian land, was clearly justifiable. In this connection, the Indian student must be taught the terms upon which Indian and white societies confronted one another – savagism versus civilization—and that the only hope for the race's survival was for it to join the march of historical progress." Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928*, 2nd ed. (University Press of Kansas, rev. 2020), 29.
[164] Williams, *Assimilation, Resistance, and Survival*, 48. This emphasis is often reflected in the Superintendent's annual reports. For example, see Frederic Snyder, Annual Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Carson Indian School, Narrative: Section II: Health, August 4, 1925.
[165] OIA, *Annual Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the year 1920*, 1.
[166] OIA, *Annual Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the year 1927*, 2; OIA, *Annual Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the year 1930*, 1.
[167] Williams, *Assimilation, Resilience, and Survival*, 48-50.

DRAFT

Farming, infrastructure maintenance, and construction were handled in-house with little cost beyond materials. It was typical for students to provide construction labor as part of their vocational training. Laundry, nursing, and assisting with cooking meals or office work provided a similar benefit to the school. Girls produced student gowns, nightshirts, pajamas, aprons, dresses, napkins, pillowcases, and sheets for the school.[168] In the summer, students might be paid for their work, but certainly at lower wages than outside workers. However, during the school year, this labor was freely used under the guise of education. Historian Samantha Williams notes this "unpaid labor was essential to keeping the school functioning on a daily basis," and was important enough that gendered labor roles were often ignored for necessary chores to be completed.[169]

The band was one of the successful aspects of the school in these early years, touring southern California to play for White audiences at various events.[170] In the early twentieth century, the US Government Indian Band recruited for an all-star student band to play at the 1904 St. Louis expedition. Members of the Stewart School band were among those recruited and chosen, traveling to Chilocco to practice. Those boys who went to play in this ensemble naturally met other Native students from boarding schools across the country.[171] In 1924, the Stewart band played at a political rally for Democratic presidential nominee John W. Davis in Carson City and were paid for their performance.[172]

Male sports teams were established at Stewart around the turn of the century. These included football, baseball and track. By 1905, some teams were competing against the University of Nevada Reno. Stewart hosted teams and traveled to compete throughout the state. While the events were well attended by the public, including both Native and White spectators, press coverage was overtly racist with references to "teepees," "redskins," and "scalping."[173]

The 1911 superintendent's annual report suggests Stewart had a hard time attracting and keeping teachers. The report notes that at any given time, there were four temporary teachers and in one classroom they went through five to six teachers in as many months. Part of this may have been due to wages, as the 1913 superintendent's report noted, "many of the positions pay too low a salary to secure competent people."[174] In addition, the school also had a limited number of employee quarters. Many employees had larger families with a combined thirty children under the age of fourteen.[175] Employee behavior also appeared to be an issue, as several employees were transferred others were allowed to resign in 1917 due to behavioral standards.[176] Other years brought difficulty in finding teachers for specific subjects, and the school was forced to rely on a series of temporary teachers instead.[177] This continual change would have been challenging for students to navigate.

Religious instruction was required on Sundays, and by 1914, Lillian Corwin, a Baptist missionary and later YMCA worker, arrived at Stewart.[178] Students were "encouraged" to attend church, with an alternative option of

[168] For example, see Annual Report for Fiscal Year 1922, Carson Indian School, Section V-Industries, Item 26: Articles fabricated in shops and sewing rooms, on file with NARA [San Bruno].
[169] Williams, *Assimilation, Resilience, and Survival*, 50-52.
[170] Thompson, "The Student Body," 200.
[171] Peter M. Lefferts, "Native American Boarding School Bands and their Bandmasters," Project File 1: General Topics, University of Nebraska-Lincoln. Digital Commons, 2022.
[172] Thompson, "The Student Body," 202.
[173] Thompson, "The Student Body," 217-220.
[174] James B. Royce, Annual Report 1917, Narrative, Carson Indian School, 3, on file with NARA, San Bruno.
[175] Superintendent C. H. Asbury, Annual Report 1911: Carson Indian School, Section 3: Schools, 10, on file with NARA, San Bruno.
[176] Superintendent James B. Royce, Annual Report 1917: Carson Indian School, 3, on file with NARA, San Bruno.
[177] Superintendent Frederick Snyder, Annual Report 1922: Carson Indian School (June 30, 1922), 1, on file with NARA, San Bruno.
[178] U.S. Department of the Interior, Board of Indian Commissioners, *Christian Missions among the American Indians*, Bulletin No. 280 (1927), 30. Note Rev. George M. Smart, "Religious Instruction," *Desert Braves* (1946) states that Corwin arrived in 1910.

scrubbing the dorms and bathrooms if they did not choose to do so. Services on Sunday were supplemented with Bible study and choir.[179] Corwin moved her headquarters to the school, building a house just outside the school grounds.[180] By 1925, Reverend Milton Hersey of the Episcopal church arrived in Carson City and began holding weekly classes at Stewart in addition to services at St. Peter's church. Reverend Hersey retained his post until his retirement in 1934.[181] In 1940, the Catholic order of the Sisters of the Holy Family began missionary work at Stewart. In 1949, Randall (Randy) Wungnema and Joe Buckhart built the Corpus Christi Catholic Church on Stewart property.[182]

Superintendent Frederick R. Snyder (1919-1934)

The arrival of Superintendent Frederick (also known as Frederic) Snyder in 1919 after the death of Superintendent Royce brought changes to the school buildings and landscape.[183] Although previous superintendents made improvements to the school property, Snyder wanted to transform the school into something that would be more permanent. He began by constructing a new administration building (Resource 1) out of native stone laid with dark mortar, which became a hallmark of new construction on campus. A career US Indian Service (later Bureau of Indian Affairs) employee (as was his wife, Matron Charlotte Snyder), Snyder had previously been superintendent at Santa Fe Indian School (1910-1918) and assistant superintendent of Phoenix Indian School, where he had observed native stone architecture and cited a stone church in Phoenix as his influence for the stone buildings at Stewart.[184] Snyder was also likely influenced by the popularity of the Arts and Crafts movement as well as the practicality of stone versus wood for fire resistance.

Snyder worked with several Native craftsmen at Stewart. He hired Hopi stonemasons to lead construction and worked with Frank Bobb, a Shoshone employee at Stewart, to select the stones for construction.[185] However, the labor was done primarily by the students, who hauled rock from the quarry and served as apprentices for the construction.[186] The school hired White stonemason James (Jim) Christopher on a contract basis to continue working with the students on stone building construction from ca. 1922 to ca. 1938/1939.[187] The Stewart stonemason and students undertook several projects during this period, not all of them on campus, but in the area (Table 3). It is unclear whether students were paid for their off-campus work.

[179] Williams, *Assimilation, Resilience, and Survival*, 94.
[180] Snyder, Annual Report 1922: Carson Indian School, 3.
[181] Grant M. Ford, "Reverend Milton Hersey," Biographies, Uintah County, Utah, UTGenWeb & US GenWeb Project, https://usgenwebsites.org/UTGenWeb/Uintah/biosgl.html. Reverend Hersey's daughter, Margaret, became a nurse at Stewart, and participated in collecting data for the trachoma study at Stewart. See Stewart Indian School Yearbooks, *Desert Braves* (1946-1960); Chandler R. Dawson, H. Bruce Ostler, Lavelle Hanna, Isae Hoshiwara, and Ernest Jawetz, "Tetracyclines in the Treatment of Chronic Trachoma in American Indians," *The Journal of Infectious Diseases* 124, no.3 (1971): 255-263.
[182] Sisters of the Holy Family and the Stewart Indian School in Nevada Collection, 1930-1990, University of California Santa Clara, https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/c8cc142n; Corpus Christi Catholic Church, "The Story and History of Corpus Christi Catholic Community," https://ccchurchcc.org/our-history (accessed January 13, 2026); Guide to Catholic Records about Native Americans in the U.S., Vol. 3: Western United States, Nevada: NV-1, Corpus Christi Church, Marquette University, https://www.marquette.edu/library/archives/NativeGuide/nv-1.php.
[183] "Frederick R. Snyder," *The Native American* 20, no. 8 (May 3, 1919): 140.
[184] "The Old Indian and the New" and "Of Local and Personal Interest," *The Native American* 15, no. 8 (February 21, 1914); "Farewell Turned into Welcome," *The Native American* 15, no. 40 (November 28, 1914): 535.
[185] "Stewart Indian School History," Stewart Indian School Cultural Center, http://www.stewartindianschool.com/history/; Myra McCue, "The Man Who Found Beauty in Rocks: History of the Rock Houses at Stewart, and Their Builder," *Reno Evening Gazette*, January 27, 1962, 2.
[186] McCue, 2.
[187] Seavey, "A Completion Report on the Historic Resources Inventory," 52.

Table 3 *Buildings constructed during Frederick Snyder's term as superintendent, detailing building name/function, location, and construction date (listed alphabetically)*

Administration Building/Main Building (Stewart School, Resource 1), 1923/1928/1938
Auditorium (Stewart School, Resource 90), 1925
Bakery (Stewart School, Resource 19), 1926
Boiler House (Stewart School, Resource 92), 1924/1939
Cedar Street House, Zephyr Cove (unrelated to school), 1927
Central heating plant (Stewart School), no longer extant
Commissary/Classroom* (Stewart School, Resource 48), 1920
Dairy Barn (Stewart School, Resource 114), 1925
Field Matron's Cottage, Reno-Sparks Indian Colony (unrelated to school), ca. 1925
Fountain (Stewart School, Resource 171), original ca. 1928 (rebuilt 2016)
Garages (Stewart School, Resources 108 and 47), 1929/1930
Garage at Superintendent's Cottage (Stewart School, Resource 8), 1930
Greenhouse (Stewart School, rear of Resource 3), 1922
Harvey House, Lake Tahoe (unrelated to school), 1927
Heating Plant for Superintendent's Cottage (Stewart School), 1922, no longer extant
Hersey House (Stewart School), ca. 1930
Home Economics Building (Stewart School), 1931, demolished
Horse Barn (Stewart School, Resource 112), 1925
Infirmary (additions) (Stewart School, Resource 162), 1904/1918/1939
South Pratt Avenue House, Carson City (unrelated to school), 1934
Kitchen and Dining Room (Stewart School, Resource 15), 1923
Laundry (Stewart School, Resource 45), 1931
Lincoln Highway House, Zephyr Cove (unrelated to school), 1927
Post Office (Stewart School, Resource 2), 1925
Principal's Cottage (Stewart School, Resource 11), 1925
Shop Buildings (Stewart School, Resources 68, 84), 1931
Small boys' dorm (Stewart School, Resource 89), 1931
Small girls' dorm (Stewart School, Resource 6), 1930
Superintendent Snyder's Summer Cottage, Lake Tahoe (unrelated to school), 1927
Superintendent's Cottage (Stewart School, Resource 3), 1930
Warehouse (Stewart School, Resource 56), 1918

Snyder also used student labor to plant flowerbeds on both sides of the main drive into Stewart, and to create wood curbs that would be replaced by concrete curbs and sidewalks. He had a greenhouse constructed behind the Superintendent's Cottage in the winter of 1922 that contained an "estimated number of fourteen thousands" plants that would be transplanted outdoors in the spring.[188] Roy Peters was appointed as staff in charge of lawns and flower gardens in 1925.[189] Students were likely responsible for not only planting, but cultivation and maintenance. Snyder also had many non-native trees planted and seeded grass in the desert area south of the office to create a grassy lawn. Immediately north of the main Administration Building, he had a large swimming pool constructed.

[188] "Improvements at Indian School," *The Record Courier*, April 14, 1922, 2; Seavey indicates the greenhouse would have been north of the Superintendent's Cottage, where the Baptist church now sits. Seavey, "A Completion Report on the Historic Resources Inventory," 54.
[189] "Indian Service News," *The Native American* 25, no. 7 (April 4, 1925): 86.

Tennis courts were installed in the quadrangle to the south of the Administration Building, east of the Small Girls' Dormitory (Resource 6); these remained in use until as late as 1943. The pool also doubled as both a baptismal font and water reservoir. The landscaping reflected the federal goal to transform something Native into something "civilized."

The idea that the experience of tending to the landscape and building maintenance was preparing the children for careers reflected expectations that the children would continue in service and labor rather than in a skilled profession requiring a more academic background. Broader community perception was that Snyder was providing Native children with a wonderful opportunity. Newspapers reporting on Snyder's improvements opined "the boys are receiving instruction, training and practice that will in many cases be of much use and benefit to them in the future."[190] Further, "Mr. Snyder has indeed 'made the desert blossom like a rose.'"[191] It is not hard to understand these comments reinforce equally to the administration's goal of assimilation and justification of student-provided manual labor to beautify the landscape according to non-Native standards.

Despite Snyder's improvements, the 1928 Meriam report found problems with conditions at Stewart. This report was the result of an investigation of Indian reservations and schools with Indian pupils, prompted by a disagreement between different Indian agencies.[192] The school was specifically called out for poor building condition and configuration, with the report author specifically stating the buildings should be demolished. The exceptions were the dairy and horse barns, which were new and "modern."[193] The investigation's main concern was with overcrowding, with two children sharing a bed in some instances. In addition, dorms were not properly ventilated due to the addition of sleeping porches. The porches expanded capacity to house additional students, but blocked windows, and therefore air flow[194]

The Meriam report also cited Stewart's lack of a permanent on-site physician. As noted previously, Stewart contracted with a physician in Carson City who traveled back and forth to the school. The report also pointed out any Native American patient (whether a student in the school infirmary or a Native person in the sanatorium at Stewart) requiring major surgery thus had to travel thirty miles to Reno over a "hard surface road or railroad."[195] It is unclear whether the school had difficulty hiring a doctor who would live on the property or whether Snyder felt it was unnecessary. Snyder's attitude toward student healthcare demonstrated a lack of compassion when speaking about four children who succumbed to the flu epidemic. He remarked that two of them would have died from TB anyway, suggesting that he may have been less concerned with compassionate care or expediency of medical treatment for seriously ill students.[196] The national pattern was for boarding schools to send tubercular children home, many of whom later died.[197]

Snyder did hire a social worker, Lucile Hamner, in 1933. Hamner's role was to assess prospective students and families to determine whether it was appropriate for them to attend Stewart. New procedures were to limit admission to those children with no relatives, who lived in remote areas where school was not easily accessible, and those in difficult or unsafe homes. As historian Samantha Williams points out, these children were also those

[190] "Improvements at Indian School," *The Record Courier*, April 14, 1922, 2.
[191] "Indian School is Being Improved," *Nevada State Journal*, April 25, 1927, 2.
[192] Archambeault and Anderson, 10.
[193] Lewis Meriam, et al., *The Problem of Indian Administration: Report of a Survey made at the Request of Honorable Hubert Work, Secretary of the Interior, and submitted to him, February 21, 1928* (Washington, DC, and Baltimore: Institute for Government Research/The Johns Hopkins Press, 1928), 316, 335.
[194] Meriam, et al., *The Problem of Indian Administration*, 315-316.
[195] Meriam, et al., *The Problem of Indian Administration*, 286.
[196] Thompson, "The Student Body," 181-182.
[197] Adams, et al., "I Would Advise That It Be Kept," 23; Snyder, Annual Report 1929, 16.

DRAFT

without advocates or protection from potential predators.[198] Unfortunately, the children could not rely on Hamner as an advocate. Her assessments of Native families are filled with stereotypical tropes of laziness, promiscuity, and alcoholism.[199]

Frederick Snyder increased attendance at Stewart and advocated for a corresponding increase in resources. When Snyder began at Stewart, there were forty employees and an annual appropriation of $51,000 that would provide for up to three hundred students in grades one through eight. By the time he left in 1934, there were over sixty employees and a budget of $152,000 for up to 525 students for grades one through ten.[200] Additionally, Snyder promoted the school within the community by ensuring participation in community events. Stewart's basketball team played in tournaments and the school joined the statewide athletic association in 1927.[201] Traveling to complete with White schools helped change the perception of Indian athletes and students, just as band performances statewide helped the community develop a more positive view of the school.[202] Locally, student work, likely items produced in shop or home economics classes, was featured in a Carson City storefront as part of Home Consumers week in 1921.[203] The students also participated in community parades, often winning prizes for their floats.[204]

Reorganization Era (1934-1953)

After the 1928 Meriam Report detailed some of the worst issues with Indian boarding schools, a federal policy shift began. In 1933, President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed John Collier as Commissioner of Indian Affairs. In 1934, the Indian Reorganization Act was passed. The law was an attempt to change Assimilation Era policy, and sought to reestablish Tribal governments, restore reservation lands, and stimulate economic development among the Tribes. Also known as the Indian New Deal, the law resulted in a reorganization of federal Indian programs and encouraged employment of Native people as staff within the system. Collier, whose previous work with Tribal communities had in part led to the Meriam Report, sought to change education for Native people, including adults.[205] He proposed to reduce the number of boarding schools and establish more day schools so that children could remain in their communities. Collier allowed Native languages to be spoken in schools.[206] Acting on the 1935 Arts and Crafts Act, Collier also sought to promote work-relief for Indian communities by commissioning traditional artwork for economic development and as public art. These changes coincided with Frederick Snyder's retirement from Stewart. Indeed, as historian Kent Seavey argued in the 1985 National Register nomination: "The school became an example of the progressive policies of Interior Secretary John Collier during the New Deal, and under the administration of Alida Bowler, one of the few women Superintendents in the Indian service".[207]

Superintendent Alida Bowler (1934-1939)

In August 1934, Commissioner John Collier appointed Alida Bowler as the new superintendent at Stewart. She

[198] Williams, *Assimilation, Resilience, and Survival*, 79.
[199] Williams, *Assimilation, Resilience, and Survival*, 101-103.
[200] "Colored Stone Buildings at Stewart Indian School Were Superintendent's Idea," *Reno Evening Gazette*, February 9, 1934, 7.
[201] "Last Basket Game to be Played Tonight," *Carson City Daily Appeal*, February 27, 1922, 1.
[202] Thompson, "The Student Body," 55
[203] "Consumers' Week Brings Out Exhibits," *Carson City Daily Appeal*, April 16, 1921, 1.
[204] "State Celebrates 77th Anniversary," *Nevada State Journal*, November 1, 1941, 12; "Prize-Winning," *Nevada State Journal*, November 1, 1952; "Thousands View Carson Parade," *Nevada State Journal*, November 1, 1970, 21.
[205] For more information, see Robert E. Lester, ed., *Native Americans and the New Deal, The Office Files of John Collier, 1933-1945* (Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1993).
[206] Archambault and Anderson, "Federal Indian Boarding Schools," 52.
[207] Seavey, "Stewart Indian School," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, Section 8, 4.

DRAFT

was the first female Indian Agency superintendent. She previously worked as executive secretary of the American Indian Defense Association in San Francisco and studied juvenile delinquency and children's facilities in her role as the director of the delinquency division of the United States Children's Bureau.[208] Bowler's approach to Native education and Tribal engagement differed from that of her predecessors and fell in line with the new legislation and Collier's direction. Her focus was on outreach and incorporating Native culture into the curriculum. She traveled to meet with tribal leaders, helped several Tribes purchase land and build housing, and made changes to the curriculum at Stewart.[209]

Bowler began to incorporate lessons on Native history on a broad level that included studying cultures such as the Aztecs. She worked with faculty to develop a course for older students that allowed them to practice interpretation between English and their native languages.[210] Bowler also instituted a study for students and teachers to collaborate on learning about native plants and their uses. The project involved collecting stories from Native elders in different Indian communities, coordinating with Indian Councils, day schools, and the Stewart students and teachers. The work culminated in a student-written and illustrated booklet, *Desert Friends*. Presented from a Native perspective as a series of stories, through work with Elders the booklet describes various plants and includes information about how they were used, located, and sometimes how they were prepared for use as medicine or food. The intention was that the book be used in Indian schools as curriculum, complimenting native plant gathering and annual floral shows during the 1930s. In 1964, the State of Nevada Department of Education reprinted the book to encourage teachers to use the information to stimulate student interest in plants; in 2025, the Nevada State Museum and Stewart Indian School Cultural Center & Museum again reprinted this valuable expression of Traditional Ecological Knowledge.[211]

With Bowler's support, Stewart school started a cooperative for Native crafts. Bowler emphasized the need for artistic cultural expression among students and worked to secure funding to hire an arts and crafts teacher.[212] In 1936, Bowler announced that she was overseeing the formation of a cooperative that would be designed for Indian craftspeople to sell their work, effectively implementing Collier's legislative efforts to protect and promote Indian arts and crafts through the Indian Arts and Crafts Act passed in 1935.[213] By this time, Stewart had already established a "trading post" on campus for students to sell their work and receive money from sales. The cooperative initially sold student goods at Stewart under the name Wa-Pai-Shone, a combination of Washoe, Paiute, and Shoshone tribal names.[214] By 1946, goods for sale included bead-work, basketry, moccasins, gloves,

[208] For more information on Alida Bowler, see Angela Jordan, "Alida Cynthia Bowler: Responsibility of Privilege," April 11, 2014, https://archives.library.illinois.edu/2014/04/11/alida-cynthia-bowler/ University of Illinois Archives; "Woman Appointed to Govern Indians," *The New York Times*, August 4, 1934; Alida C. Bowler and Ruth S. Bloodgood, *Institutional Treatment of Delinquent Boys*, Part 2--A Study of 251 Boys (United States Department of Labor) (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1936).
[209] Renee Corona Kovet, "Alida Cynthia Bowler," Nevada Women's History Project, 2023, https://www.nevadawomen.org/research-center/biographies-alphabetical/alida-cynthia-bowler/.
[210] Williams, *Assimilation, Resilience, and Survival*, 89-90.
[211] Emmett H. Crotzer, Nellie Shaw Harnar, Ruth Asbury Russell, Myra Byers, and Edith Murphey, *Desert Friends* (Carson Indian Agency, 1939; Carson City: State of Nevada Department of Education, reprinted 1964; 2 vols., Carson City: Stewart Indian School Cultural Center & Museum and Reno: Nevada Museum of Art, reprinted 2025). For more on contemporary collaborations in the area of native plant science between Stewart Indian School and the University of Nevada Reno, Civilian Conservation Corps, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Works Progress Administration, and Native Elders, see *Desert Friends* (2025), 29-37.
[212] "New Teacher to Be Employed at Stewart School," *Nevada State Journal*, November 12, 1935, 8. See also "Tebe Nobe Craft," Desert Braves (1946), regarding a woodworking class inaugurated in September 1939.
[213] Indian Arts and Crafts Act of 1935, Public No. 355-74th Congress [S2203]. John Collier is considered the driving force behind much of the legislation in the Reorganization Era. See Chapter 41: John Collier: Commissioner of Indian Affairs (April 21, 1933-January 22, 1945), David H. DeJong, *Paternalism to Partnership: The Administration of Indian Affairs, 1786-2021* (University of Nebraska Press, 2022), 273-282.
[214] "Indian Craftsman Program to be Launched in Nevada Soon in Co-operative Plan," *Reno Evening Gazette*, February 17, 1936, 12; "Arts and Crafts Cooperative at Carson Agency, Nevada, has a successful year," *Indians at Work* 6, no. 7 (March 1939): 16.

and Tebe Nobe crafts (woodworking).[215] Most of the participants were women, though some Stewart boys sold their woodworking pieces. Tribal members represented all Great Basin Tribes, including Paiute, Washoe, Shoshone, Klamath, and Ute people.[216] The program was so successful they were able to open additional trading posts at Crystal Bay, Nevada, and Bishop and Death Valley in California.[217]

Bowler was ultimately reassigned as superintendent-at-large in Los Angeles, likely a result of her advocacy on behalf of the Pyramid Lake Paiute Tribe's efforts to evict White settlers from Tribal land. Her stance opposed that of state senator Pat McCarrannon, who was supporting the non-Native settlers.[218] Three tribal councils, the Walker River Paiute, Fort McDermitt Paiute and Shoshone, and Bishop Indian Community Council in California, wrote letters in opposition to her removal, stating that Bowler had been an advocate for the Tribes.[219]

In addition to promoting Native produced arts and crafts, Bowler worked to incorporate Native culture into the Stewart curriculum, following the directives and examples set by Office of Indian Affairs' Director of Indian Education, Dr. W. Carson Ryan, Jr. Students experienced a wider variety of academic classes as a result.[220] However, the vocational curriculum remained divided according to gender, a practice pioneered as part of a universal Indian school curriculum developed by former Superintendent of Schools Estelle Reel (1898-1910).[221] Boys were expected to learn mechanical and agricultural tasks, including ranching, carpentry, and home and equipment repair. Agricultural work included working at Jack's Valley Ranch about six miles southeast of Stewart, where male students were responsible for taking care of the cows and horses. Girls were expected to learn domestic work such as sewing and cooking, mainstays of the home economics track once the eleventh and twelfth grades were added in the 1930s. In the early 1940s, the school built a practice cottage (no longer extant) for girls to learn more about homemaking. Girls took turns staying in the cottage for up to a month to simulate the responsibility of keeping a household; a baby doll was added in 1942 so that they could also practice simulating childcare.[222]

While not widely reported, there were instances of pregnancies and relationships recorded in the Stewart records. Details are often scarce, and it is likely that many pregnancies were not reported or that girls may have been sent to the outing program where they would deliver their babies at the Salvation Army, which would in turn arrange for the babies to be adopted out. At Stewart, the social worker reported discovering a thirteen-year-old was pregnant but offered no additional details other than arrangements had been made for the student's "care." This baby could have resulted from a student fathering the child but may also have been a staff member, as student-staff relationships did occur. For example, in 1935 the social worker noted there had been a marriage between a

[215] *Desert Braves* (1946), advertisement.
[216] "Indian School Heads Named," *Nevada State Journal*, October 26, 1939, 2
[217] Williams, "Assimilation, Resistance, and Survival," 91
[218] McCarran was also a property owner along the Truckee River. Despite a Supreme Court decision that upheld the rights of the Pyramid Lake Paiute, he interceded with the Department of Justice and influenced Bowler's exit. For a more thorough discussion, see Andrew W. Carey, *Questions of Sovereignty: Pyramid Lake and the Northern Paiute Struggle for Water and Rights* (PhD diss., The University of New Mexico, 2016).
[219] Williams, *Assimilation, Resilience, and Survival*, 104-105.
[220] Ryan, who authored the educational recommendations in the Meriam Report, was a proponent of incorporating Native American art and history into the school curriculum. See Margaret Connell Szasz, "Listening to the Native Voice: American Indian Schooling in the Twentieth Century," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 39, no. 3 (Summer 1989).
[221] Published in 1901, the universal curriculum emphasized teaching girls domestic skills and boys industrial and agricultural skills. The curriculum also addressed academic subjects, and clearly laid out expectations for each year, though often with opinions that reflected prejudice toward Native students' abilities, See Estelle Reel, *Course of Study for the Indian Schools of the United States: Industrial and Literary* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1901); K. Tsianina Lomawaima, "Estelle Reel, Superintendent of Indian Schools, 1898-1910: Politics, Curriculum, and Land," *Journal of American Indian Education* 5 (Spring 1996): 5-31.
[222] Williams, "Assimilation, Resistance, and Survival," 92-94.

DRAFT

female student and a White missionary and the two had been in a longstanding relationship. She provided no additional information about the involved individuals' ages or how long this relationship had been going on, but there is an implication that these incidents were student initiated. Historian Samantha Williams notes that these incidents were listed under "students behavior problems."[223] This suggests that sexual liaisons, whether voluntary or not, between students or in predatory situations, were classified as student failings regardless of circumstance. During the 1940s, a former student recounted sexual relationships between students as well as instances of venereal disease.[224] This in itself is not necessarily noteworthy, but very few cases of venereal disease are recorded in association with the student infirmary in the annual reports to the Indian Commission and possibly would have been filed under student behavior instead. It is also possible these cases could have been sent over to the hospital on campus rather than the school infirmary for treatment and would have been reported in association with the hospital rather than with the school, keeping school numbers low.

As implied by classifying sexual relationships as student behavior problems, social worker Lucille Hamner does not appear to have been a student advocate. In 1940, a Shoshone teacher "severely manhandled" a female student and made remarks about female inferiority. He was transferred to a day school where within two months he sexually abused two female students by making them disrobe and inspected them for impetigo and venereal disease. His claim was that it meant nothing to him that they were female, and the social worker agreed. Parents formally complained and met with school officials, but the teacher retained his job with the agreement to stop inspecting female students.[225]

Teachers appear to have been allowed to place their hands on students' bodies as part of overall education on cleanliness. Emphasis on hygiene remained strong during the 1940s, and children's bodies were inspected to ensure they were clean. The girls' matron routinely inspected hands and wrists to look for dirt and would make girls repeatedly wash their hands if they found anything.[226] Boys were inspected on bath night. Matrons would use a towel to check for dirt on legs, elbows, necks, and private areas. If she found dirt, there was a physical punishment followed by another shower.[227] The body was a particular focus among the schools, and emphasis on physical and moral hygiene was prevalent as part of the students' training.[228]

Discipline and Resistance

Discipline at Stewart continued to be strict. Indian Commissioner Charles H. Burke issued circular #2526 in 1929 to ban corporal punishment at Federal Indian boarding schools.[229] However, staff found ways work around this directive. At Stewart, staff instituted paddle lines, where students lined up in two lines facing each other and the

[223] Samantha M. Williams, "The School on Snyder Street: Settler Colonialism and Indigenous Resilience at the Stewart Indian School, 1890-2018" (PhD diss., University of California, Santa Cruz, 2019), 136.
[224] Desiree Porter Acosta, Testimony to the Natural Resources subcommittee for Indigenous Peoples of the United States, "Written Testimony to the Subcommittee for Indigenous Peoples of the United States, Committee on Natural Resources, U.S. House of Representatives," 117th Congress, Legislative Hearing on HR 5444, May 12, 2022, https://www.congress.gov/event/117th-congress/house-event/114732.
[225] Williams, *Assimilation, Resilience, and Survival*, 99-100.
[226] Williams, *Assimilation, Resilience, and Survival*, 97.
[227] Acosta, Testimony, 2022.
[228] Between 1919 and 1921, Dr. Mary Pauline Root traveled to Indian boarding schools and Native communities to lecture on "social hygiene." At the time, social hygiene referenced venereal disease and stopping their spread and was widely linked to concepts of moral delinquency. For more information on Dr. Root's work, see Caitlin "KT" Abadir-Mullally, "Revisiting the Mary Pauline Root papers," Blog post, Drexel University Legacy Center, Archives & Special Collections, College of Medicine, November 29, 2023, https://drexel.edu/legacy-center/blog/overview/2023/November/.
[229] Robert A. Trennert, "Corporal Punishment and the Politics on Indian Reform," *History of Education Quarterly* 29, no. 4 (Winter 1989): 595-617; Samantha Williams, "Physical Violence at Native American Boarding Schools," Blog post, August 26, 2020, https://www.samanthamwilliams.com/blog/physical-violence-at-native-american-boarding-schools.

DRAFT

person to be punished walked down the center with each peer whacking them on the behind with a paddle.[230] A Stewart alumnus recalls another means of punishment when he attended the school as a ten-year-old in 1950. Teachers settled differences by giving children boxing gloves and having them "slug it out until someone gave." This typically took place behind the dorms where the baseball/sports field was located. He also recalled other punishments that included being spanked with a wood board and being given latrine duty.[231] Another former Stewart student recalls that the school would have boxing on Friday nights with children as young as first grade.[232]

By the 1940s, Stewart resumed punishing children for speaking Native languages, an abrupt change from the years when Bowler set up classes for them to practice speaking their own languages. This punishment persisted into the 1950s.[233] Students continued to speak their own languages regardless; Alice Shoshone and her cousin Marilyn, who attended Stewart in the 1940s, spoke their language to one another at school but were careful not to do so in front of others.[234] Academics may have also declined after Bowler's departure and reversion to the uniform curriculum. One former student who attended Stewart for a year barely passed the sixth grade upon his return to public school. He said he found out later that Stewart students averaged two years behind public schools.[235]

Children continued to resist school authority in several ways. Siblings, who were separated according to school policy, found ways to talk to each other by standing outside the dorm windows. Students explored the property, including the area by the creek. For those children who received a pass to go into town, they used the railroad area on campus to stash purchases.[236]

Some students created caches of food or coffee, mostly along the creek. Elders recall trapping rabbits or squirrels as children at the back of the property and having to cook and eat them as quickly as possible before they would be missed.[237] Some students snuck time with the opposite sex, such as the girls who were caught with male students in their rooms in 1948. Others resisted by defying school expectations by making plans to further their education in unexpected ways or by giving commencement speeches that uplifted Native history rather than their school experience.[238] These small acts of resistance show students were active agents who resisted assimilation and sought to assert control over their own lives.

Extracurricular Activities

One of the more successful and popular activities at Stewart was the band. Initially segregated by gender, by the 1930s girls played in the main marching band. Prior to that, they could play in the girls' double quartet or orchestra. Each grade had its own band, and participation included an intense schedule of practices and performances, but also came with social advantages, as the band often hosted dances at the school.[239] From 1930 to 1969, Earl T. Laird served as band leader and promoted Stewart's band program.[240] The ensemble traveled widely to perform at rodeos, graduations, concerts, parades, athletic events, and music competitions. Bowler

[230] Williams, *Assimilation, Resilience, and Survival*, 97-98.
[231] Interview, Mr. Frank Joe with Authors, August 27, 2024.
[232] Acosta, Testimony, 2022.
[233] Williams, *Assimilation, Resilience, and Survival*, 97; Interview, Mr. Frank Joe with Authors, August 27, 2024.
[234] Conversation, Michon Eben with Authors, August 25, 2024.
[235] Interview, Mr. Frank Joe with Authors, August 27, 2024.
[236] Interview, Mr. Frank Joe with Authors, August 27, 2024.
[237] Conversation, Melanie Oakley and Chris Gibbons with Authors, Stewart Indian Cultural Center, August 27, 2024.
[238] Williams, *Assimilation, Resilience, and Survival*, 105-106.
[239] Thompson, "The Student Body," 202-204.
[240] Thompson, "The Student Body," 207-208.

DRAFT

helped Laird acquire additional equipment and asked the Indian Commission for textbooks and other materials.[241] Students took pride in being in the band and receiving accolades from the public. Laird remained band leader for several decades, and many alumni warmly recall their time in the band. Laird, who had come from the US Army to Stewart, taught students from elementary school age through high school age. The band was one of the best in the area, with Laird and the students investing a lot of time in frequent marching and practicing at Stewart. Alumni remember marching in community parades as fun.[242]

Sports also not only continued to be popular but reveal much above the Native student experience in the boarding school context. As historian John Bloom has explored, sport and competition emerged as a complex nexus of federal assimilationist goals and, conversely, Native pride and identity, individual as well as collective.[243] At Stewart Bowler organized tournaments and hosted other Indian school teams during her tenure.[244] She ensured construction of the gymnasium for basketball and boxing teams to have a place to compete. By this time, basketball included both boys' and girls' teams. Girls also played tennis and a few played baseball.[245] However, the pride of Stewart sports was its boxing program that won ten Nevada Golden Glove team titles between 1935 and 1948. The program produced career boxers Ned Crutcher and Streesler O'Daye. The organized program ended in 1948, but boxing matches continued at the school long afterward and students continued to compete.[246]

Indian New Deal and Carl Cederstrand, US Indian Service (USIS), Construction Division

The seminal period of the Indian New Deal saw the on-reservation day school model rise in prominence, just as between 1928 and 1934 the government closed twenty-two boarding schools. Accompanied by reinvestment in facilities at those off-reservation boarding schools that remained open, this period corresponded with Bowler's superintendency of Stewart. Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier attempted to counter assimilation with many of his policies, for instance by promoting Native arts and that "Native students would benefit from learning environments reflecting 'Indian' forms of architecture."[247] However, focusing on the proposed new Pueblo Revival-style Navajo central agency in Window Rock, Arizona, historian Rachel Leibowitz described Collier's efforts in preserving and promoting Native cultures through the built environment as paradoxical at best: at once earnestly esteeming Native cultures, Collier's focus on the Pueblo Revival also betrayed a shallow understanding of the diversity of those cultures. He sought to apply Native built forms as a means of connecting Native people to Western culture and government efforts, but ultimately imposed style as a tool of gradual acculturation in his drive to "modernize" Native people.[248] Throughout the Indian New Deal, the Office of Indian Affairs' *Indians at Work* promoted examples of art, architecture, and modernization efforts under Commissioner Collier's

[241] Thompson, "The Student Body," 202-208.
[242] Interview, Ms. Laura Hooper Saunders with Authors, August 28, 2024; conversation, Michon Eben with Authors, August 25, 2024.
[243] John Bloom, *To Show What An Indian Can Do: Sports at Native American Boarding Schools*, Sports and Culture Series, eds. Toby Miller and M. Ann Hall, Vol. 2 (University of Minnesota Press, 2000) xvii-xx. See also p. xx: "Such a dialogic approach to ethnic identity is particularly relevant to boarding school history, where students from multiple cultures and backgrounds intermingled and created complex identities and affiliations. In addition, it provides a useful model for understanding how Native Americans in the twentieth century have understood their identities within the cultural forms available to them."
[244] Thompson, "The Student Body," 221.
[245] Thompson, "The Student Body," 224.
[246] Thompson, "The Student Body," 226, 228-230.
[247] Jason Tippeconnic Fox and Mary Jo Tippeconnic Fox, "Chapter 17: American Indian Educational Architecture in the Southwest," 285-308, in John W. Tippeconnic, III, and Mary Jo Tippeconnic Fox, *On Indian Ground: The Southwest,* On Indian Ground: A Return to Indigenous Knowledge: Generating Hope, Leadership, and Sovereignty Through Education, Joely Proudfit and Linda Sue Warner, series, ed. (Information Age Publishing, Inc., 2021), 286.
[248] Rachel Leibowitz, "The Million Dollar Play House: The Office of Indian Affairs and the Pueblo Revival in the Navajo Capital," *Buildings & Landscapes: Journal of the Vernacular Architecture Forum* 15 (Fall 2008): 11-42.

administration.

While explicitly Native architectural forms do not characterize the Stewart campus, the skilled stonework of Native artisans can be interpreted as a means to foster a unified learning environment as well as a true point of pride, while not failing to reference the physical work by both employees and students this represented. During her tenure, Superintendent Bowler naturalized the physical landscape at the school, removing formal landscaping that Snyder had installed to prioritize native plants, presumably in service to Collier's directive regarding Native learning environments.[249]

Several new Stewart campus buildings were designed in a style similar to that used during Snyder's tenure through the assistance of the Department of the Interior's USIS Construction Division architect Carl Cederstrand. Hired in 1930 as an associate draftsman in the Washington, DC, office, Cederstrand was responsible for drafting plan sets and specifications.[250] Prior to his government service, Cederstrand won an award for fine home design from *House Beautiful* in 1928 and later a national competition for small house design sponsored by the *Chicago Tribune*.[251] He continued to win design awards while working for the Indian Service, placing third in the annual exhibition of the Association of Federal Architects for his architectural model of the Standing Rock Dormitory.[252] Cederstrand established the first formal architectural design criteria for Indian schools to allow development of standardized building requirements and construction processes for the Indian Service. At Stewart, he integrated these standards into the built environment without compromising the overall campus design that Snyder had begun.[253] Between 1941 and 1942, Cederstrand drew up the plans for five Cape Cod cottage type residences to address housing shortages for school and Civilian Conservation Corps-Indian Division staff (Resources 32, 35, 36, and the duplexes, Resources 33 and 34).[254] Faculty and students constructed the buildings.[255]

Native Stonemasons

In 1937, Stewart hired Ernest (sometimes spelled Earnest) Wungnema (b. 1898), a Hopi stonemason. Originally from Arizona, Wungnema brought his family to Stewart in 1940. His children Rosabelle, Bernice, Burton, and Randall attended school there, although they were initially supposed to go to school in Carson City (see Campus Kids section below). The Superintendent also sent Wungnema back to Arizona to recruit other Hopi stonemasons to come to the school to help with building construction.[256]

Ernest Wungnema constructed several of the stone buildings at Stewart, and his children went on to be

[249] Discussion, Chris Gibbons and Melanie Oakley with Authors, Stewart Cultural Center, August 27, 2024.
[250] US Senate, *Survey of Conditions of the Indians in the United States*, 13736.
[251] Seavey, "A Completion Report on the Historic Resources Inventory," 56. Although he was not a licensed architect, Cederstrand was approved for membership in the American Institute of Architects in 1946, from which he resigned in 1959. See Membership file, AIA Historical Directory of American Architects, "Carl L. Cederstrand (1899-1981), https://aiahistoricaldirectory.atlassian.net/wiki/spaces/AHDAA/pages/37392385/ahd1007174.
[252] "Five Awards in Competitive Exhibition won by Indian Construction Unit," *Indians at Work* 6, no. 11 (July 1939): 16-17.
[253] Seavey, "A Completion Report on the Historic Resources Inventory," 56. Cederstrand may also have had help from US Indian Service engineer W.B. Hill, who was stationed at Stewart in 1937. See *Western Construction News* (Aug 1937): 294.
[254] For more on the Civilian Conservation Corps—Indian Division, see Jennifer McLerran, *A New Deal for Native Art: Indian Arts and Federal Policy, 1933-1943* (The University of Arizona Press, 2009), 199-224.
[255] Renee Kolvet, "Stewart Indian School Residential District-Carson City NV," Living New Deal, April 28, 2022, https://livingnewdeal.org/sites/stewart-indian-school-residential-district-second-half-of-final-extended-building-phase-1941-1942/ (accessed May 27, 2026).
[256] United States Census Bureau, 1937 Indian Census Roll for Hopi Reservation, December 31, 1937, Roll 195, Internet Archive; Bernice Wungnema Gorham, Oral History, Stewart Indian School Trail Map, Stewart Indian School Cultural Center & Museum, https://stewartindianschool.com/walking-trail/ (accessed January 13, 2026).

stonemasons as well.[257] Son and stonemason Burton (Sr.) (1927-1956) met his future wife, fellow student Pearl Ellen McQueen Talas (whose family included stonemasons and carpenters) at the school.[258] The Wungnemas built several stone buildings around Carson City, including Burton's 1948 house that is still extant in Carson City. Stone for the Wungnema House came from Ernest's quarries east of Carson City in the Brunswick Canyon area.[259]

Ernest's son Randall (Randy) Wungnema and Joe Buckhart (Washoe) built the Corpus Christi Catholic Church on land that was part of Stewart campus in 1949. According to church history, the stone came from a federal quarry east of Carson City. Like many Stewart buildings, the church exhibits a unique dark mortar. Although the church history notes that the dark mortar was a result of mixing with coal dust, historian Kent Seavey reports that lamp black was mixed with mortar to achieve this color.[260] After the school closed, the diocese initially secured a lease from the Washoe Tribe before constructing a new church building approximately two miles to the south in 2009. The Stewart church building has been vacant since that time, with the property returned to the Tribe on February 1, 2016.[261]

By 1937, the Indian Service also employed at least one other Native stonemason and plasterer, Joseph James "Joe" Brittain, at Stewart. Born on the Pala Indian Reservation north of Escondido, California, a Farm Security Administration featured a photograph of Brittain at work on a construction site.[262]

Special Navajo Program (1947-1959)

Stewart admitted the first class of Navajo (Diné) of 147 students (aged twelve to twenty) as part of the Special Navajo Program in 1947.[263] This program was first instituted at Sherman Institute in California in 1946 in response to the low school enrollment of Navajo children, likely related to John Collier's Navajo Livestock Reduction Program.[264]. A mass sheep culling program began in 1933 based on an Office of Indian Affairs assessment of environmental degradation and continued economic viability of sheepherding on the reservation.[265] The program not only targeted the primary Navajo livelihood, it undermined Navajo social structure. As a matriarchal society, women owned sheep and were economically independent; these changes forced not only economic adaptation, but also social change. As a result, Diné trust in the Office of Indian Affairs and Collier

[257] Ronald M. James and Elizabeth Safford Harvey, *Nevada's Historic Buildings: A Cultural Legacy*, Wilbur S. Shepperson Series in Nevada History (Reno and Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 2009); Lora L. Templeton, "My Neighbors: Stewart Indian School Cultural Center & Museum, "Templeton's Northern Nevada News," Blog post, June 13, 2025, https://loraltempleton.substack.com/p/my-neighbors-stewart-indian-school (accessed January 13, 2025).
[258] "Burton Wungnema, Sr.," Find a Grave, https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/24165898/burton-wungnema
[259] Foundation for Carson City Parks and Recreation, Inc., "The Historic Wungnema House," rev. October 26, 2019, https://shpo.nv.gov/uploads/documents/Wungnema_House.pdf (accessed March 15, 2026).
[260] Corpus Christi Catholic Church, "The Story and History of Corpus Christi Catholic Community," https://ccchurchcc.org/our-history (accessed October 13, 2026); Seavey "A Completion Report on the Historic Resources Inventory," 52.
[261] Corpus Christi Catholic Church, "The Story and History of Corpus Christi Catholic Community."
[262] *Indians at Work* (October 1941): notes, 34; "Joseph James 'Joe' Brittain," FamilySearch, accessed June 29, 2026, including U.S. Department of Commerce, 1950 Census of Population and Housing, Washoe County, Nevada and Nevada World War II Draft Registration Card, October 16, 1940.
[263] *Desert Braves* (1948).
[264] For additional information, see Marsha Weisiger, *Dreaming of Sheep in Navajo Country*, Weyerhaeuser Environmental Books (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2011).
[265] L. Madison Coombs, *Doorway Toward the Light, the Story of the Special Navajo Education Program* (Washington DC: Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1962), 5.

plummeted, and with it, trust in the idea that Western education was desirable for their children.[266]

During World War II, Navajo sentiment toward non-Indian education began to change with wartime enlistment. By 1942, almost all able-bodied Native men aged 21 to 44 had registered for the draft.[267] However, dismissals and deferrals, due to literacy issues and lack of English proficiency, were common among Florida Seminole and Navajo enlistees.[268] Those individuals who did serve wrote home about their experiences, shifting tribal opinion about the inevitability of the need for Western education.[269]

In 1946, the Office of Indian Affairs sent staff to assess Navajo school needs. The conclusions were that two-thirds of children on the reservation had no schooling, and that the median education level for the entire population was one year. The agent estimated it would cost ninety million dollars to upgrade reservation infrastructure enough to be able to educate three-quarters of students.[270] Based on these findings, the budget office denied any new school construction until they could show full capacity at western off-reservation boarding schools. Without the necessary funding, the Office of Indian Affairs could not pursue their recommendation to build more day schools on reservations.[271] The result was that the Office of Indian Affairs developed a curriculum specific to the needs of Navajo students between the ages of twelve to eighteen with the stipulation students be enrolled in an off-reservation boarding school.

The Office of Indian Affairs developed a five-year program aimed at children twelve and older focused on instruction in English language, Western social skills and values, and marketable vocational trades. Instruction would be in both Navajo and English, a radical departure from boarding school policy.[272] The first group of 208 Navajo students arrived at Sherman Institute in September followed by another 127 students in October, for whom the school made room.[273] The program was successful enough that the following year, the program expanded to three additional schools: Chilocco Indian School in Oklahoma, Phoenix Indian School in Arizona, and Stewart Indian School in Nevada.[274]

In the fall of 1947, 148 Diné students enrolled at Stewart. This number increased to 211 in 1948, peaking at 393 students in the 1956-57 school year.[275] Although the program supported a five-year focus, Stewart also developed six-and eight-year programs.[276] Students typically focused on academics for the first three years with only a few hours daily devoted to vocational education. During the last two years, the students split their days between

[266] Monique Yvette Davila, "Dine (Navajo) Youth Experiences in Education from 1928 to 1946," *Footnotes: A Journal of History* 4 (2020): 130-149; Rachael Renee Johnson, "The Navajo Special Program in the Pacific Northwest: Educating Navajo Students at Chemawa Indian Boarding School, 1946-1957" (master's thesis, Washington State University, 2010), 9.
[267] William C. Meadows. *The Comanche Code Talkers of World War II* (Austin: The University of Texas Austin, 2002), 38.
[268] Meadows, *The Comanche Code Talkers*, 38.
[269] Johnson, "The Navajo Special Program," 18.
[270] Existing educational facilities on the Navajo Reservation included fifty day schools that had been constructed under John Collier's federal initiative for day-school community centers. Constructed between 1934 and 1946, day schools and community centers were intended to provide Native people with multipurpose facilities that included education (see Lillian Makeda, PhD, "Navajo Mountain Day School and Community Center Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2020). Unfortunately, despite the large number of these facilities on the Navajo reservation, they were inadequate for serving a disperse population that occupied a large area of land and had limited means of transportation to access these centers.
[271] Johnson, "The Navajo Special Program," 19-20.
[272] Coombs, *Doorway Toward the Light*, 18.
[273] Coombs, *Doorway Toward the Light*, 28.
[274] Coombs, *Doorway Toward the Light*, 46
[275] Williams, *Assimilation, Resilience, and Survival*, 126-127.
[276] Williams, *Assimilation, Resilience, and Survival*, 132-133.

DRAFT

academic and vocational education.[277] At Stewart, the school reportedly did not strictly enforce the first three years' vocational component, at least among girls, in the 1950s.[278] This contributed to tensions between non-Navajo and Diné students.

Tensions between Diné and non-Diné students ran high throughout the 1950s. Not only did Diné students initially receive fewer vocational responsibilities, they also were treated with what looked like privilege to the other children. A Stewart alumni recalled Navajo children were allowed to speak their own language and separate teachers who instructed them in both Navajo and English. He recounted an incident in which he had been assigned to clean his dorm, and a Navajo boy was standing in the way of where he needed to clean. He told the boy in English to move, but the boy only spoke Navajo and did not budge. Frustrated, the non-Navajo boy shoved the Diné boy, who cracked his head on a pane of glass, breaking it. The non-Diné child was punished for this and expressed his initial feelings of resentment toward the Navajo boy, who was allowed to speak his own language, and did not have chores. Later, he learned more about why the Navajo were not fluent in English.[279] However, to a ten-year-old boy providing manual labor and forced to speak only English while his Navajo counterparts did not, this disparity appeared to be based on unfair treatment.

Other problems arose between Diné and non-Diné students due to the physical and social separation of Diné students. Diné had their own classes taught in Navajo, as well as separate clubs, meetings, and assemblies. They also had separate newspapers and were pictured separately in school yearbooks.[280] These privileges were readily apparent and never directly addressed by the school.

These tensions also appear to have been present at other schools hosting the Special Program. An alumnus from Chemawa noted: "There was a lot of animosity between the Navajos and what we called the regulars, that was us. They were like a little Tribe sitting right there in the middle of all of us. They had their own Navajo instructors."[281] The language this student uses to describe the Navajo points to the emotional complexity students experienced at federal Indian boarding schools. The idea the Navajo were their own "Tribe" points to the hurt, anger, and frustration that children experienced in being stripped of their own tribal identities and cultural practices while perceiving that Navajo students were allowed to retain elements of their own.

Termination Era (1953-1968)

The Termination Era brought policy and legislation that tried to further force Native people to disconnect from their Tribes and land. Legislation and policy focused on removing Tribes from federal oversight under the pretense of giving Native people equality. Public Law 280 exposed this as a fallacy when it attempted to transfer civil and criminal jurisdiction over Native American reservations to certain states, such as California which in violation of several existing treaties. In 1956, the federal government passed the Indian Relocation Act, which again targeted removal of Native people, this time to urban areas where jobs were more available. In doing so, the government attempted to justify no longer supporting tribal communities on reservations, assuming this would require Native people to move to cities.[282]

These laws and policies had direct effects on Indian boarding schools, where students were pressured to graduate and seek jobs in urban areas instead of returning to their reservation communities. As historian Samantha

[277] Coombs, Doorway Toward the Light," 53
[278] Williams, *Assimilation, Resilience, and Survival*, 143-144.
[279] Mr. Frank Joe, 2024
[280] Williams, *Assimilation, Resilience, and Survival*, 142-143.
[281] Johnson, "The Navajo Special Program," 38.
[282] Archambeault and Anderson, "Federal Indian Boarding Schools," 56.

DRAFT

Williams points out, "By encouraging Native Americans to leave their reservations and integrate with non-Native populations, their connections to their lands, languages, and cultures decreased significantly." Boarding schools, coupled with the Indian Adoption Project, was intended to accelerate the termination agenda.[283]

Stewart responded to the shift by expanding admissions further to include students from areas where there weren't sufficient school facilities available.[284] As a result, from about 1958 to 1962, the school welcomed a large number of Hopi and Apache students.[285] Students continued to speak their native languages at this time, though not always in public. An alumni descendant recalls when her mother was a student a Stewart in the 1950s, she and her cousins continued to speak Shoshone at school, but they were careful not to do so in front of anyone.[286] Other students noted they were allowed to speak their native language during their leisure hours, but not during school hours.[287]

The academic and vocational programs did not undergo much change, but a Business Education program was added in 1963. Its curriculum included typing and general business classes and reflects the school's commitment to preparing students for employment in urban environments where these skills would have been in demand.[288] Basic academic classes were also offered, but as in previous decades the emphasis remained on vocational instruction.

Vocational education at Stewart remained gendered, with female students taking home economics or nursing. The girls continued to use the practice cottages, and learn sewing, cooking, and cleaning. Boys were to focus on agriculture, painting (including mural painting), heavy equipment operation, drafting, welding, arts and crafts, woodworking, or carpentry, just as they had in previous decades.[289] By 1971, courses included pre-forestry, pre-nursing, ranch management, dental assistance, auto mechanics, and surveying.[290] Historian Bonnie Thompson notes this gendered division was reinforced by the physical layout of the campus, which separated girls and boys spatially.[291] Historian David Wallace Adams discusses this segregation in terms of supervision and control of the sexuality as well as the imposition of Western culture. The girls' dorms were clustered in the middle of campus near the main building and the Superintendent's Cottage, as were most of the buildings where girls worked (e.g. infirmary, laundry, kitchen, and dining hall). The buildings associated with boys' living and working areas were largely at the margins of the developed property, which gave them more latitude to explore school grounds.[292]

However, this is not to suggest that spaces were always strictly gendered, ironically due to entrenched gender roles. For example, an alumnus who attended Stewart in the late 1950s noted she worked at Jack's Valley Ranch away from main campus. Boys typically worked at the ranch, learning agriculture and ranching. However, girls went to clean the ranch to clean boys' rooms and help in the kitchen. In the summer, girls sometimes stayed at the ranch to assist with these chores.[293] This would have provided a little more freedom for the girls working out from under the watchful eye of the matron. In 1980, the last year Stewart was open, a few co-ed dorms, such as

[283] Williams, *Assimilation, Resilience, and Survival*, 117.
[284] Stewart opened its doors to students from many Tribal nations during its operation, gradually expanding admissions beyond Nevada. NPS has preliminarily identified as many as 141 Tribes with potential affiliation with Stewart students. Additional research will refine this understanding or may find additional Tribal affiliations for students and Native faculty or staff who worked at Stewart.
[285] Thompson, "The Student Body," 240.
[286] Conversation, Michon Eben with Authors, August 25, 2024
[287] Interview, Ms. Laura Hooper Saunders with Authors, August 28, 2024.
[288] Williams, "The School on Snyder Street," 225
[289] Williams, "The School on Snyder Street," 224-225.
[290] *Desert Braves* (1971), 7, 9, 10.
[291] Thompson, "The Student Body," 64.
[292] Thompson, "The Student Body," 85.
[293] Interview, Ms. Hooper Saunders, August 28, 2024.

Nunez Lodge, had been instituted.[294]

However, the school even controlled free time to a certain extent. Many alumni remember fondly they could catch a bus to town on the weekends to do what they liked. Since they had to have money to spend, though, they would work for a few hours in the morning to earn enough to go to the movies or buy things. Girls would often clean motels in the morning to earn money for the afternoon.[295]

This is also not to suggest that girls did not explore the property or slip away from the watchful gaze of the staff. An alumna noted while the main campus areas contained grass, there were native plants growing along the creek, many of which were medicine. She noted there were giant cottonwoods, willow, nettle, dandelion, pineapple weed, sagebrush, juniper, rabbit brush, and buck brush growing at the rear of the property along the creek.[296] The daughter of another alumna noted her mother knew which plants were good to eat.[297] Not only does this show girls were able to explore, it demonstrates that students continued to use Native medicine at Stewart despite the presence of the school infirmary. The act of treating themselves and/or each other for physical and spiritual ailments shows students continued to resist the idea of assimilation.

Campus Kids

Employees at Stewart often had families that lived on campus. While little is known about the early years, oral histories have been collected for some of the campus kids who lived there during the 1950s through 1970s. Interviews with campus kids revealed in the 1950s they were not allowed to enroll at Stewart.[298] Rather, they were bussed to Carson City to attend public schools. This complicated the dynamic among Native children at Stewart, with students removed from their families and Tribes living alongside campus kids, who were living with their families, but attending another school physically removed from Stewart.

In the 1950s and 1960s, there were about thirty to forty staff children who lived on campus year-round. In the summers, they were allowed free reign of the campus. When they were small, they were not allowed to go to the creek but went anyway and constructed forts. They were allowed to play with the superintendent's children at the Superintendent's Cottage. Some had relatives who worked on the ranch at Jack's Valley, and in the summer, they were allowed to ride horses, while most older Stewart students were working in the outing program.[299] In many ways, this created an artificial distinction between students and the campus kids, who had different expectations and access to resources.

As teenagers, campus kids were allowed to attend social events at Stewart, such as dances and theater productions. One of the informants' brothers played in a band with Stewart boys at school dances. The campus kids interviewed had parents and grandparents who attended Stewart, and noted their experience was very different than both groups.[300]

However, campus kids were caught between worlds. At Stewart, they were not truly part of the group because

[294] "Through these Doors Boys and Girls entered Co-ed Dorms," *Desert Braves* (1980), 1-3.
[295] Interview, Ms. Hooper Saunders, August 28, 2024.
[296] Interview, Ms. Hooper Saunders, August 28, 2024.
[297] Conversation, Michon Eben with Authors, August 25, 2024.
[298] According to Bernice Wungnema Gorham, the Wungnema children were supposed to go to school in Carson City but ended up going to Stewart. However, it is unclear whether the Wungnema family lived on campus and whether they would have been considered campus kids. The 1940 Ormsby County census does not show the Wungnemas as residing at Stewart, but they were not found living elsewhere in the county for that year. By 1950, they were living in Carson City, not at Stewart. Gorham, Oral History.
[299] Interview, Ms. Dianne Williams and Ms. Teri Burns with Authors, August 28, 2024.
[300] Interview, Williams and Burns, August 28, 2024.

they lived with their families and were not allowed to attend the school. They also were not allowed to go to the campus doctor but had to seek medical treatment in Carson City. However, at public school in Carson City, the other children referred to Stewart as "the res" and spoke derogatorily about it.[301] As a result, all the children living at Stewart were subject to division and isolation, much like the students. Despite this, both later campus kids and alumni who were at Stewart in the late twentieth century have good memories of most of their time there.

Self-Determination Era (1968-present)

During the Civil Rights Era, a series of laws and movements began to change the broader educational landscape and put decision-making into Native hands. This is not to suggest that Termination policy was abruptly abandoned; relocation and removal of Native children and placement into White homes continued. However, important steps began to return power to Native governments and people, especially regarding education. The 1969 Kennedy Report and associated investigations resulted in legislation that targeted Native education, including the 1972 Indian Education Act and 1975 Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act, provided funding for Native children in public schools and Native control over educational needs.[302]

Stewart was one of fourteen schools studied by the congressional subcommittee, and after the 1969 report came out, the administration pledged to make changes. Those changes included adding Native American history classes, updating vocational courses, establishing a mental health program, creating Native extracurricular clubs, and seeking to include parents and students in curriculum planning. By 1974, a Phoenix Area Inter-Tribal School Board was in place as well as a Parent's Advisory Council.[303] These minor changes were a step in the right direction, but negative attitudes toward Native families, continuation of accepting non-local students into the school, and emphasis on vocational programs over academics persisted at Stewart.[304]

The Stewart community voiced their concerns and expressed their needs in various ways. Students continued to run away or drop out, while parents and alumni voiced opposition through the media and an advocacy group that Native Americans in Nevada formed to address community concerns.[305] Stewart administration responded as it had historically, sending students home for disciplinary reasons or due to pregnancy, but making concessions like not forcing children to go to church or to attend breakfast.[306]

As noted above, paternalistic attitudes toward the expression of Indigenous culture did not change. One student who attended Stewart between 1968 and 1971 said the administration was still enforcing the English-only rule despite civil rights advocacy.[307] Cultural practice and ceremony were still done in private. One alumna recalled an incident that occurred in the dorm one night with someone calling her name, but no one was awake. She went to the night matron, who was her aunt, and they felt they needed to smoke the room. Since they did not have sage, they used a cigarette, which the author then smoked and put the ashes under her pillow.[308] Sage grows on campus, even today, and could have been gathered that night or in the morning, but to do so may have prompted questions

[301] Interview, Williams and Burns, August 28, 2024.
[302] Special Subcommittee on Indian Education, *Indian Education: A National Tragedy – A National Challenge* (Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Pursuant to Senate Resolution 80, 91st Congress, 1st Session) (November 1969), 9. See Archambeault and Anderson, 58-59, for a more comprehensive discussion of the policies and legislation from this era.
[303] *Desert Braves* (1974), 18-19.
[304] Williams, *Assimilation, Resistance, and Survival*, 156.
[305] Williams, *Assimilation, Resilience, and Survival*, 157.
[306] Roberta Whitlock Baeta, "A Little Skingin That Could: An Autobiographical, Affirmative Look at Native American Off-Reservation Boarding Schools Between 1970 and 1980" (PhD diss., University of Southern California, 2008), 151, 157.
[307] Williams, *Assimilation, Resilience, and Survival*, 168.
[308] Baeta, "A Little Skingin That Could," 150.

and it is likely that the ceremony needed to be completed with some urgency.

Alumna Roberta Whitlock Baeta also noted relationships between the "campus girls" (i.e. campus kids) and Stewart girls was antagonistic.[309] In part, the Stewart girls felt the campus girls were "trying to be white girls."[310] This suggests there may have been a different perception of what it meant to be Native at Stewart. Another factor that likely influenced this relationship was that the Stewart boys liked the campus girls because they facilitated access to drugs, alcohol, transportation, and other things from the outside world.[311]

School employees during this period included both White and Native teachers, as well as at least one African American coach.[312] At one point, there was also at least one Native/White married couple that worked at Stewart.[313] Many instructors were Native, in particular the vocational instructors. Students often had close relationships with faculty and their families. Several alumni mentioned Mr. Harry (Athletics and Pupil Personal Services) and Mrs. Lorri (Social Studies) Lippy were very supportive. Sometimes students lived with the Lippys during the summer, and Mrs. Lippy tutored one student who struggled with math so that he would be able to graduate. The same alumnus also said a lot of the White teachers really pushed them.[314]

Many Stewart alumni retain positive memories of their time playing sports at Stewart. The boxing program was especially well known, and one former team member trained with the coaches to go to the Golden Gloves in Las Vegas.[315] He also mentioned Olympic trials for boxing had been held at Stewart at one time.[316] Stewart was known for its athletes and successful basketball, track, and boxing teams. Many teams traveled almost every week, and the boxing team even went as far as Biloxi, Mississippi, at one point.[317]

Stewart nevertheless remained very strict. However, alumni interviewed felt that if you didn't follow the rules, you brought punishment on yourself. Discipline for breaking the rules could get you up to twenty-five hours of chores and revoked your permission to leave campus.[318]

Despite welcome changes during this period, there were still violations of Native students' rights. During the 1967-1968 and 1972-1973 school years, Stewart and two other boarding schools participated in a medical experiment on students. The study was to determine which treatment would be best for trachoma (a contagious eye disease) and involved giving students different types of antibiotics and a placebo. While scientists involved in the experiment justified giving students a placebo for a condition that can cause blindness, they rationalized it by noting all students got treatment at the end of each study. However, it is unknown whether the students even knew they were participating in this experiment, and there was no informed consent from parents.[319]

[309] Roberta Whitlock Baeta is a member of the Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community who attended Stewart Indian School from 1972 to 1975. Her PhD dissertation provides autobiographical information, first-person interviews and narratives, as well as surveys.
[310] Baeta, "The Little Skingin That Could," 155-156.
[311] Baeta, "The Little Skingin That Could," 155-156.
[312] Interview, Ron Lewis, John Gonzales, and Ralph Gonzales with Authors, August 28, 2024.
[313] Baeta, "The Little Skingin That Could," 161.
[314] Interview, Ron Lewis, John Gonzalez, and Ralph Gonzales, August 28, 2024. Harry Lippy was a member of the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Cree; Lorri appears to have been White.
[315] *Desert Braves* (1974), 85.
[316] The 1976 Western Regional Olympic Trials were held at the Stewart Gymnasium. Teri Vance, "Stewart boxing KO'd," *Nevada Appeal*, December 15, 2006, https://www.nevadaappeal.com/news/2006/dec/15/stewart-boxing-kod/.
[317] Interview with Lewis, Gonzales, and Gonzales, August 28, 2024.
[318] Interview with Lewis, Gonzales, and Gonzales, August 28, 2024.
[319] Samantha Williams, "Medical Experimentation on Indigenous Boarding School Students," Blog post, https://www.samanthamwilliams.com/blog/medical-experimentation-on-indigenous-boarding-school-students, October 5, 2020.

DRAFT

Stewart Indian School closed in 1980, after the Bureau of Indian Affairs inspected the buildings and found they did not meet seismic safety standards. This accompanied demolition of remaining two-story stone buildings on campus, such as the two-story central portion of the School Shops, as the Bureau of Indian Affairs determined that rehabilitation of the property to address code considerations would be cost prohibitive.[320] The State of Nevada received a large portion of campus, including the majority of buildings. The Washoe Tribe acquired the former Jack's Valley ranch land near the Dresslerville Colony. As part of the settlement between the federal and state government, Resources 1 and 3 were reserved to display artifacts, crafts, and memories of the school. If this stipulation is not followed, the property reverts to the federal government.[321]

The Stewart Indian School Museum was established in the Administration Building (Resource 1) in 1981 and was privately funded until 1998 when it closed. Its director, Ed Johnson, a descendant of several alumni, hoped to establish a cultural center at Stewart, but at the time, the museum was completely reliant on private funding. Despite a good plan and broad support, the state did not fund the cultural center, so the museum closed. A new museum briefly opened but closed in 2000. The Stewart alumni community voiced the need for a cultural center in addition to a museum, and the Nevada Indian Commission (now Department of Native American Affairs) began exploring funding options. In 2015, the Nevada Legislature funded positions for a museum director and a curator. In 2017, the legislature approved $4.5 million in funding to renovate the 1923 Administration Building and 1925 Post Office for use a cultural center and museum. Retired director Bobbi Rahder recounts visiting all twenty-eight federally-recognized Tribes in Nevada and collecting as many oral histories and stories as possible to establish the cultural center and museum.[322] In 2019, the Nevada Legislature codified Stewart Indian School Cultural Center & Museum in statute NRS 233A.300.[323] Officially opened January 13, 2020, the Stewart Indian School Cultural Center & Museum today serves both the alumni community, who volunteer and gather at the cultural center, and the public, who can tour the grounds and visit the museum.[324]

Consideration of the Architectural History of Federal Indian Boarding Schools

Architectural analysis is a key lens by which to understand the physical manifestations of structure and control at federal Indian boarding schools.[325] These campuses reflected and reinforced federal Indian policy and curriculum, with Stewart's intact built environment and designed landscape particularly able to represent their evolution over time, given the length of the school's operation. Axial or orthogonal campus layouts, choice and cultivation of vegetation, style and materiality of buildings, standardized types of facilities, and gendered segregation of spaces and circulation were all purposeful and meant to exert management and discipline of the student population, just as later development reflected evolving ideas about educating Native people. Students transited between principal areas with specific functions: dormitories and meals to academics, work sites such as the laundry and bakery, and

[320] Stewart's closure remains somewhat controversial, as there is some question of whether the seismic argument was valid. Seavey reported that the stonemason responsible for demolition of the two-story buildings found them to be solidly constructed and reinforced in a way that was unlikely to have been damaged by earthquakes. Seavey, "A Completion Report on the Historic Resources Inventory," 59.
[321] Thompson, "The Student Body," 244-246.
[322] Telephone interview, Bobbi Rahder with Authors, September 26, 2024.
[323] Nevada Revised Statutes, Chapter 233A-Indian Affairs, NRS 233A.300: Stewart Indian School Cultural Center and Museum, https://www.leg.state.nv.us/NRS/NRS-233a.html#NRS233ASec300.
[324] Williams, *Resistance, Resilience, and Survival*, 213-220. Williams provides a comprehensive account of the museum's development over time and the relationships between the Tribes, federal government, and state government. For more information about the Stewart Indian School Cultural Center & Museum, see https://stewartindianschool.com/.
[325] See Anne Lawrason Marshall and Jason Tippeconnic Fox, "Editors' Introduction," in "Roundtable: Spaces of Indigenous Learning and Unlearning in Canada and the United States," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 83, no. 3 (September 2025): 284-299.

vocational training. Off-site agriculture existed as well as on-site dairy and horse barn.

The school environment deeply impacted student experience, both individual and as a collective, and imposed a tangible and rigid immersion in European American concepts of aesthetics, spatial order, orderly landscapes, functional hierarchies, and gender division. For Native students, the campus experience starkly contrasted with home and homeland environments, which invariably contributed to a sense of destabilization in a place devoid of cultural familiarity. As architectural historian Jason Tippeconnic Fox and American Indian Studies scholar Mary Jo Tippeconnic Fox describe: "(…) the formal layout and non-native vegetation reinforced many students' sense of alienation with the campus, a number of whom held cultural beliefs that conflicted with such control over the natural environment. The lesson to Native students from the campus' landscaping was clear: Nature must be tamed and so would Indians."[326] The orthogonal layout of the Stewart campus, with its rectilinear systems of roads and pathways lined by buildings with Western architectural forms, certainly fits within this pattern.

However, Stewart's architecture is ultimately visually characterized more by its distinctive multi-colored stonework, rather than principally by popular Western architectural styles with their attendant meanings (although certain classical or other hallmark features exist and do denote principal buildings such as the Stewart Auditorium).[327] The defining presence of this visually striking local vernacular created largely by Native stonemasons complicates the story presented by an off-reservation boarding school of this era. The architectural significance of the Stewart campus, therefore, is demonstrative of this inherent tension between assimilation and survival in student experiences.

The masonry buildings at Stewart Indian School are the most extensive expression of this local vernacular but other surviving examples are worth noting. Stewart stonemasons and students worked to construct buildings off campus, the latter as part of their vocational instruction. The 1948 **Wungnema House** at Mills Park in Carson City represents this style of stonework, as do a number of single-family residences in the city.[328] Some properties have obvious ties to the school, such as the ca. 1926 **Field Matron's Cottage** at the Reno-Sparks Indian Colony in Reno (listed May 16, 2003, NRIS 03000416), **Frederick Snyder's summer house** at Lake Tahoe, and the **Hersey House** (built for Reverend Hersey, a Stewart chaplain) in Carson City.

Other properties, including two houses at **Zephyr's Cove** on Lake Tahoe and the **Whittell Estate** (1936 Thunderbird Lodge main house) at Lake Tahoe (listed October 27, 2000, NRIS 00001207), do not have an immediately recognizable connection, and it is unknown whether the school or students were paid for student labor on those properties. These off-campus buildings are very similar in materials and design to those at Stewart. Constructed of native stone, they collectively exhibit the same distinctive character-defining features associated with the work of James Christopher, the Wungnemas, Joe Brittain, and Stewart students, including flat stone arches, crenelations, stone chimneys, and dark mortar. In addition, the Hersey House also features stone gate pillars that resemble those present at Stewart. Most of these residential properties are similar in scale to those at Stewart, with the notable exceptions of Frederick Snyder's house and the Thunderbird Lodge. Snyder's cottage is two stories with a steeply pitched cross gable roof. Thunderbird Lodge is on a much grander scale. The two-

[326] Jason Tippeconnic Fox and Mary Jo Tippeconnic Fox, "American Indian Educational Architecture in the Southwest," 285-308, cf. 285, 289, in John W. Tippeconnic, III, and Mary Jo Tippeconnic Fox, eds., *On Indian Ground: The Southwest*, On Indian Ground: A Return to Indigenous Knowledge: Generating Hope, Leadership, and Sovereignty Through Education. Joely Proudfit and Linda Sue Warner, series eds. (Information Age Publishing, Inc., 2021).
[327] Regarding the imposition of Western architectural styles, see Tippeconnic Fox and Tippeconnic Fox, "American Indian Educational Architecture in the Southwest," 289-291.
[328] The Foundation for Carson City Parks and Recreation is attempting to identify extant buildings in Carson City and Lake Tahoe associated with stonemasons Earnest and Burton Wungnema between 1925 and 1955. Foundation for Carson City Parks and Recreation, "The Historic Wungnema House."

story lodge has a cross-gable roof with an extremely high pitch with Tudor Revival stylings. It lacks the flat stone arches and dark mortar, likely because it was constructed by the Larson Construction Company with "stonemasons from the Stewart Indian School" who stayed on the property during construction. Although not specified, this work may have been associated with Stewart's outing program.[329]

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

Comprehensive survey of extant boarding school properties dating between 1819 and 1969 has not been conducted to date, although the 2024 U.S. Department of Interior report provides a list of schools that serves as the basis of ongoing research into federal Indian boarding schools. Of those schools, approximately seventy-five associated properties have been listed to date in the National Register of Historic Places at either the local, state, or national level of significance or designated National Historic Landmarks. Other properties, such as the **St. Catherine Indian School** in Santa Fe, NM, and National Register-listed **Fort Wingate Boarding School (Charles H. Burke Indian School)** in Fort Wingate, NM, have suffered catastrophic fires as recently as July 2026. Due to its high level of intactness as a historic district, however, Stewart Indian Boarding School can be evaluated meaningfully at present by comparison with the following smaller group of designated NHLs.

While, broadly speaking, additional scholarship is warranted to study and compare boarding school campuses in depth, the following comparative analysis contextualizes the Stewart campus among federal Indian boarding school National Historic Landmarks designated to date and the cohort of off-reservation boarding schools of the Assimilation Era. In differentiating the Stewart campus, it is important to note that Stewart was a purpose-built complex, rather than an adapted military installation such as Carlisle Indian School. Built a little over ten years after Carlisle's opening, operationally Stewart followed the Carlisle model, as did the other off-reservation boarding schools, twenty-seven in total established between 1879 and 1908.[330] Stewart's campus continued to evolve under Office of Indian Affairs (later Bureau of Indian Affairs) oversight during the Reorganization Era under the Indian New Deal and U.S. Indian Service Construction Division and into the Termination and Self-Determination eras, but maintained a stylistic unity in large part due to the dominant use of its distinctive multi-colored stonework. Paradoxically and without diminishment of the difficult history of federal Indian boarding schools, it is possible to understand that, through the physical labor and craftsmanship of its Native students and workers, the Stewart campus represents a distinctive vernacular architectural environment. Tippeconnic Fox and Tippeconnic Fox's contextualized the Office of Indian Affairs' Indian New Deal approach as follows:

> In effect, the Indian New Deal school building program was an attempt to create modern forms of American Indian architecture suitable and specific to each community (…) Collier outlined five criteria for architects to take into account in school design: the prevailing type of architecture in the immediate vicinity; the sustainability of the plan to the surrounding landscape; the availability of native building materials; the buildings be of simple design while meeting functional requirements; and the buildings should provide the maximum opportunity for American Indian labor during construction.[331]

Stewart at a minimum represents a unique, holistic environment at the juxtaposition of conflicting experiences and agency. As an extremely intact historic district, Stewart Indian Boarding School can be evaluated as a strong

[329] Denise Bradley, Michael Corbett, and Tim Kelley, "Whittell Estate," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2000).
[330] Adams, *Education for Extinction*, Table 2.1: Location and opening date for off-reservation boarding schools, 62.
[331] Tippeconnic Fox and Tippeconnic Fox, "American Indian Educational Architecture in the Southwest," 294; see also John Collier, "Indian Reservation Buildings in the Southwest: Mayers, Murray & Phillip, Architects," *American Architect and Architecture* 150, no. 2658 (June 1937): 35-36.

example of an off-reservation boarding school of the Assimilation Era in the Western United States.

Off-reservation federal Indian boarding schools in the West (1879-1908)

The Office of Indian Affairs established the balance of the twenty-eight off-reservation boarding schools in the Intermountain West (Colorado, Arizona, Montana, Oklahoma, New Mexico) and Pacific Northwest (Oregon, California), with others located in North Dakota and South Dakota, Minnesota, and Wisconsin. The status of these off-reservation boarding schools follows.

Tippeconic Fox and Tippeconic Fox describe **Phoenix Indian School** historically as a prototypical off-reservation boarding school campus in terms of its architecture and layout. Phoenix Indian School was listed in the National Register at the state level of significance for the period 1901 to 1931 in the areas of architecture, education, and Native American heritage on May 31, 2001 (NRIS 01000521). Opened in 1891, the school removed lower grades and military discipline in 1931, a transition imposed as part of reforms in response to the 1928 publication of the deeply negative *The Problem of Indian Administration*, also known as the Meriam Report. Build-out largely occurred during the Assimilation Era, although as one of the largest off-reservation boarding schools, the Phoenix Indian School operated through 1990.[332] District designation focused on three key surviving buildings, the designed landscape, war memorial, and site of the former swimming pool, representing a fraction of buildings at the height of operation (many of which were demolished either in the 1950s or after 1990). In terms of design, the Assimilation-Era brick Mission Revival buildings introduced the regionally popular style to the state, although "to the Native American students, at a time of promoting tribal diversity, this style could only recall the arrival of the Spaniards and the attempts to convert them to Catholicism."[333] As one of the largest off-reservation boarding schools, the Phoenix Indian School operated through 1990. Today the campus is partially converted into the Steele Indian School Park.[334]

The Albuquerque and Sherman schools also favored the Mission Revival style, while the Santa Fe Indian School was remodeled by John Gaw Meem in the Spanish Pueblo Revival style in the 1930s. Listed as an individual building in the National Register on July 26, 1982 (NRIS 82003310), the **Albuquerque Indian School Employees' New Dormitory and Club** in New Mexico, is significant at the state level in the areas of architecture, education, and Native American heritage.[335] This surviving building now serves as the Native American Community Academy, while demolition and redevelopment of the balance of the former campus created other services in support of Native communities. The **Sherman Institute Administration Building** in Riverside, California, is also listed in the National Register (January 9, 1980, NRIS 80000831) at the state level in the areas of education and architecture. The resource is the only extant 1901-1902 building associated with the Sherman Institute and has been used as a museum.[336] Sherman Indian High School continues to operate. **Santa Fe Indian School** in Santa Fe, New Mexico, is not listed in the National Register. With transition into a Tribally controlled

[332] Mary Jo Tippeconnic Fox and Jason Tippeconnic Fox, "Phoenix Indian School Historic District [Arizona]," [see also "Dining Hall [Arizona]" and "Memorial Hall and War Memorial [Arizona]," SAH Archipedia, eds. Gabriell Esperdy and Karen Kingsley, https://sah-archipedia.org/buildings/AZ-01-013-0066 (accessed October 22, 2026).
[333] James Garrison and Patsy Osmon, "Phoenix Indian School," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1992), Section 8, 12.
[334] Outside if the listed district, the 1931 former Elementary School Building, which exhibits Art Deco and Pueblo Revival influences, now serves as the Phoenix Indian School Visitor Center. See Mary Jo Tippeconnic Fox and Jason Tippeconnic Fox, "Phoenix Indian School Visitors Center [Arizona]," SAH Archipedia, eds. Gabrielle Esperdy and Karen Kingsley, https://sah-archipedia.org/buildings/AZ-01-013-0066-03 (accessed October 22, 2026).
[335] Mary Davis and John Norton, "Employees' New Dormitory & Club, Albuquerque Indian School," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1981).
[336] Ramona K. Bradley, "Administration Building, Sherman Institute," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1977).

DRAFT

school in 1976 and transfer of the land to the nineteen historically associated Pueblos, construction began to replace original facilities in 2000.[337]

In July 2026, the National Register-listed **Mount Pleasant Indian Industrial Boarding School** in Michigan, a key example of an off-reservation school situated east of the Mississippi River, received updated documentation to the national level of significance. Originally listed on February 28, 2018 (NRIS 100001795), at the state level of significance in the areas of education, Native American heritage, social history, and aboriginal and non-aboriginal historic archeology, Mount Pleasant's period of significance extends from 1855, date of the treaty establishing the Isabella Reservation, to 1934, with closure of the federal Indian boarding school.[338] By 1933, the campus boasted over fifty buildings, eleven of which were brick. Extant historic resources include six contributing buildings, four contributing sites, and two contributing structures within a 320-acre boundary. One noncontributing (ca. 1938) building dates to later use of the property as the Mount Pleasant State Home and Training School (Mount Pleasant Center) from 1934 to 2009.[1] Mount Pleasant represents a fairly intact designed campus core (despite loss of several buildings) in addition to a larger natural area and agricultural lands (absent agricultural support buildings). Noncontributing State Home buildings have been removed and the area graded in the last two years.

The **US Indian Industrial School in Genoa**, Nebraska was listed in the National Register (May 22, 1978, NRIS 78001706) at the national level of significance in the areas of Native American heritage, education, politics/government, social history and historic non-aboriginal archeology. In operation between 1884 and 1933, Genoa retains principally its historic employee housing, agricultural support facilities, a blacksmith shop, machine shed, and shop building.

Chemawa Indian School first opened in Forest Grove in 1880 before relocating to Salem, Oregon, in 1884. The second Chemawa Indian School Site was listed in the National Register in 1992 (NRIS 920013333) at the state level in the areas of Native American heritage and education. The nomination describes: "In recent years, approximately 50 acres of the school site were absorbed by alignment of an interstate freeway and overpass. Of the current 400 acres held in trust by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 86 acres are proposed for nomination to encompass the old campus area with its single remaining building [1907 hospital], the adjoining historic institutional farm area, and the cemetery."[339] Chemawa operated at this location from 1885 to 1945, with intermittent use until 1976. Most historic buildings were demolished in the late 1970s and it appears the 1907 hospital has since been demolished as well. Chemawa Indian School operates a modern high school on an adjacent site.

Located adjacent to Pipestone National Monument, the 1907 **Pipestone Indian School Superintendent's House** in Minnesota was listed in the National Register in 1993 (NRIS 93000232) at the state level under Native American heritage and education. The school operated from 1893 to 1953 and the campus site and a few additional historic buildings remain in use by the Minnesota West Community and Technical College (formerly Southwestern Vocational Technical Institute).

[337] "Our History," Santa Fe Indian School, https://www.sfis.k12.nm.us/why-sfis/our-history (accessed October 20, 2026).
[338] Sarah J. Hegyi, Sarah L. Surface-Evans, and Sharon Ferraro, "Mount Pleasant Indian Industrial Boarding School," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2014); "Mount Pleasant Indian Industrial Boarding School (Additional Documentation)," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2026).
[339] Bill Wilson with Lois R. Merritt, "Chemawa Indian School Site," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1992), Section 7, 2.

DRAFT

National Register-listed in 2006, the 1883 **Chilocco Indian Agricultural School in Oklahoma** is nationally and state significant in the areas of education, Native American heritage, politics/government, and architecture. As with Stewart, Chilocco remained open until 1980 and saw evolution over the course of changing federal Indian policy. The nomination describes a high number of contributing buildings constructed of local limestone and intact landscape features, but the district has suffered severely from neglect in recent years.[340]

Several other schools continue to evolve through continued operation. Opened in 1891 as **Pierre Indian School**, the Pierre Indian Learning Center in South Dakota now serves boarding students through the eighth grade at a reduced campus. The 1893 **Flandreau Indian School** in South Dakota possesses a good concentration surviving historic buildings set amid a small designed landscape in a green natural landscape very different from Stewart's arid surrounding. The 1908 **Wahpeton Indian School** (Circle of Nations Wahpeton Indian School) in North Dakota occupies a reduced acreage and new construction replaced original buildings between 1961 and 1971.[341] **Chamberlain Indian School** (1898) in South Dakota, became St. Joseph's boarding school in 1927. Administered by the Priests of the Sacred Heart), the campus no longer features original buildings from the earlier period.

School complexes adapted for other uses include the 1893 **Tomah Indian School** in Wisconsin, closed in 1941. Operated as the Tomah Veterans Administration Medical Center since 1947, several historic core buildings remain, many with replacement windows and modernization commensurate with medical uses. **Grand Junction Indian Boarding School** (also known as the Teller Institute) in Colorado operated between 1886 and 1911, with the campus reopening under state ownership in 1921 as the State Home and Training School for Mental Defectives (later State Home and Training School). In the 1970s, the campus became the Grand Junction Regional Center; although demolition occurred with changing use, three original buildings remained extant as of 2019.[342]

Off-reservation boarding school campuses that are no longer extant include **Fort Shaw**, Montana (1892-1910), **Fort Mojave**, Arizona (1890-1931), **Wittenberg** (1887-1933, first known as Bethany Indian Mission and School) in Wisconsin, and **Greenville**, California (1897-1920).

In the balance, the Stewart Indian Boarding School is a remarkably intact campus of one of the larger off-reservation boarding schools, exhibiting extant historic resources that represent all periods of its development and thus multiple phases of federal Indian policy. As a historic district, this collection of resources not only evokes the Native student experience but can reveal both government intentions and Native agency over time through its built environment. Stewart Indian Boarding School stands out among these comparable off-reservation Indian boarding school properties as an architecturally distinctive and highly intact and extensive campus district that retains a high level of integrity to illustrate its national significance under NHL Criteria 1, 4, and 5.

Federal Indian Boarding School National Historic Landmarks

Several federal Indian boarding schools are presently designated National Historic Landmarks. For the purposes of comparative analysis, as a long-lived off-reservation boarding school, Stewart Indian Boarding School

[340] Jim Gabbert, "Chilocco Indian Agricultural School," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2006).
[341] "Overview," Circle of Nations Wahpeton Indian School," https://www.circleofnations.org/ourpages/auto/2022/3/22/54031911/history-overview.pdf?rnd=1647979628584 (accessed October 20, 2026).
[342] Teller Institute Task Force, "Recommendations" (December 2021), https://cdhs.colorado.gov/teller-institute-task-force (accessed October 21, 2026); John Seebach, "Grand Junction Indian Boarding School," Colorado Encyclopedia, https://coloradoencyclopedia.org/article/grand-junction-indian-boarding-school (accessed October 21, 2026).

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outstandingly represents federal Indian education policy and practice over a ninety-year period and an extensive, intact campus featuring a distinctive, local architectural expression and Native workmanship. Other federal Indian boarding school properties represent a variety of time periods and institutional types, as described below.

Designated July 4, 1961, the **Carlisle Indian School NHL** in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, was one the first off-reservation schools to be founded by the US government and funded under an 1870 Congressional appropriation for federal Indian schools. Though not the first federal Indian boarding school, Carlisle is one of the most well-known. Adapting an existing Cavalry School complex, at Carlisle US Army Second Lieutenant Richard H. Pratt modeled the methods and curriculum that subsequent off-reservation boarding schools would follow, primarily as a result of Pratt's relentless self-promotion of his success.[343] In many ways, Stewart emulated Carlisle, showing what that model became over the course of the twentieth century. Carlisle operated from 1879 to 1918, housing more than 7800 children from 140 Tribes.[344] Following Pratt's death and closure of the school, the complex reverted to active military use, expanding in the 1930s with the addition of Army standard-design buildings. Of the thirty-five school buildings mapped in 1918, twenty-one remained at the time of NHL designation. As at Stewart, contributing historic resources at Carlisle relate to the breadth of administrative, educational, residential, vocational, and athletic functions of a campus complex. Also as at Stewart, Carlisle students themselves built the model house, gymnasium, grandstand, and athletic fields as part of their vocational education. Carlisle is a key comparative property, while Stewart's large purpose-built campus of seventy-nine purpose-built school resources shows how federal Indian boarding school campus design changed through the later twentieth century. Presidential Proclamation established the Carlisle Federal Indian Boarding School National Monument in 2024, while the complex remains an active military installation housing the US Army War College.

Fort Apache and Theodore Roosevelt School NHL in Fort Apache, Arizona was designated March 2, 2012. The property illustrates the transformation of a military fort used to defeat and control Native people into a tool for their cultural assimilation through education.[345] Fort Apache was one of fourteen such military installations that subsequently became part of the federal Indian boarding school system. The Fort Apache temporary camp was initially established in 1870, with several subsequent phases of construction and development following several fires. The school function began in 1923 with existing buildings converted to school use. Within seven years, new school buildings had been constructed specifically for school use. The White Mountain Apache Tribe assumed control of the curriculum in 1980. In 1992, the White Mountain Apache Tribe, in partnership with the Arizona State Historic Preservation Office and Bureau of Indian Affairs, developed a preservation and interpretation plan for the district. Today the Tribe actively manages the school (now targeted to grades 6-8) and historic site.[346]

Hampton Institute NHL, designated May 30, 1974, was founded in Hampton, Virginia, as the Hampton Normal and Industrial Institute in 1868. Initially founded by the American Missionary Association to educate young Black men and women, the school enrolled seventeen Native students and constructed a new dormitory for them in 1878. These first students were former Fort Marion prisoners of war who had been under the supervision of

[343] See Robert W. Craig, Constance M. Greiff, and Richard W. Hunter, "Carlisle Indian Industrial School" National Historic Landmark Nomination Form (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1984).
[344] National Park Service, "A New Monument," Carlisle Federal Indian Board School, January 23, 2025 (accessed January 20, 2026).
[345] John Welch, "Fort Apache and Theodore Roosevelt School," National Historic Landmark Nomination Form (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2011), https://irma.nps.gov/DataStore/DownloadFile/713499.
[346] Theodore Roosevelt School, "Our History: A Legacy of Education and Tradition," https://trswarriors.com/about/history/ (accessed April 13, 2026.

Richard Henry Pratt. The federal government financed Indian students at Hampton Institute through 1923.[347] During that time, over 1,400 Native students representing sixty-six Tribal groups attended Hampton.[348]

Designated July 4, 1961, **Haskell Institute** NHL in Lawrence, Kansas, was founded in 1884 as one of the first off-reservation boarding schools modeled directly on Carlisle. Haskell's first Native Superintendent, Dr. Henry Roe Cloud (Wonah'ilayhunka) served from 1933-1936 and refocused the curriculum on vocational training. Students from the southern Plains and upper Midwest attended. Haskell Institute became Haskell Indian Junior College in 1970.[349] Haskell became a university in 1993.[350] Twelve discontiguous historic buildings from the school's early operations are interspersed with more modern campus development.

Shawnee Mission NHL in Fairway, Kansas, was designated on May 23, 1968. Founded by the Shawnee Methodist Mission in 1830, the Indian Manual Labor School was one of the earliest west of the Mississippi River. Moving to this location in 1839, three extant brick buildings date from 1839 to 1845.[351] Although it was founded by the Missionary Society, the federal government provided funding, as did Shawnee Tribal Council. The Tribal Council had some influence over the school, which not only instructed students in vocational and domestic arts, but also included classes in Latin and Greek. Over two hundred students attended the school before it closed in 1862 after Shawnee Tribal Council withdrew funding.[352]

Sheldon Jackson School NHL in Sitka, Alaska, was designated on August 8, 2001. From 1883 into the next decade, the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions oversaw construction of a Sitka Industrial Training School complex, replaced in 1910-1911 by a formal academic quadrangle with Craftsman-style buildings designed by the architectural firm of William Orr Ludlow and Charles Samuel Peabody. Students assisted construction contractors in the labor on these buildings.[353] The school focused on the assimilation of Southeast Alaska Native students through 1944, when it became a junior college accepting non-Native students. The school closed in 2007.

Designated on December 21, 1965, **Wheelock Academy** NHL in McCurtain County, Oklahoma, opened as a mission school in 1832. The first Tribal academy founded under the Choctaw Nation's Education Act of 1842, the school operated as such until 1932, serving as the model for the Tribal school system established by the Five Civilized Tribes.[354] The campus was largely rebuilt between 1880 and 1884 following a catastrophic fire.

[347] Carol Ann Poh, "Hampton Institute," National Historic Landmark Nomination Form (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1974); NARA NHL Administrative File, 70, https://catalog.archives.gov/id/41679043.
[348] "Native American: Enduring Legacy Native Peoples, Native Arts," Hampton University Museum, https://home.hamptonu.edu/msm/native-american/ (accessed May 5, 2026).
[349] Stephen Lissandresslo, Cecil McKithen, and Sarah J. Pearce, with updates by Julie Corona, "Haskell Institute," National Historic Landmark Nomination Form (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1986), https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123863345.
[350] "Haskell History," Haskell Indian Nations University, https://haskell.edu/about/history/ (accessed April 20, 2026).
[351] Stephen Lissandrello, "Shawnee Mission," National Historic Landmark Nomination Form (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1978), https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123863355.
[352] Lissandrello, McKithen, and Pearce; NARA NHL Administrative File, George S. Cattanach, Jr., "National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings Special Report: Shawnee Mission, Kansas," March 21, 1968.
[353] Janet Clemens, et al., "Sheldon Jackson School," National Historic Landmark Nomination Form (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2001).
[354] Joseph Scott Mendinghall, "Wheelock Academy," National Historic Landmark Nomination Form (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1978), https://catalog.archives.gov/id/86510629.

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Wheelock became a United States Indian Service school in 1932, merging with Jones Academy and closing in 1955. The Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma now preserves and interprets the site.[355]

Stewart Indian School presents a case in the federal Indian boarding school system wherein the state acted on behalf of the federal government to establish a school. The school was established by an act of state legislature and entirely facilitated by state representatives; the federal government provided reimbursement once the school was completed. From the beginning, the Stewart curriculum emphasized vocational training. Both Carlisle and Fort Apache and Theodore Roosevelt schools were former US military installations converted into school facilities featuring curriculums that emphasized a military framework. Hampton Institute, Shawnee Mission, and Sheldon Jackson School were founded and/or funded partially by missionaries/missionary societies. Religious instruction played a prominent role at these institutions. The federal government established Haskell Institute modeled on Carlisle. Finally, the Choctaw Tribe founded Wheelock Academy and actively controlled it until 1932, following a strong Tribal commitment to academics. Among these schools, Stewart saw a particularly lengthy operation, while Hampton and Haskell pivoted to become colleges or universities while other facilities closed. Both Carlisle and Stewart used students to help construct stone buildings on campus, but Stewart's architectural distinction comes from its colorful, undressed stone selected and laid by Native stonemasons.

Summary

These national policies and programs created shared multigenerational trauma as students were forced to attend schools that actively silenced cultural expressions and forced children into manual labor. Families and communities fractured as their young leaders no longer could speak their languages, had their hair cut, and wore non-traditional clothes. Children growing up outside of their homes damaged kinship and severed traditional family dynamics. In some cases, those children grew to be parents who had no example of how parent-child relationships should or could be. Physical, spiritual, and emotional pain became a shared experience as multiple generations of families passed through the boarding school system. Histories of the schools are intertwined in individual Native histories, lived experiences, and voices, which are validated in exploring histories of these boarding schools.

At Stewart, relationships between the school administration and Native families illustrate the complexity of this system and provide insight into Native trauma response. The experiences of Stewart students, especially those in early years, were those of cultural, spiritual, and sometimes physical assault. However, Stewart students repeatedly demonstrated their tenacity and resilience in maintaining aspects of their Native identity throughout the entire length of the school's operation. As the school added more Native teachers and moved into the Self-Determination Era, Stewart's students, first as students who participated in sports and band, and later as alumni, were able to begin healing from these experiences. This work continues with the Stewart Cultural Center & Museum on campus.

Stewart Indian School's period of significance includes the entire time of its operation as a federal Indian boarding school from 1890 to 1980. The property is nationally significant under National Historic Landmark Criteria 1, 4, and 5 as an intact Federal Indian non-reservation boarding school campus illustrative of government efforts to culturally assimilate Native students through forcible removal, but also Native persistence and survival despite this generational trauma. The Stewart campus retains its core layout, designed landscape, and distinctive stone buildings constructed by Native stonemasons and students, intact reminders of the physical labor and multitude

[355] Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma, "Wheelock Academy: A Legacy of Education and Complexity," https://www.choctawnation.com/about/eps/brownfields/wheelock-academy-a-legacy-of-education-and-complexity/, accessed April 13, 2026.

of Native student experiences. As a collection, the historic resources of the largely intact campus reveal much about student daily life, evolution of Indian education policy, and Native student and staff contributions to development of the built environment of a federal off-reservation boarding school.

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6. PROPERTY DESCRIPTION AND STATEMENT OF INTEGRITY

Ownership of Property	Category of Property
Private:	Building(s):
Public-Local:	District: X
Public-State: X	Site:
Public-Federal:	Structure:
Tribal:	Object:

Number of Resources within Boundary of Property:

Contributing	Noncontributing
Buildings: 70	Buildings: 1
Sites: 3	Sites: 0
Structures: 3	Structures: 1
Objects: 3	Objects: 0
Total: 79	Total: 2

LOCATION AND SETTING

Stewart Indian School is located on property owned by the State of Nevada about 3.7 miles southwest of downtown Carson City, Nevada. The school property is approximately 0.22 miles south of I-580 and 0.58 miles east of Highway 395. Most of the areas immediately adjacent to the property remain undeveloped desert, which allows the property to maintain a feeling of separation from the rapidly developing areas of southern Carson City. Limited development to the northwest includes Washoe Tribal housing. The watchtower at the Northern Nevada Correctional Center is visible from the western edge of the property. Residential housing is also visible from some areas of Clear Creek at the southern boundary of the property.

Much of the land surrounding the Stewart historic district is held in trust for the Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California, though there are some privately owned parcels to the southeast and the American Baptist Home Missionary Society owns an adjacent parcel on the northwest. Most of this land was formerly a part of the Stewart Indian School property, and resources historically associated with the school, including a cemetery, churches, and a few school buildings are still located on some of these adjacent, non-state-owned properties.

The historic Stewart Indian School core campus consists of 110 acres of state-owned land with eighty-one extant resources, seventy-nine of which are contributing. The two noncontributing resources either lack either association with Stewart Indian School or were built outside of the period of significance. The majority of extant buildings and structures on campus were constructed between 1930 and 1939, during the tenures of Superintendents Frederick Snyder and Alida Bowler (see Table 4). Snyder designed several of the buildings, working with Native stonemasons to construct stone buildings rather than constructing wood buildings as earlier Stewart superintendents had. While the Department of the Interior constructed additional buildings in the 1940s, the same distinctive style of using native stone set in a dark mortar continued to be used at the school through the 1950s.

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The Stewart Indian School was listed in the National Register of Historic Places on September 18, 1985, at the state level of significance under Criteria A and C in the areas of Native American heritage, education, and architecture (NRIS 85002432).[356] The National Register boundary encompassed 109 acres, but of a slightly different contour that the proposed NHL boundary. Despite similar acreage, the present boundary provides additional precision and conforms only to parcels under State of Nevada ownership; of note, the boundary is clipped at the southwest corner in the vicinity of the track/football field), southeast corner (in the vicinity of the detention pond), and northeast corner (so as to follow Snyder Avenue). The National Register nomination inventoried eighty-three buildings, of which twenty were identified at the time as noncontributing due to date of construction. Resources 17, 37, 61, 62, 107, 116, 117, 118, 119, 129, 160, and 161 are now considered contributing due to the period of significance extending through 1980. Within the proposed boundary, Resources 66 (Poultry House, built 1939) and 38 (Night Watchman's House, built 1950) appear to have been demolished since the time of listing, as have Resources 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, and 85, these latter of which were located outside the current proposed boundary on the west side of Center Drive on lands held in trust by the Bureau of Indian Affairs for the Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California. Extant Resources 26 (Cottage, built 1937, USIS Plan No. A-227), 69 (Garage, built 1940, USIS Plan No. R-39) and 79 (Nurse's Cottage, built 1933) are located outside the boundary on Tribal trust lands. Other resources and sites account for approximately the same number of contributing resources in the proposed NHL, despite the differences described above.

***Table** 4 Number of buildings and structures constructed by decade*

1900-1909	1	Superintendent Calvin H. Asbury
1910-1919	2	Asbury (1), Superintendent James B. Royce (1)
1920-1929	12	Superintendent Frederick Snyder
1930-1939	31	Snyder (8), Superintendent Alida Bowler (16), Bowler/Superintendent Don C. Foster (8)
1940-1949	10	Foster (9)
1950-1959	1	Superintendent E. Reeseman Fryer/Superintendent Burton A. Ladd
1960-1969	12	Ladd/Superintendent Dale Baldwin/Joseph A. Zuni
1970-1979	3	Zuni/Superintendent William C. Whipple (acting)/Superintendent Van A. Peters/ Superintendent Mahlon Marshall

HISTORIC PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

With the state of Nevada's successful purchase of 223 acres of land from Ross and Miller in 1889, the U.S. government received two hundred acres of land under cultivation as well as nine buildings already constructed on the property. This allowed government-allocated funds from the June 1888 Appropriation Act for the Stewart School to be applied solely to property acquisition and schoolhouse construction.[357] Early reports mention two residences, a chicken house, barn, shed, and root house, which supplemented the two-story, wood-frame building with stylized Colonial Revival features constructed for student education and residence.

For the United States government, the presence of existing buildings was desirable. Not only did they avoid additional time and money for construction, but the property was already developing into what may have been

[356] Seavey, "Stewart Indian School," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form.
[357] OIA, *Sixty-first Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior*, 883-885; "The Indian School," *Morning Appeal*, December 25, 1888, 3.

considered a "civilized" space distinct from the natural environment. Students arriving at Stewart would have seen a property cleared of vegetation, under cultivation, and with modest buildings typical of White homesteading, all of which represented the assimilationist goals the government was espousing. The addition of a large, new, Colonial Revival style building elevated this concept further, suggesting there were different levels of civilization to which students could aspire while subtly reinforcing the idea that the government had a moralistic ideal in providing Indian education. As a result, the nascent campus landscape was both functional and symbolic, drawing a distinction between what the government perceived as civilized and what it perceived as primitive (Native architecture and culture).[358]

When the school opened in 1890, Superintendent W.D.C. Gibson began additional construction and existing building repair almost immediately. Gibson was ambitious but had a limited budget for these improvements. As a result, he used a mixture of contractors, day laborers, and student labor to complete projects. Contractors built the water tower and installed plumbing. Students assisted in finishing buildings; Gibson notes that White day laborers taught male students how to paint the building roofs and walls.[359] Several new frame buildings rose along with corrals, pens, gravel drives and walks, and a picket fence. Gibson also installed a grassy lawn and planted 176 shade and ornamental trees, 160 fruit trees, and twenty rose bushes.[360] The following year, students undertook additional construction work, including building a cupola on the main school building, adding a floor to the root house and stable, constructing a flume for irrigation, as well as excavating two hundred yards of hard earth, and creating walkways, all activities requiring a significant amount of manual labor and that were not necessarily safe activities without danger for children.[361] These early efforts echoed those at other Indian boarding schools in using student labor and in separating campus spaces such as yards from fields or natural areas by means of fences, roads, and walks that were self-contained within the campus grounds.[362]

Over the next few decades, additional buildings were added at Stewart, and the school acquired additional lands, including a tract of off-campus farmland at Jack's Valley about six miles from the Stewart campus. Records are not consistent about the exact acreage utilized by the school versus the number of acres that were considered farmland or pastureland (see Table 5). On the main campus, improvements included planting new vegetation as well as building construction. The vegetation consisted of non-native species, such as the Lombardy poplars that were planted around the new buildings for shade beginning in 1903.[363] By 1919, with significant effort from the Native students who provided labor under the guise of education, the campus had transformed significantly, with fifty-three frame buildings on campus and the virtual elimination of native vegetation in favor of non-native species.

Table 5 *Stewart Campus: Historic References to Acreage*

Year	Acreage	Additional Information
1890	223	Purchased from Ross and Miller.

[358] K. Tsianina Lomawaima, "'All Our People Are Building Houses': The Civilization of Architecture and Space in Federal Indian Boarding Schools," in *Indian Subjects: Hemispheric Perspectives on the History of Indigenous Education,* edited by Brenda J. Child and Brian Klopotek (School for Advanced Research Press, 2014), 155, 163.
[359] OIA, *Sixtieth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior: 1891* (Government Printing Office, 1891), 570-571.
[360] OIA, *Sixtieth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior: 1891,* 570-571.
[361] OIA, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior: 1892,* 677.
[362] Lomawaima, "All Our People Are Building Houses," 155-157.
[363] Seavey, "Stewart Indian School,", 16, 46.

Year	Acreage	Additional Information
1895	240	Annual Commissioner's report notes the farm is "about 240 acres."
1897	278	Purchased an additional thirty-eight acres for grazing and a boys' playground.
1898	280	Annual Commissioner's report notes Stewart has "approximately 280 acres."
1899	270	Annual Commissioner's report notes "the farm consists of about 270 acres."
1900	270	Annual Commissioners report notes the farm is 170 acres.
1901	270	
1902	270	
1903	279	Stewart Annual Report says there are 279 acres of land with eighty under cultivation.
1904	309.92	In 1903 the school bought 39.92 acres of land from Frank M. Norton and wife. This was for pipeline right-of-way for irrigation.
1911	320	Annual Commissioners report lists total lands (irrigated and non-irrigated) at 320 acres.
1912	724	Annual Commissioners report lists a total of 724 acres of school lands.
1913	686	Annual Commissioners report lists 686 acres of school lands.
1915	686	Carson Annual Report notes that the school farm is 686 acres, and that the school owns 160 acres located five miles away in Clear Creek Canyon as well as 160 acres located two miles away in the foothills.
1920	686.82 (663.82 acres of farmland)	Carson Annual Report states acreage of 682.82 acres.

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Year	Acreage	Additional Information
1923	686.82	Carson Annual Report states the school land comprises 686.82 acres.
1924	686	Carson Annual Report notes that the farm is 686 acres.
1925	686.2 (640 acres school farm)	Carson Annual Report lists 686.2 acres for school lands.
1929	687	Carson Annual Report states there are 687 acres of school land.
1930	862	Carson Annual Report states there are 862 acres of school land.
1931	687	Carson Annual Report states there are 687 acres of school land.
1932	687	Carson Annual Report states 687 acres of school lands.
1933	862	Carson Annual Report notes there are 862 acres of school land.
1934	687	Carson Annual Report notes the school farm is 687 acres.

It is unknown how much technical instruction was occurring and who was overseeing early building projects and maintenance, as a 1915 visit from the Special Indian Agent for the Office of Indian Affairs noted the school buildings were extremely unsafe. He documented that nearly all buildings needed extensive repair, and had poor ventilation, were at high fire risk, and had unsanitary baths and toilets. He also recommended abandoning the old main building due to dangerous conditions.[364] In response to these concerns, Superintendent Royce moved many of the wood frame residences to a new area and bulldozed older and no longer functional buildings.[365] Resource 162 (Student Infirmary) survives from this period and remains in its original location.

The deterioration of school property built between 1890 and 1919 began to reverse during the tenure of Superintendent Frederick Snyder (1919-1934). Snyder actively pursued funding for repairs and safety improvements. Instead of wood frame construction, Snyder decided to erect stone buildings, having been inspired by a stone church in Fort McDowell, Arizona (and likely in no small part for better fire protection).[366] Snyder had served as the assistant superintendent at the Phoenix Indian School and brought Hopi stone masons to Stewart to

[364] Seavey, "Stewart Indian School," 47.
[365] Seavey, "Stewart Indian School," 48.
[366] "Colored Stone Buildings at Stewart Indian School Were Superintendent's Idea," *Reno Gazette Journal*, February 9, 1934, 7.

help with construction.[367] Research has not yet fully identified the identities of these stonemasons. Students served as apprentices. While it is remarkable that Snyder sought out Native stonemasons, anthropologist K. Tsianina Lomawaima observes that the White public typically viewed Pueblo architecture as being more civilized than other Native forms, and thus, hiring or working with Hopi stonemasons may have been a compromise that allowed cheaper labor and still provided a desirable result.[368]

Based on design plans, Snyder designed several of the early buildings.[369] Much of Snyder's work was influenced by the Arts and Crafts aesthetic popular in the United States in the early twentieth century, in particular the Craftsman style. While the materials remained the same, as the Department of the Interior began designing more buildings, more formal design influences were evident. A few buildings show influences that include Georgian Revival and Neoclassical, high-style architecture often used for permanent government offices and institutions. Historian Kent Seavey ascribes Beaux Arts influences to the institutional buildings the Department of the Interior architects designed, notably the kitchen building.[370] However, regardless of design, Stewart buildings were largely constructed of undressed native stone (with the exception of the bakery and the kitchen/dining hall), comparatively "primitive" in contrast to refined ashlar stonework found on a few of the buildings.

Snyder worked with Frank Bobb, a former Stewart student turned dairyman and member of the Shoshone Tribe, to select the stone for the buildings.[371] Though Snyder's vision included using colorful native stone, Bobb would have chosen the exact stones for use, likely with student assistance. Students collected the rock from local quarries, hauling them in an old truck.[372] This provided students with an opportunity to select materials and colors that may have had significance in their own cultures. Students also worked with stonemasons to construct the buildings. This effort was initially led by the Hopi stonemasons, but it is worth noting that even after the school hired White stonemasons, like James (Jim) Christopher from nearby Carson City, the same materials continued to be used. It appears Snyder hired Christopher in association with the construction of the Administration Building (Resource 1) sometime around 1923.[373]

During the Snyder years, other improvements included extensive tree, shrubbery, and flower plantings as well as installation of a swimming pool in front of the Main Building (Resource 1). By 1922, the campus was surrounded by a border of annuals and perennials including petunia, aster, candy tuft, phlox, marigold, zinnia, dahlia, verbena, sweet pea, snapdragon, larkspur, foxglove, scabiosa, coreopsis, sweet alyssum, Shasta daisy, hollyhock, cosmos, wild bergamot (beebalm), pansy, galliards, golden glow, Canterbury bell, ageratum, geranium, and nasturtium as well as others.[374] As noted above, these improvements starkly contrasted the campus from the surrounding arid

[367] "Rides Through Wilds to Visit Indians," *Arizona Daily Star*, March 5, 1911, 4; "Stewart Indian School History," http://www.stewartindianschool.com/history/.
[368] Lomawaima, "All Our People Are Building Houses."
[369] Seavey, "Stewart Indian School," 2-16.
[370] Seavey, "A Completion Report on the Historic Resources Inventory," 52.
[371] "Stewart Building Program Calls for Spending $100,000," *Reno Gazette-Journa*l, February 4, 1934, 10; "Colored Stone Buildings at Stewart Indian School Were Superintendent's Idea," *Reno Gazette Journal*, February 9, 1934, 7. Frank Bobb appears in the 1910 Ormsby County Census Record as an eighteen-year-old student at "Carson Indian Training School." The 1918 school yearbook indicates he was a dairyman, and by 1920, the Ormsby County Census shows he had married and living and working at Stewart as a laborer. However, according to the 1930 Ormsby County Census he and his family lived off campus, though Frank continued to work for the school as a truck driver.
[372] McCue, "The Man Who Found Beauty in Rocks" *Reno Evening Gazette*, January 27, 1962, 2. See also *Desert Braves* (1972): "Most of the buildings at Stewart are made of native stone which the students helped haul back in the 1920's. Other employees hauled stones from the gold mines in Virginia City and Prison rock quarry to erect the lovely rock homes on campus."
[373] Seavey, "Stewart Indian School," 6; Seavey, "A Completion Report on the Historic Resources Inventory," 51. Seavey also notes that very little is known about Christopher other than that he was from a stonemason family in Kansas and he, his brother, and brother-in-law worked for a small firm that also ran a quarry south of Virginia City.
[374] Superintendent Annual Report (1922), 7, NARA.

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landscape, reinforcing the idea that this cultivated environment was distinct and separate from the natural environment. The campus layout exhibits elements typical of educational complexes, such as grassy quads or commons in and around the central campus buildings, and at one time, arbors over pathways between buildings. Stewart's placement of buildings in parallel rows with walks connecting them and trees interspersed throughout resembles many contemporary state land-grant college campuses.[375]

The landscape has remained largely the same since Snyder's tenure, although the swimming pool has been filled in and construction continued (though at a much slower pace) through 1978. Two buildings (Resources 37 and 61) were constructed in the 1950s, and several others in the 1960s and 1970s (see Table 7 below).[376] Notwithstanding, aerial photographs from 1954, 1964, and 1972 show the campus as largely unchanged. It stands out amid the surrounding landscape as a highly developed locale set against undeveloped native land; as an alumni noted when arriving at Stewart for the first time via bus, "it was the only green spot on the landscape."[377]

PRESENT PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

The 110-acre historic district consists of an irregularly shaped parcel that lies directly south of Snyder Road. The primary entrance to the school grounds is via Jacobsen Way, which leads from Snyder Road into the campus and wraps around the Administration Building (Resource 1). Jacobsen Way runs roughly northeast-southwest along the east side of the campus, transitioning to become Mark Twain Avenue (Jacobsen Way) at the infirmary (Resource 162). Center Drive and Tahoe Road, which respectively form the western and northwestern boundaries of the district, provide indirect access. Center Drive was originally part of the Stewart campus, and a 1954 aerial photograph shows it continued across Clear Creek into an area that also would have been part of campus at that time. The Superintendent's Cottage and staff residences can both be accessed via turnoffs from Center Drive. Other properties formerly part of the Stewart campus but now part of Washoe Tribal trust lands can also be accessed via Center Drive. The core campus contains seventy-nine contributing resources, including the designed landscape historically associated with the construction, development, and operation of the campus from 1890-1980 as well as potential archaeological deposits spanning the entire period of significance. Two resources are determined to be noncontributing due to lack of historic association.

Comparison of a 1920 map of the sewer system and 1954 aerial photographs show that the campus configuration has not substantially changed since that time. One of the most significant changes during the property's historic use is that, prior to the construction of the Administration Building (Resource 1), a main building was located between the boys' and girls' dormitories at the center of campus. More recent (modern) construction is located around the edges of campus as additions to the existing layout. The campus layout consists of four paved roads forming a rectangle around the campus core, and a fifth paved road (Mark Twain Avenue or Jacobsen Way) leading to the southern edge of the property, where the road around the edges of campus transitions to gravel. Most academic and residential buildings line either side of the paved roads, with gravel roads connecting to the agricultural and mechanical (support) buildings at the edges.

The eastern portion of the campus houses most student academic and residential resources (e.g. dorms, office, classrooms, infirmary, and auditorium), with buildings supporting campus infrastructure (e.g. garages, boiler plant, pump house) along the eastern edge of the property. While the buildings on the property margins are surrounded by paved or gravel parking areas, the campus buildings related to education and residence feature manicured grassy lawns. A paved road flanked by sidewalks, non-native trees, and non-historic pedestrian lighting

[375] Laurie Olin, "The Campus: An American Landscape," *Site Lines: A Journal of Place*, 8, no. 2 (Spring 2013): 4.
[376] Seavey, "Stewart Indian School," Section 7, 2.
[377] Interview with Lewis, Gonzales, and Gonzales, August 28, 2024.

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runs between the educational buildings and dormitories. Moving west, the buildings are associated with the historic vocational components of the Stewart curriculum, including the school laundry, shop, sewing room, as well as staff residences. Vegetation has not been as well maintained in this area, with some manicured lawn, and some areas where there is dirt either without vegetation or with sparse native vegetation. Two main paved streets lined with sidewalks, non-native trees, and pedestrian lighting traverse the western portion of campus, connecting it with the east.

The area of campus south of Gibson Avenue contains athletic fields and agricultural resources, including the dairy and horse barns. Native vegetation is dominant in these areas and thickens approaching Clear Creek to the south. At the northwest corner of campus, the property borders a parcel owned by the American Baptist Home Missionary Society which contains a church and related residences once occupied by missionaries.

The bulk of resources associated with the school exist on property now owned by the state, with the exception of a few former school-related resources that include the Corpus Christi Catholic church, Stewart Community Church (Baptist mission), nurse's cottage, an employee cottage, and a garage on Washoe Tribal trust lands, in addition to discontiguous former school agricultural lands at Jack's Valley Ranch, approximately 3.5 miles southwest of the Stewart campus (also on Washoe Tribal trust lands). Photographs of these six historically associated built resources from the public right-of-way are included with other current photographs accompanying this nomination, although the buildings on Washoe Tribal trust lands are not included in the nomination.

While there are extant wood frame buildings at Stewart, the majority are constructed of distinctive multicolored stone with dark mortar. The locally quarried stone includes a variety of rocks and minerals (see Table 6). The mortar takes its color from coal dust or lamp black mixed into the mortar.[378]

Table 6 Sample of Stone Material used to construct Stewart Indian School Buildings[379]

Rock or Mineral Type	Resource Number
Quartz	1
Sandstone	2
Opal	2
Thinolite	3
Malachite	6
Ferricrete	6
Dacite porphyry	18, 2
Metamorphosed basalt with epidote	89
Quartz crystals	89
Rhyolite tuff	12, 44, 89, 90
Basalt	13
Tufa	90
Andesite lahar	90
Rhyolite tuff (ignimbrite)	90
Azurite	46
Granodiorite	47
Chrysocolla	20

[378] Corpus Christi Catholic Church, "The Story and History."
[379] DT Burns and the Stewart Indian School Cultural Center & Museum, "Stewart Indian School Rock Scavenger Hunt," Stewart Indian School & Cultural Museum, 2021.

Rock or Mineral Type	Resource Number
Goethite	46
Andesite	47
Tourmaline	90
Vesicular basalt	90

The majority of Stewart's stone buildings are single story, with the exception of the barns, some shop buildings, the auditorium, and the gymnasium. They share distinctive design elements that include crenelated decorative chimneys, decorative quoins, and gabled or hipped roofs. Most retain their original wood windows with flat arches and concrete lintels. A few buildings exhibit high-style architectural influences, but most espouse a more rustic aesthetic focused on the natural materials of stone and wood.

Building function and construction dates presented in the narrative below derive from the 1985 National Register of Historic Places nomination, superintendents' annual reports, annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, current and historical aerial photographs, architectural plan sets, and contemporary newspaper accounts. The resource numbers used in this nomination are those assigned in the National Register nomination for consistency and ease of reference. New numbers have been assigned to those resources not previously recorded (e.g. football field and track, stone fence posts). Descriptions begin with resources located in the central campus between Jacobsen Way and Wa-Pai-Shone Avenue, then move to the western section of campus. Resource descriptions for the eastern edge of campus then follow, and finally resources in the southern section of campus.

CENTRAL CAMPUS

Administration Building (now Stewart Cultural Center & Museum), Resource 1, 1 Jacobsen Way, 1923/1928/1938, contributing building, designed by Frederick Snyder, with additions by US Indian Service, Department of the Interior (USIS Plan No. L-26)

The 1922-1923 Administration Building is a one and one-half story, H-plan, undressed native stone building with a cross-gable roof clad in asphalt shingle.[380] Two slightly tapering stone chimneys with jagged stone crenelations (created with individual stones as a decorative element) are present in the eastern ells of the building. The chimneys are asymmetrically placed, with the northernmost chimney centered in the east ell and the southernmost chimney situated in the northernmost portion of the west ell. Gable ends are clad in wood fish-scale shingles, and Craftsman-influenced stickwork is present in the central and northeast gables. A shed-roof porch with exposed rafter ends and paired wood supports shelters a ten-light single entry with a five-light sidelight and a fixed single-light transom. Three sets of ten-light double casement windows flank the entrance on either side. Fenestration in the remainder of the building consists of multi-light double casement windows, replacement six-over-six aluminum windows, and fixed single-light and nine-light windows. Window openings are topped with flat stone arches and have concrete sills. The basement is accessible via stairs on the southwest side.

[380] The Stewart Indian Cultural Center & Museum holds an architectural drawing by H. H. Steinbrucker dated April 1922. Steinbrucker also drew the plans for the Assembly Hall at the US Indian School in Phoenix, Arizona, dated September 1921. See Bernard M. Boyle, "Phoenix Indian School, Phoenix, Maricopa County, Arizona," Historic American Buildings Survey Report [HABS No. AZ-145] (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1993). Harold H. Steinbrucker is listed as an Indian Office Clerk in Washington, DC in *Official Register of the United States 1919 Directory* (Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1920), 1183. He is subsequently listed as Department of the Interior draftsman, see *Hutchinson's Washington and Georgetown Directory* (R. L. Polk & Company, 1923), 1481.

Alterations and integrity: This building has been altered since construction, largely during the period of significance. Early photos show the building as a Craftsman-influenced modified T-plan building. A porch was situated under the gable end on the façade, supported by stone and wood supports. Access was via double multi-light doors. The east façade also had concrete steps with low stone walls leading to double-entry multi-light doors and six-over-six double-hung windows. Casement windows were present in the gable ends. By 1928, drawings indicate the entire porch had been enclosed. Sometime prior to 1930, the chimney was moved from the west ell to the east ell, and a new shed roof porch was added along the full length of the façade. The porch was supported by stone columns. An addition was completed ca. 1938 that added a second ell and a basement, creating the current H-plan configuration. In 1968, the double entry doors were changed to a single door with sidelight.

Interior modifications were made throughout the history of the building as its function changed from the Superintendent's Office and Administration building to the Novake (student union and store) to its current function as a cultural and community center for Stewart alumni. The 1938 addition in particular was accompanied by changes in interior configuration. These changes included removing a wall and extending another in the northeast ell to create one larger room out of two smaller rooms, narrowing the entrance lobby, adding windows, benches, and shelves to two offices, and replacing an exterior window with a door into the new addition.

In 1940, walls were rearranged in the addition to create two new offices and the hallway partition reconfigured. An interior door and window were demolished to add a built-in cabinet. Three years later, the addition underwent additional interior wall reconfiguration to create new offices and utility rooms. In the original part of the building, a set of stairs was added to the ground floor along with a supply closet. These stairs were removed in 1968. Other alterations that year included relocating restrooms one room over, adding columns, changing the main entry to a single door with sidelight, and demolishing some walls. The 2019-2020 renovations prior to the building opening as the Stewart Cultural Center & Museum saw many historic interior features retained, including the stairs to the ground floor, reconstruction of the front porch, and rehabilitation of historic doors and windows.

The addition and alterations to Resource 1 are largely historic and occurred in response to the needs of the school and student body. The overall character of the building is intact. Recent reuse sought to preserve and return the interior to its historic configuration.

Post Office, Resource 2, 5500 Snyder Avenue, 1925, contributing building, designed by Frederick Snyder

This resource is a single-story, square-plan, native stone building with a wood-shingled clipped gable (jerkinhead) roof with exposed rafter ends and strongly projecting to the north and south. Gable ends are clad in wood fish-scale shingles. A stone end chimney extends from the center of the rear side and is capped with cut and faced stone. Buff-colored quoins are present on the building and chimney corners. Two sets of double casement windows are on the east and west sides while single casement windows are present on either side of the chimney on the rear side and to the west of the single entry on the façade. Wood-frame window openings are capped with native stone flat arches and sills. A cornerstone engraved with "1925" is at the southeast corner of the building, and a stone engraved "U.S. Post Office Stewart, Nev." sits over the flat arch above the entry.

Minor alterations include a replacement door and window on the façade. In addition, the building now sits on a raised, poured concrete slab that serves as a grade separation, extends as a loading dock to the south, and leaves the east building foundation exposed to show the masonry work.

Superintendent's Cottage, Resource 3, 5366 Snyder Avenue (State of Nevada Department of Native American Affairs), 1930, contributing building, designed by Frederick Snyder

The Superintendent's Cottage is a one-and-one-half story, U-plan, native stone building with a cross-gable roof and exposed rafter ends. The building is set on a high foundation due to the changing slope of the site. Gable ends are clad in decorative fish-scale shingles. The northeastern gable end has a pair of multi-light casement windows. Three stone chimneys with crenellations are evident on the east, north, and west sides. Craftsman influence is evident in a full-length shed roof with wood posts and stone column porch supports connected by decorative wood balustrades. To the south an open-air pergola is partially protected by a half-height stone wall connecting to the building. A single bay garage is accessed underneath the pergola on the west side. An interior courtyard formed by the U-plan and a short exterior wall features a built-in masonry outdoor fireplace and partial flagstone paving. Decorative stone quoins are present at building corners. Windows consist of paired multi-light casement windows of varying sizes. Native stone flat arches and concrete sills structure the windows. A metal shingle roof has been added to this building. Accessibility ramps appear to have been recently installed on the east. An interior mantelpiece surround in the living area features original decorative brickwork.

Superintendent's Guest House, Resource 4, 1938, contributing building

This resource is a single-story rectangular-plan building with a gable roof and exposed rafter ends. The roof appears to be clad in asphalt shingle. The gable ends are clad in wood shingle with rectangular louvered vents. A partial-length, shed-roof porch shelters paired single entries. The porch is partially enclosed with frame supports and vertical wood siding. Decorative quoins are present at the building corners. Multi-light casement windows are topped by flat arches of native stone and framed by concrete sills. According to the National Register documentation, the porch was added in 1964.

Small Girls' Dormitory, Resource 6, 5587 Wa-Pai-Shone Avenue (Nevada Peace Officers Standards and Training), 1930, contributing building, USIS Plan No. F-110

The Small Girls' Dormitory is a one-and-a-half-story, irregular-plan building with a hipped roof and set on a high foundation. Hipped dormers with rectangular louvered vents are present. Georgian Revival influences are apparent in the pedimented porch supported by fluted columns with Tuscan capitols and cornice and frieze detailing along the eave line. The central portion of the building has paired six-over-six aluminum windows framed by native stone arches anchored by keystones. Windows are supported by concrete sills. On the north and south wings flanking the central portion of the building, windows are topped with native stone flat arches and supported by concrete sills. Entry is by means of stairs to single metal doors, one on each wing and at center. Flat arches surmount the wing entries. A stone arch with keystone tops the main entry under the pedimented porch.

Original casements were replaced in 1978 with aluminum-frame windows, and the metal doors are also replacements. The current photograph shows installation in process of accessibility ramps on the main façade.

Superintendent's Garage, Resource 8, 1930, contributing, building, designed by Frederick Snyder

This resource is a single-story, rectangular-plan native stone garage with a gable roof and exposed rafter ends. The roof is clad in metal shingle. The gable ends are clad in wood fish-scale shingles and rectangular louvered vents are present. Decorative piers of dressed stone mark the garage bays. Access is via three garage bay doors on the north façade and a single entry on the east side. The sides feature recessed windows that have been covered. Windows are topped by flat arches and supported by concrete sills.

The National Register nomination notes that the garage was converted into office space in 1963, and at that time, the bays were infilled with native stone. However, the appearance of the bays suggests the native stone was removed, although the bays remain infilled.

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Cottage, Resource 9, 1939, contributing building, US Indian Service, Department of the Interior (USIS Plan No. A-223-2)

This resource is a single-story, L-plan native stone cottage with a cross-gable roof and exposed rafter ends. A single chimney with a flat top is centered in the southeast gable end. Gable ends are clad in horizontal wood planks. Dressed stone quoins are present on building corners. A partial-width entry porch accessed by three steps is present inset in the façade, supported by wood posts. A small wood balustrade is present. An additional small shed-roof porch flanks the chimney with wood post supports and a wood balustrade. Access is through single-entry doors. Windows are multi-light casements with concrete lintels and sills.

Principal's Cottage, Resource 11, 1925, contributing building, designed by Frederick Snyder

The Principal's Cottage is a single-story, rectangular-plan native stone building with a clipped gable wood shingle roof with a projecting clipped cross gable on the north side. Gable ends are clad in fish-scale wood shingle. Two massive stone end chimneys are on the north and east. The east side is entirely clad in wood shingle. A partial-width open porch is present on the west façade punctuated by two stone piers. Access is via a single entry on the west. Windows topped with flat stone arches and concrete sills have been covered with wood.

The National Register nomination notes a porch was removed from the north side. In addition, the shingle cladding of the west side may suggest a previous alteration.

Girls' Dormitory "La Manzanita," Resource 12, 5360 Wai-Pai-Shone Avenue, 1941, contributing building, US Indian Service, Department of the Interior (USIS Plan No. F-145)

The Girls' Dormitory is a single-story, H-plan, native stone building with a gable roof and broad cornices at the eave line. Gable ends are clad with wood shake and contain circular louvered vents. Corners are marked by native stone quoins. Windows are eight-light fixed transoms over multi-light casement windows topped by flat arches and supported by concrete sills. On the northeast along the easternmost portion of the wing, the fenestration pattern changes to fixed four-light transoms over multi-pane casement windows. Two sets of three adjacent windows with fixed four-pane transoms between two fixed two-light transoms topping multi-light casement windows are next to the single entries on this façade. Single entries on all sides are replacement metal doors with a narrow vertical viewing pane. A basketball court fills the courtyard between Resources 12 and 13.

Girls' Dormitory, Resource 13, 13 Jacobsen Way, 1941, contributing building, US Indian Service, Department of the Interior (USIS Plan No. F-145)

Located behind and identical to Resource 12, this building consists of a single-story, H-plan, native stone building with a low gable roof and broad cornices at the eave line. Gable ends are clad with wood shake and contain circular louvered vents. Corners are marked by native stone quoins. Windows in the ells are eight-light fixed transoms over multi-light casement windows topped by flat arches and supported by concrete sills. Four-light fixed transoms over multi-light casement windows framed by flat arches and concrete sills line the central portion of the building. Single door entries are on the northeast, northwest, and southwest sides. A basketball court sits between Resources 13 and 12. The original roof has been replaced with asphalt shingle.

The interior of Resource 13 retains original features including intact tile and fixtures in bathrooms and wood cabinets and fixtures in the kitchen. Radiators are present throughout. The interior showcases several pieces of original artwork created by students. Several hand-painted murals are present, including those depicting Native American portraits and geese.

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Wa-Pai-Shone Trading Post, Resource 14, 1939, contributing building

Resource 14 is a single-story native stone building with a gable roof and exposed rafters. Gable ends are clad in wood shingle. Simple wood posts support a partial-width, recessed porch that provides access to a single-entry wood door. Most windows have been covered with wood, but visible windows are six-over-six single-hung. Windows feature flat native stone arches and concrete sills. A frame rear addition (date unknown) sits on a concrete foundation. Part of this addition has a shed roof while part has a gable roof with exposed rafter ends. The addition appears to date to the period of significance. The National Register nomination as well as a 1944 campus map identifies this building as the trading post. However, the Stewart Indian School Cultural Center & Museum also holds historic photographs in its collection identifying an additional stone building with trading post signage. Additional research is warranted to describe the installation and growth of the cooperative enterprise on campus and at what date the latter building was demolished. The 1944 map does indicate a small "School Store" at the current location of the 1964 Classroom Building (Resource 17); the building can also be seen in a 1956 yearbook photograph.

Kitchen and Dining Hall, Resource 15, 1923 (1942 addition), contributing building, designed by Frederick Snyder with US Indian Service, Department of the Interior (addition)

This is a single-story, cross-plan, sandstone building with a hipped asphalt shingle roof. Wood hipped roof dormers are present on the northwest and southeast. Red sandstone quoins are present on the building corners. Double ashlar belt courses wrap around the lower half of the building. A shed-roof porch with wood supports on a concrete slab is present on the south side of the west wing. Windows have been covered, with only one visible aluminum frame window showing. Flat arches with red sandstone accents top the windows. Like Resource 19, the sandstone was reportedly salvaged from the Benton Livery Stable in Carson City after a 1902 fire.[381]. According the National Register nomination, this was the first masonry building constructed on the Stewart campus.

The interior of the building is intact, although many windows have been replaced with aluminum frame. The exceptions are those in the employee dining room which feature fanlights over two-over-two casement windows. Original light and heating fixtures remain along with mixing equipment. The student dining room exhibits artwork, student-painted Native-inspired window surrounds.

The original plan for the kitchen and dining room building was a "T" rather than a cross. The west portion was added in 1942 during the period of significance.

Girls' Dormitory, Resource 16, 1942, contributing building, US Indian Service, Department of the Interior (USIS Plan No. F-147)

Resource 16 is a single-story, U-plan, native stone building with a complex-cross gable roof. Gable ends are clad in wood shingle and contain circular louvered vents. A narrow pedimented porch supported by wood piers surmounts the single-entry door on the southwest façade. Multi-light casement windows are topped by flat arches and supported by concrete sills.

Classroom Building, Resource 17 (Nevada Department of Corrections), 1964, contributing building, US Indian Service, Department of the Interior

[381] Seavey, "Stewart Indian School," notes that the stone was recycled from the stable. From at least 1916 on, the City Council debated what to do about the "dangerous" conditions associated with the stable walls according to several newspaper accounts.

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This two-story, L-plan brick and concrete Classroom Building features a flat roof with shallow north and south parapets. Exhibiting International Style design influences, this building was one of the last constructed on campus and reflects mid-century classroom design. Windows consist of fixed rectangular transoms above aluminum frame fixed plate glass. Windows are divided by slender pilasters and contrast with the brick massing of the building corners and entry bay. Accessed by a broad flight of five stairs, entry is via two single glass-and-metal doors on the northeast façade. While this resource does not replicate the style of most buildings on campus, its classrooms represent the longevity of the Stewart school and its changing role in Native education. "Stewart Indian School" aluminum lettering once figured on the brick panel to the left of the main entrance.[382]

Garage, Resource 18 (Law Enforcement Center), 1936, contributing building

This single-story, rectangular-plan, native stone and wood-frame building sits on a concrete foundation and is covered by an asphalt-shingle gable roof. Gable ends are clad in horizontal wood plank and contain rectangular louvered vents. Originally constructed as a garage, the six bays have been infilled with wood plank and fixed single or paired aluminum windows to serve as office space. Flat stone arches top the former bays. Access is via single-entry metal doors on the east façade.

Bakery, Resource 19, 1926, contributing building, designed by Frederick Snyder

The historic Bakery is a single-story, rectangular-plan sandstone building with irregular square-cut ashlar stonework and a hipped pressed metal roof with a round metal vent at its peak. Dressed red sandstone quoins emphasize the building corners. An ashlar beltcourse wraps around the building at the window bases, doubling as a sill. Windows (paired on the sides) have been boarded over. These feature flat arches with red sandstone accents. Access is via single door entries on the northeast and southwest sides. On the west, a straight stack stone end chimney had been dismantled to the eave line (with an inset metal chimney now in place). The National Register nomination notes that the stone chimney originally rose to a sheet metal stack. A wood sign hangs over the entrance on the southwest façade that identifies the building as the United States Post Office. According to the National Register nomination, the sandstone here was salvaged from Benton Stable in Carson City.

The interior is largely intact with an open plan, tile floor, pressed tin ceiling, and original doors. Windows are wood-frame six-over-six single-hung or aluminum. Student graffiti from various generations has been carved into the wide interior windowsills. Light fixtures have been replaced with fluorescent lighting. In the 1960 *Desert Braves* yearbook, this building is identified as in use for arts and crafts.

Gymnasium, Resource 20, 1938, contributing building, US Indian Service, Department of the Interior (USIS Plan No. K-30)

This two-story, native stone, rectangular-plan building served as the Stewart gymnasium. It features an asphalt shingle gable roof behind a short parapet. One-story, native stone, flat-roof wings are on the northwest and southeast sides. Rough limestone quoins are found at the building corners. Ashlar limestone beltcourses wrap around the building at both levels atop the windows. Fenestration varies, with six-light awning windows over three-light fixed windows, four-light awning windows over two fixed windows, and six-light awning windows framed by fixed three-light windows at the top and bottom, the latter mainly on the southeast side. Access is via single-entry metal doors on the west and east and a paired entry on the north.

[382] *Desert Braves* (1971), 8.

The interior of the building is open plan with metal trusswork and a corrugated metal ceiling. Additional metal framing supports the north upper wall. Native stone is visible in the gable ends and behind the framework along the north wall. Brick is exposed along the lower walls, though some has been covered in plaster. Original concrete floors are present throughout. The coach's office and locker rooms (found within the wings) retain original radiators and bathroom fixtures. The roof has been replaced, and a new support framework installed for the roof and possibly for future seating.

Sierra Lodge Dormitory (One), Resource 21, 1937-1938, contributing building, US Indian Service, Department of the Interior (USIS Plan No. F-133)

Resource 21 is a single-story, modified T-plan, native stone building with three bays (projecting at center), gabled roof, and three interior stone chimneys with crenelations. Gable ends are clad in wood shingle and contain semicircular louvered vents. A boxed cornice is present at the eave line. The southeast side has a shed-roof porch accessed by three steps with pairs of square wood supports at the central bay, which faces towards the four other dormitories, forming a quadrangle. Access to this portion of the building is via a single-entry wood door framed by simple wood surrounds. Each wing also has a centered single entry wood door with native stone flat arches and concrete sills, also at the windows. Windows are mostly covered; those that are visible are aluminum frame replacements of the original six-over-six light sashes.

On the Gibson Avenue façade, Sierra Lodge Dormitory (One) faces the street with a one-story projecting cottage configuration. This projection features a single-door entry flanked by two windows and dominated by an interior stone chimney with crenellations. The other four Sierra Lodge dormitories sit south of this main dormitory building.

Sierra Lodge Dormitory (Two), Resource 22, 1937, contributing building, US Indian Service, Department of the Interior (USIS Plan No. F-134)

This resource is a single-story, modified L-plan, native stone building with a gable roof and stone chimney with crenelations. Gable ends are clad in wood shingle and contain semicircular louvered vents. Dressed stone quoins are present at the building corners. Two shed-roof porches supported by wood posts are present over single door entries on the southwest and northeast sides. Windows have been covered but are topped by flat arches and have concrete sills.

Sierra Lodge Dormitory (Three), Resource 23, 1937, contributing building, US Indian Service, Department of the Interior (USIS Plan No. F-134)

This resource is a single-story, L-plan native stone building with a gable roof and stone chimney with crenelations. Gable ends are clad in wood shingle and contain semicircular louvered vents. Rough stone quoins are present at the building corners. Two shed-roof porches with wood supports are present over single-door entries on the southeast and southwest sides. Windows are six-over-six single-hung topped by flat arches and with concrete sills.

Sierra Lodge Dormitory (Four), Resource 24, 1937, contributing building, US Indian Service, Department of the Interior (USIS Plan No. F-134)

This resource is a single-story, modified L-plan native stone building with a gable roof and stone chimney with crenelations. Gable ends are clad in wood shingle and contain semicircular louvered vents. Stone quoins are present at the building corners. Two shed-roof porches with wood supports are present over single-door entries

on the northwest and northeast sides. Windows are currently covered and are framed by flat arches and concrete sills.

Sierra Lodge Dormitory (Five), Resource 25, 1937, contributing building, US Indian Service, Department of the Interior (USIS Plan No. F-134)

This resource is a single-story, modified L-plan native stone building with a gable roof and stone chimney with crenelations. Gable ends are clad in wood shingle and contain semicircular louvered vents. Stone quoins are present at the building corners. Two shed-roof porches with wood supports are present over single entries on the northwest and northeast sides. Windows are six-over-six single-hung and topped by flat arches with concrete sills.

WEST CAMPUS

Cottage, Resource 27, 1937, contributing building, US Indian Service, Department of the Interior (USIS Plan No. E-56)

This resource is a single-story, native stone H-plan dwelling with a gable roof. Gable ends contain rectangular louvered vents. The façade has a partial-width recessed porch clad in board-and-batten frame siding and supported by wood posts with a half-height wood balustrade. Windows are covered with louvered wood shutters. Access is via a single-entry wood door.

Employees' Club, Resource 28, 1937, contributing building, US Indian Service, Department of the Interior (USIS Plan No. 51)

The Employees' Club is a single-story, rectangular building with a gable roof and interior stone chimney. A shed-roof porch supported by wood posts is over the wood single-door entry on the north façade. Rough stone quoins are present at the corners. Windows are boarded but have concrete sills and are topped by flat arches. A hip-roofed bay window is present on the east side. The National Register nomination mentions the building was converted to a duplex but does not provide a date.

Quarters, Resource 29, 1937, contributing building, US Indian Service, Department of the Interior (USIS Plan No. E-55)

This resource is a single-story, H-plan, native stone dwelling with a cross-gabled roof with boxed eaves. The stonework exhibits particularly varied color. A stone chimney is situated along the center of the southwest side. Gable ends have rectangular louvered vents. Stone quoins are present on the building corners. A recessed entry porch is clad in board-and-batten siding and supported by wood posts connected by a small balustrade. Windows have been covered but are topped by flat stone arches and supported by concrete sills.

Quarters, Resource 30, 1939, contributing building, US Indian Service, Department of the Interior (USIS Plan No. E-55)

Resource 30 is an H-plan, single-story, native stone dwelling with a cross-gabled roof with exposed rafter ends. Rectangular louvered vents are within the gable ends. A partial recessed porch is clad in board-and-batten siding and is supported by wood posts connected by a balustrade. Access is via single entry in the porch. Windows are currently boarded but are framed with concrete sills and lintels.

Cottage, Resource 31, 1939, contributing building, US Indian Service, Department of the Interior (USIS Plan No A-223-2)

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This cottage is a single-story, modified L-plan, native stone building with a cross-gable roof with exposed rafter ends. An interior stone chimney is on the western end of the roof, and an attached single-car garage opens to the west. Gable ends are clad in horizontal wood plank. Stone quoins are present at building corners. A recessed entry porch with wood supports connected by a balustrade is present at the north gable. Access is provided via a single-entry wood door. Windows are currently boarded but are framed with concrete lintels and sills. Access to the garage is via a single bay door. A small rear frame addition with a gable roof and exposed rafter ends is on the southwest.

Cottage, Resource 32, 1941, contributing building, US Indian Service, Department of the Interior (USIS Plan No. A-223-2) (Carl Cederstrand)

This single-story, modified (irregular) L-plan cottage is constructed of native stone and wood frame with a cross-gable roof with exposed rafter ends. Gable ends are clad in horizontal wood plank. Four small Velux-type skylights have been added to the roof. A native stone interior chimney is present on the southwest side. A projecting single-car garage is attached to the west. The garage bay has been removed and wood cladding and two aluminum single-hung windows added. In addition, a wood-frame, cross-gable addition is on the northeast. A fanlight is located within its gable end. Windows are multi-light casements with concrete sills and lintels that have been incised to look like stone. A small, wood-frame, gable-roof shed sits immediately northeast of the cottage at the garage.

This resource has undergone several modifications, including the addition of roof solar panels, converting the garage into habitable space, and the addition on the northwest side. Notwithstanding, the original aesthetic is consistent with Stewart school buildings as a grouping and most of the alterations can be considered reversible.

Duplex, Resource 33, 1941, contributing building, US Indian Service, Department of the Interior (USIS Plan No. C-12-2) (Carl Cederstrand)

Resource 33 derives from the same standard plan and features similar alterations to Resource 32. It is a single-story, modified T-plan, native stone and frame duplex with a cross-gable roof and exposed rafter ends. Rectangular louvered vents are located within gable ends. Multi-pane casement windows with concrete sills are topped by native stone flat arches. Entry is via symmetrical single entries in the north facade. A shed-roof overhang supported by cross braces shelters these entries.

The National Register nomination documents that the original pedimented porch on the north was enclosed in 1971. The alteration is within the period of significance and does not detract from the building's original overall form and function.

Duplex, Resource 34, 1941, contributing building, US Indian Service, Department of the Interior (USIS Plan No. C-12-2) (Carl Cederstrand)

This resource derives from the same standard plan and features similar alterations as Resource 32. It is a single-story, native stone and frame duplex with a cross-gable roof and exposed rafter ends. Rectangular louvered vents are within the gable ends. Stone quoins are at the corners of the building. Access to the building is via two single entries in the north gable end that are covered by a shed roof with exposed rafter ends that is supported by cross braces. Windows have been boarded over but are framed by native stone flat arches and concrete sills.

The National Register nomination notes that the porch here was also enclosed in 1971. The alteration dates to the period of significance and does not detract from the building's original overall form and function.

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Cottage, Resource 35, 1941, contributing building, US Indian Service, Department of the Interior (Carl Cederstrand)

Resource 35 is a one-and-a-half-story, rectangular, native stone dwelling with dark mortar, a gable roof, and exposed rafter ends. A stone chimney is present at the east gable, offset from a window in the center of the gable end. Stone quoins are present at building corners. A small front-gabled roof supported by diagonal brackets projects over the single-door wood entry on the north façade. Most windows have been covered over but one in the east side is a multi-light casement. Concrete flat arches are present over the windows and doors and are etched to look like stone. Windows feature concrete sills.

Cottage, Resource 36, 1942, contributing building, US Indian Service, Department of the Interior (Carl Cederstrand)

The cottage is built on the same plan as Resource 35. It is a one-story, native stone dwelling with a side-gable roof and exposed rafter ends. A stone chimney is present on the east gable end. A small front-gabled projection along the west facade is clad in wood shingle while the larger gable end contains a louvered vent with a concrete lintel. Stone quoins are present at building corners. A gabled dormer porch roof supported by diagonal brackets extends over the single-door entry on the north façade. Windows have been covered over but likely are casements like those at Resource 35. Concrete flat arches are present over the windows and doors and are etched to look like stone. Windows feature concrete sills.

Cottage, Resource 37, 1956, contributing building

This building is a single-story, modified L-plan, native stone dwelling with a cross-gable roof. Gable ends are clad in horizontal wood plank. The south gable end contains a rectangular louvered vent. Stone quoins are at the building corners. A partial-width engaged porch is clad in vertical wood siding and supported by wood posts. Access is via a single entry from the porch. Windows with concrete sills have been covered. Concrete lintels scored to resemble stone top the windows. The roof appears to be original and is close to failing in some places.

Since National Register listing, Resource 38 (Night Watchman's House, ca. 1950) appears to have been demolished.

Cottage, Resource 44, 1937, contributing building, US Indian Service, Department of the Interior

Resource 44 is a single story, T-plan, native stone cottage with a cross-gable roof with metal shingles. Gable ends are clad in wood shingle and an interior brick chimney is located at the ridge line. Rough stone quoins are present at the building corners. An elevated concrete stoop leads to a native stone porch with a single-entry with a replacement aluminum screen door. Flat native stone arches top six-over-six, single-hung windows with concrete sills. A flat arch also tops the entry. A wood-frame, gable-roof addition with wood shingles is on the west side. The National Register nomination notes that an open pergola was originally present at the primary entry, but that only the stone supports remain. The wood-frame addition appears to date from the period of significance.

School Laundry, Resource 45, 1931, contributing building, designed by Frederick Snyder

The School Laundry is a one-and-a-half-story, rectangular-plan, native stone building with a gable roof and exposed rafter ends. The metal roof has a vented dormer centered on the ridge. Gable ends are clad in horizontal wood plank and contain circular vents. Decorative quoins are present at the building corners. An ashlar beltcourse wraps around the building base. Windows have been covered over but are topped with flat stone arches and

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supported by concrete sills. Access is via single-entry wood door with wood framing (altered configuration) topped by a flat stone arch.

The roof has been replaced with a sheet metal roof and the entrance appears to have been converted from a double entry to a single entry.

Sewing Room, Resource 46, 1938, contributing building, US Indian Service, Department of the Interior (USIS Plan No. H-287)

The Sewing Room is a one-and-a-half-story, rectangular-plan, native stone building with a side-gable roof and exposed rafter ends. Gable ends are clad in wood shingle and contain a rectangular louvered vent. Stone quoins are present at the corners. Concrete steps flanked by native stone half-walls lead to two single-entry metal doors on the east façade, separated by a single window at center. All windows have been covered along with the lintels or arches topping them. Concrete sills are visible.

Garage, Resource 47, 1930, contributing building, designed by Frederick Snyder

This resource is a single-story, native stone, side-gabled garage with exposed rafter tails and a deep overhang. Gable ends are clad in pressed metal. Stone quoins are present at building corners. Pairs of windows are present on both the northwest and southeast sides, although they have been covered. Windows are topped by flat stone arches and supported by concrete sills. The northeast and southwest sides each contain six sets of double wood diagonally-framed doors to form a total of six garage bays. Each bay is topped with a flat stone arch.

Commissary, Resource 48, 1920, contributing building

The Commissary or E.C.A. Store is a single-story frame building set on a concrete foundation with a gable roof and exposed rafter ends. A triangular louvered vent is present within the peak of the gable ends. In the gable end facing the road, aa gable-roof entry porch supported by wood posts connected by solid wood panel balustrades shelters a double wood door. Twin sets of concrete steps lead to the porch. A series of fixed four pane windows are present along the southeast and northwest (long) sides of the building. One covered window (presumably of the same type) is to the left of the entry.

The National Register nomination notes that this building was converted into a classroom in 1957, at which time original six-over-six windows were replaced with four-light windows. The building is one of the oldest frame buildings remaining on campus.

Warehouse (possible former V&T RR depot), Resource 56, 1918, contributing building

The warehouse is a single-story wood-frame building on a concrete foundation with a gable roof and exposed rafter ends. Paired rectangular vents are present in the gable ends. Access is via horizontal wood slat loading doors along the southwest. A wood-frame hipped-roof addition appears to be present on the north side. The addition has a simple cornice at the eave line, and its windows have been covered. Access is through a single entry on the north side.

The National Register nomination does not describe the hipped-roof addition on the north side. However, a building south of this resource was described as a ca. 1925 single-story, wood-frame Paint House on a pier-and-beam foundation with a hipped wood shingle roof accented by a gable-roofed ventilator (Resource 71, no longer

extant in that location). It is possible that one building was relocated. One source claims this was the Virginia & Truckee railroad depot on campus.[383]

Quarters, Resource 57, 1939, contributing building, US Indian Service, Department of the Interior (USIS Plan No. E-55)

This resource is a single-story, native stone, H-plan residence with a cross-gable roof. A native stone chimney is on the northwest side. Building corners are defined by rough stone quoins. Windows are multi-pane (six-light and eight-light) paired casements with concrete lintels and sills. Access is via recessed porch with wood porch supports and a flush replacement door with three lights.

Duplex, Resource 60, 1939, contributing building, US Indian Service, Department of the Interior (USIS Plan No. B-32)

Resource 60 is a single-story, modified T-plan, native stone duplex with a cross-gable asphalt shingle roof. Rectangular louvered vents are situated within the gable ends. The front-facing south cross-gable end dominates the entry façade and features two large window openings composed of four sets of eight-light casements. Twin engaged shed-roof porches are located to either side. The porches are supported by paired wood posts and simple balustrades. Entries are single wood doors accessed via the porches. Other windows are paired multi-light casements with concrete lintels and sills.

The National Register nomination notes that a rear gable porch was enclosed with vertical wood siding in 1960.

Duplex, Resource 61, 1949, contributing building, US Indian Service, Department of the Interior (USIS Plan No. B-56)

This resource is a single-story, rectangular-plan, native stone duplex with a front-gable, asbestos-cement diamond-shingle roof with enclosed rafters. Gable ends are clad in horizontal wood planks and contain rectangular vents. Decorative stone quoins are present on the building corners. A partial-width engaged porch sits within a front-gabled entry extension on both the northwest and southeast sides. Windows with continuous concrete sills are clustered in groups of five. Windows have been covered. Single entries are in the gable ends are topped by concrete lintels.

Duplex, Resource 62, ca. 1960, contributing building

Resource 62 is a single-story, rectangular, wood-frame duplex on a concrete foundation with a side-gable roof with enclosed rafter ends. The south facade has two partial-width, engaged shed-roof porches with wood supports and simple balustrades. Access is through single entries (likely replacement doors) on the porches. Windows are multi-light casements.

Cottage, Resource 65, 1937, contributing building, US Indian Service, Department of the Interior (USIS Plan No. A-223-2)

This building is a single-story, L-plan, native stone residence and attached garage with a cross-gable roof. Wide horizontal wood planks fill the gable ends. A stone interior chimney cuts into the gable end on the northwest.

[383] "V&T Depot," Stewart, Native Stonework, http://nativestonework.com/stewart/ (accessed March 27, 2026). This claim is an avenue of potential additional research that could be pursued in conjunction with the Virginia & Truckee Railroad Historical Society and Nevada State Railroad Museum. The VT Telegraph No. 62 [newsletter] is a source of key information.

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Building corners display decorative stone quoins. A partial engaged porch with wood supports and a wood balustrade provides access to the single-entry door. Six-over-six, single-hung, aluminum-frame windows are topped with native stone flat arches and sit within wood surrounds. Louvered wood shutters flank the windows.

Since National Register listing, the 1939 Poultry House (Resource 66), located south of Resource 65, has been removed. A non-historic garage has been built in its place.

Four-plex, Resource 67, 1939, contributing building, US Indian Service, Department of the Interior (USIS Plan No. C-12-2)

Resource 67 is a four-unit, native stone four-plex dwelling with a cross-gable roof and enclosed rafter ends. Its design echoes that of Resource 60 (duplex). Two short interior chimneys with flat caps are placed at the ridgeline behind the front gables. Rectangular louvered vents are within the gable ends. Three shed-roof engaged porches flank the symmetrical front-facing gables on the façade and are supported with wood supports connected with simple wood balustrades. Windows are multi-light paired and quadruple casements with concrete lintels and sills. Access is via single door entries on the northeast and southwest sides. A small, wood-frame, front-gable shed is visible behind Resource 67 from Center Drive to the east of the district. This shed is not accessible, as it sits within a wood privacy fence. It is likely for this reason that it was not included in the National Register listing inventory, and as such it is not counted separately from Resource 67 here either. However, it was likely constructed ca. 1939 in tandem with Resource 67 and should be considered historic as well, barring additional information to the contrary.

School Shop, Resource 68, 1931, contributing building, designed by Frederick Snyder

Resource 68 consists of the extant configuration of a one-and-a-half story, native stone, rectangular building that housed the school's industrial shop. A central two-story portion of the building is no longer extant, leaving two wings separated by an open space. Each section features a concrete foundation and hipped roof with exposed rafter ends and circular metal chimney vents. Decorative quoins are present at the original building corners. An ashlar beltcourse wraps around both sections at the roof line. Windows have been covered but have concrete sills and flat native stone arches over each opening. The eastern wing has a double garage door bay opening, while the western wing has two double wood door bay openings (and a third altered to infill with a single-entry door and vertical siding).

The central two-story portion of the building was removed in 1978 after it was deemed structurally unsound. The remaining sections are intact and free of alterations, although portions of the roof have failed on the west section. The building (comprising the two separate wings) was considered a single contributing building at the time of National Register listing and continues to be so for the purposes of the NHL nomination.

Blacksmith Shop, Resource 70, 1910, contributing building

Resource 70 is a single-story, wood-frame building with a concrete slab foundation and clad in corrugated metal with a gable roof. Gable ends are clad in horizontal wood siding. Access to the building is limited, as thick vegetation has grown up against the southwest and northwest sides. The National Register nomination notes that original weatherboarding is intact beneath the corrugated metal. The building represents the early period of campus development.

Ranch House, Resource 116, 1963, contributing building

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Resource 116 consists of a single-story, stuccoed wood-frame dwelling with a concrete foundation and a side-gable roof with an interior brick chimney. Windows are sliding aluminum frame in various configurations. The garage has been converted into living space; the bay has been infilled with vertical wood siding and a window is present within the former bay. Access is via a central entry.

Despite conversion of the garage, the property is representative of1960s-era campus development associated with limited construction for students and staff residential life.

Ranch House, Resource 117, 1963, contributing building

This resource consists of a single-story, stuccoed frame dwelling with a concrete foundation and a side-gable roof with an interior brick chimney. Windows are sliding aluminum frame in various configurations. The garage has been converted into living space; the bay has been infilled with vertical wood siding and a single entry and window is present within the former bay. Access is via two single doors on the northeast. The building is representative of limited construction at Stewart in the 1960s to accommodate student and staff residence.

Ranch House, Resource 118, 1963, contributing building

This resource consists of a single-story, stuccoed frame dwelling with a concrete foundation and side-side-gable roof with an interior brick chimney. Windows are sliding aluminum frame in various configurations. An attached garage is situated at the north end of the house. Access is via a centrally placed single entry. The building is representative of limited construction at Stewart in the 1960s to accommodate student and staff residence.

Ranch House, Resource 119, 1963, contributing building

Resource 119 consists of a single-story, stuccoed frame dwelling with a concrete foundation and side-gable roof with an interior brick chimney. Windows are sliding aluminum frame in various configurations. Access is via a single entry at center. The garage has been converted into living space; the bay has been infilled with vertical wood siding, and a window is present within the former bay. The building is representative of limited construction at Stewart in the 1960s to accommodate student and staff residence.

Storage Shed, Resource 129, ca. 1970, contributing building

Resource 129 is a single-story, wood frame building with a front-gable roof. Rectangular louvered vents are present in the gable ends, which are clad in wood shingle. The shed is clad in horizontal wood siding and access is via a single-entry louvered replacement metal door.

EAST CAMPUS

Shop Building, Resource 84, 1931, contributing building, designed by Frederick Snyder/US Indian Service, Department of the Interior (USIS Plan No. 9-2)

This resource is a single-story, native stone building with a pressed-metal gable roof punctuated by two vent stacks. Gable ends are clad in pressed metal. A concrete belt course echoes the concrete-capped stone loading dock with concrete stairs and a metal railing on the southwest side. Casement windows are on the northeast and southwest sides, framed by concrete lintels and sills. A wood-frame, shed roof addition is on the northeast side, and according to the National Register nomination, was constructed to house the school fire truck. Access is via recessed bay doors on the northeast and northwest sides and a single wood entry door on the southwest side.

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Water Tank, Resource 87, 1939, contributing structure

This structure (approximately 80’ in height) consists of a multi-column, circular steel water tank with welded, galvanized panels. The tank is topped with a conical steel roof. Access to the roof is via a fixed, single-rung ladder attached to the roof. A balcony and handrail circle the tank. Columns are connected by steel windage rods and reinforced by two sets of riser rods.

Boys’ Dormitory, Resource 89, 1931, contributing building, US Indian Service, Department of the Interior (USIS Plan No. F-110)

Resource 89 is a one-and-a half-story, largely symmetrical (despite an irregular plan) native stone building with two single wings with hipped roof and boxed cornice. The building is similar in appearance to Resource 6. Georgian Revival influence is evident in the elevated pedimented central porch with full entablature, Tuscan columns, and a circular vent marking a double-door entry. Stone quoins are present at the building corners. A concrete beltcourse circles the building at the porch level. Windows appear to be six-over-six single and paired double-hung sashes, supported by concrete sills and topped with native stone flat arches on the wings and blind arches in the center bay (all with keystones). Following closure of the school, this building served as Bureau of Indian Affairs offices.

Auditorium, Resource 90, 1925, contributing building, US Indian Service, Department of the Interior (USIS Plan No. K-20)

Designed with Neoclassical Revival influences, the two-story, native stone auditorium features a front-gable roof with pedimented gable ends with a banded cornice and full entablature. A roundel with “C”, “I” and “S” (Carson Indian School) inscribed on its decorative keystones is situated within the pediment. Decorative sandstone quoins are present at the building corners. An ashlar beltcourse wraps around the building at the level of the twin entry stairs. Stewart students have inscribed graffiti on the stones in this beltcourse throughout the years. Windows have been covered over but are capped with blind sandstone arches anchored by a red sandstone keystone and quoining at each window opening. Twin double entry doors are also capped with blind arches. A sandstone block inscribed “1925” is centered over the doors on the façade. Access to the entry is via twin concrete steps faced with native stone and pipe railing.

Interior

The interior retains its original wood auditorium seats. The proscenium consists of a flattened arch with a decorative keystone element framed by fluted Composite pilasters. An architrave rests on the columns so that the arch is framed. Decorative detailing is in the frame corners. Paired single entries on either side of the stage lead outside and to the stage, respectively. In the lobby, single entries provide access to stairs leading to the projection room. The projection room has three-light casement windows that open out over the audience. A room on either side of the projection room served as dressing rooms. Walls in all three rooms exhibit student graffiti.

Boiler House, Resource 92, 1924 (expanded 1939), contributing building, US Indian Service, Department of the Interior (USIS Plan No. W-18-A)

This resource is a one-and-a-half story, native stone building with a cross-gable roof with one-story shed extensions and exposed rafter ends. Four circular ventilation stacks are along the dominant gable mid-roofline. Gable ends are clad in asbestos-shingle siding and the central gable contains a square louvered vent. Decorative sandstone quoins are at the building corners. A shed-roof addition (also of native stone) is on the northwest side;

a wood-frame shed-roof addition is visible on the northeast side. Multi-light industrial casement windows and single-pane casement windows are supported by concrete sills and topped by concrete lintels. Access is via paired single-entry doors with a matching panel separating them or via metal roll-up bay door.

According to the National Register documentation, the building was constructed in 1924 and expanded in 1939.

Pump House, Resource 94, 1938, contributing building

This modest pump house is a square-plan native stone building with a flat roof and a masonry cap course. Sandstone quoins are at building corners. Windows are covered but feature concrete sills and lintels. Access is via an original single-entry wood door with a single light that has a painted concrete lintel.

Filter Plant, Resource 96, 1940 (addition ca. 1952), contributing building, US Indian Service, Department of the Interior (USIS Plan No. Y-160)

The filter plant is a two-story, native stone building with a gable roof and exposed rafter ends. Gable ends are clad in horizontal wood siding or asbestos shingle and the northwest gable end contains a rectangular louvered vent. A concrete, side-gable single-story addition is on the southeast. Windows are metal nine-light casements framed by concrete lintels and sills. Access is via a single entry capped with a concrete lintel. The historic addition is functionally relevant to school operations.

Nunez Lodge, Resource 107 (now Nevada State Fire Marshall), 1963, contributing building

This resource is a single story, irregular plan, brick building. The building has three projecting ells on the northeast and southwest sides separated by small, rectangular courtyards. The roof is a combination wide gable with a distinctive boxed and concave profile and flat roof with a low parapet. Aluminum frame windows punctuate the southeast and northwest. Access to the building is via double metal doors inset in the northeast and southwest ells of the building. Concrete steps and access ramps provide ingress and egress.

Although this building was constructed during the period of national significance, it stands out as a significant departure from the unified design shared by most buildings at Stewart, including others constructed in the 1960s and 1970s. The materials and design are stylistically incompatible with other resources on campus. However, as the building is functionally related to the school, albeit for a shorter period than other resources, this resource is determined to be contributing to the district.

Stewart Infirmary, Resource 162, 1904/1918/1939, contributing building

The Stewart Infirmary is a single-story, H-plan, native stone building originally constructed in 1904, then expanded in 1918 and again in 1939 (through the work of Joe Buckhart and others).[384] A series of intersecting hipped and half-hipped roof profiles tie the additions to the main central building. A circular vent is at the peak of the central roof section. The central section has a hipped dormer with three lights and a shed-roof, full-width porch supported by wood posts and a metal safety rail. The northeast and southwest sides have single-light hipped dormers. Stone quoins are present at the corners of the stone section. Windows have been boarded but are topped with flat stone arches and supported by concrete or wood sills. Access is via the southwest, northwest, and northeast sides, all of which have single entries. The entry on the main façade is set within a concrete surround, and the northeastern and northwestern sides are accessed via concrete steps. The northwest side entry steps are

[384] Seavey, "Stewart Indian School," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, Section 7, 8.

faced with native stone. Additions to this resource date to the period of significance and are in keeping with the overall character and function of the building.

SOUTH CAMPUS

Garage, Resource 108, 1929, contributing building

This garage is a single-story, native stone building with a largely collapsed gable roof. Gable ends are clad in horizontal wood siding with a window or a vent opening. The east and south building corners have been repaired with poured concrete. Garage bays have been covered with plywood. Pedestrian access is via a single wood entry in the southeast side. The building is in poor condition with the roof in a state of active collapse. The building has been fenced off for safety.

Despite poor condition, the building retains fair historic integrity. The concrete corner repairs are likely historic and do not detract from the overall association, design, materials, and workmanship.

Cottage, Resource 110, 1939, contributing building, US Indian Service, Department of the Interior (USIS Plan No. A-223-2)

This resource is a one-story, modified L-plan, native stone building with a cross-gable roof and exposed rafters. The southwest gable end has a rectangular louvered vent and the southeast gable end is clad in wood. A recessed, partial-width porch supported with a wood post and a metal balustrade provides access to the single wood door entry. Windows are six-over-six single-hung sashes with concrete lintels (and sills on the side ell).

Horse Barn, Resource 112, 1925, contributing building

The Horse Barn is a one-and-a-half-story barn constructed from native stone with a front-gable roof and exposed rafter ends. Two circular metal vents are visible along the ridgeline. Gable ends are clad in pressed metal shingle and the northwest gable end has diagonal wood hay access doors covering the access to the hayloft. Two additional rectangular openings in the gable end also provide access to the hay loft. Windows on the first floor have been covered but are supported by concrete sills and capped by native stone flat arches. Access is via double entry doors topped by a flat arch on the northwest façade.

Dairy Barn, Resource 114, 1925, contributing building

This main two-story, front-gable section of this resource closely resembles the Horse Barn. The building is a native stone barn with exposed rafter ends. Two circular metal vents are visible along the ridgeline. Gable ends are clad in pressed metal shingles. Access to the hayloft is via two diagonal wood doors in the gable end. Gable-roof additions are on the northwest and southwest sides. The gable end in the southwest addition is clad in vertical wood siding. Six-over-six and four-over-four-light windows are supported by concrete sills and capped with native stone flat arches. Access is through a double entry in the northwest façade, a single entry in the northwest addition, and a bay in the southwest addition. While the National Register nomination does not mention the additions, they appear to date from the period of significance.

Gymnasium, Resource 160, 1973, contributing building

Known at the time of construction as “Moccasin Square Garden,” the second school gymnasium is a two-story concrete building with a flat roof. The exterior (largely devoid of fenestration) is clad in multi-colored stone aggregate veneer panels. Access is via double glazed aluminum doors on the south side. This resource, although

late in the period of significance, was designed to be sympathetic to the design of earlier campus buildings and functionally was central to school activities.

Water Treatment Building, Resource 161, 1978, contributing building

This resource is a single-story concrete block building with a shallow gable roof with two round metal ventilators. Access is via recessed single door entries on the northwest and southwest. The building was constructed only two years before Stewart closed to support the campus. As the water treatment building provided a necessary component of school infrastructure, it is a contributing resource to the district.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

Buildings

Prefabricated Sheds, (grouped as Resource 163), ca. 2010, noncontributing building

This resource consists of three diminutive non-historic-age sheds clustered together near Resource 18. The first is prefabricated wood frame construction with a shallow front-gable roof, clad in vertical wood siding, and accessed via double entry doors with strap hinges. The second and third sheds are corrugated metal and plywood construction with shed roofs with overhangs and accessed via single entries.

These resources were constructed outside of the period of national significance and are associated with the property only after the school closed.

Garage, Resource 164, ca. 1963, contributing building

Located immediately north of Resource 107, this building is a single-story, rectangular-plan, brick (common bond) building with a flat roof. Two overhung metal garage doors provide access from a paved parking area. There are no windows present. Historic aerial photographs indicate that this building was likely constructed and used in association with Resource 107.

The garage was constructed during the period of national significance, but toward the end of its operating period, and it stands out as a significant departure from the unified aesthetic shared by most buildings at Stewart. However, it is associated with Resource 107 and was related to the school's function though for a much shorter period than the other resources. As a result, this resource is determined to be contributing to the district.

Shed/garage, Resource 165, ca. 1960, contributing building

Possibly associated with Resource 37, this building is a single-story, wood-frame and corrugated metal shed or garage with a shallow front-gable roof. Gable ends are clad in horizontal wood planks. Double wood doors with exterior strap hinges provide access on the east. This resource is likely associated with one of the staff residences located in this area. Historic aerial photographs suggest it was constructed sometime between 1954 and 1966.

Bus Stop Shelter, Resource 166, ca.1965, contributing building

Located on the southwest side of the intersection of Clear Creek Avenue and Wa-Pai-Shone Avenue, this shelter is a wood-frame, three-sided open shelter with a concrete slab foundation and side-gable roof. Both the roof and exterior are clad in wood shingle. A metal pole provides support on the open side of the shelter and a wood bench with diagonal wood supports is within the interior. This resource was likely constructed for Stewart employees'

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children to wait for the bus to take them to school in Carson City. Campus children lived on the campus but attended public school.

Bus Stop Shelter, Resource 167, ca. 1965, contributing building

This resource is a wood-frame, three-sided open shelter that features concrete slab foundation and side-gable roof. The exterior and roof are clad in wood shingle. Within the interior, a wood bench is supported by diagonal supports. The shelter is at the northeast corner of the intersection of Center Drive and Gibson Avenue. Like Resource 166, this resource was likely constructed for Stewart employees' children to wait for their school bus.

Structures

Track and Football Field, Resource 168, ca. 1960, contributing structure

Although no longer in regular use, the dirt track at Stewart remains intact. The football field within the track is maintained, and goalposts remain upright. Stewart football and track teams were very successful during the 1960s and 1970s when this resource would have been in use and it is one of the few areas where visible evidence of outdoor activities is present. Aerial photographs show that in 1954, a track was located southeast of this location. By 1964, the track was in this current location.

The track and football field were essential components of the Stewart boarding school, especially during later years. Athletics were one of the activities that former students describe as important to their experience at Stewart. These resources reflect a positive aspect of school for many alumni.

Stone fence posts, Resource 169, ca. 1923, contributing structure

Flanking entrance to the campus at Wa-Pai-Shone and Clear Creek avenues, at the intersection of Crescent Drive and Sierra Avenue near Resources 11, 116, and 119, two pillars, standing about 4' high, were likely once part of a fence surrounding the property. A historic photograph of Resource 1 shows two much larger native stone pillars with crenelated tops flanking the Jacobsen Way entrance and attaching to wire fencing, which suggests these smaller pillars served as fence posts. These fence posts are rectangular, native stone pillars with pyramidal concrete tops. Two additional posts are present along Snyder Avenue near Resources 9 and 18. Another pair of posts are present at the intersection of Clear Creek Avenue and Wa-Pai-Shone Avenue, near Resource 169. Only one of these posts (on the east side of Wa-Pai-Shone Avenue) is located outside the NHL boundary.

Although a fence no longer exists around Stewart, these posts provide a visual reminder that the property was once enclosed. Whether fencing was intended to serve as a true physical barrier or as a decorative aspect of the property is unknown, but these posts represent an important visual component delineating the campus boundary.

Detention pond, Resource 170, ca. 1960, contributing structure

Resource 170 is at the southeast corner of the property, out of view from the campus buildings. It consists of a roughly rectangular concrete detention pond. Sides are lined with rock before sloping into a concrete apron with concrete drains set at intervals around the perimeter. A chain link fence surrounds the pond and is accessed via reinforced metal gates.

Substation (no resource number assigned), ca. 2012, noncontributing structure

Northeast of Resource 18, an electrical substation was installed after the period of national significance. The substation consists of a rectangular, prefabricated metal structure enclosed within a chain link fence. Six metal vents are present on the northwest side along with a single-entry access door. According to historic aerial photographs, this resource was constructed sometime between 2010 and 2013. The structure has no association with the site's function as a school and is noncontributing to the district.

Objects

Fountain, Resource 171, ca. 1928, rebuilt 2016, contributing object

The fountain at Stewart is a three-tiered concrete and native stone fountain and planter. Its basin is cast concrete, with the pedestal camouflaged by a circular ring of crenelated native stone. Another, larger base ring of crenelated native stone forms a planter.

A 1928 photograph on file with the Stewart Indian School Cultural Center & Museum from when Building 1 was remodeled, shows this fountain in situ. It is possible that the original fountain dated to 1923 when the Administration Building was constructed. Based on this photo, the fountain may have been moved slightly after the pool was infilled. Reconstructed in 2016 using historic photographs as evidence, the fountain sits centered on the lawn in front of the Administration Building.

Grill, Resource 172, ca. 1965, contributing object

Associated with outdoor cooking activities, this native stone grill features three sides comprising a U shape. The open area for cooking is backed by the tallest wall at center, which extends to a few feet, tapering into an inverted wedge. The open portion at center holds two pieces of sheet metal that extend the width; the top piece is narrow while the bottom piece is convex and covers most of the open area, much like a drip pan, and may have been used to hold charcoal. The lower piece of metal sits atop two fixed pipes. Between these metal pieces is a stone ledge where a grill plate could be placed. Located behind the kitchen (Resource 15), this object would have provided kitchen staff (which included students) with a means of outdoor cooking when the weather was warm.

Outdoor firepit, Resource 173, ca. 1960, contributing object

The native stone outdoor firepit is similar in design and appearance to Resource 172, with three sides comprising a U-shape. A rectangular area that appears to be a firepit is cut into the tallest wall. The open face has been covered with a metal grate, much like that used for fireplaces. The sides of the structure are shorter and L-shaped in plan, narrowing toward the firepit. A removable metal grate sits on top of one of the sides. Located east of Resource 9, this structure would have provided residents with an outdoor cooking area and firepit.

Sites

Rodeo grounds/Hunting and gathering grounds (no resource number assigned), ca. 1890s-1970s, contributing site

The map included in the National Register nomination shows that rodeo grounds were present at the rear of the property near the creek. Historic aerial photographs show what appears to be a rectangular fenced area that corresponds to this in 1961 and1980. Not much information is available about the rodeo grounds, which was also likely used to pen cattle, though the 1965, 1968, 1969, 1971, 1977, 1978, and 1980 yearbooks reference rodeo.

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Prior to its use as a rodeo grounds as early as the 1930s, students used this area to hunt small game to supplement their diets. Parents visiting their children during the school's early years camped along the creek, and the area continues to be used for native plant gathering.

Today this area is overgrown with native scrub vegetation, with no visible evidence of fencing, enclosure, or spectator areas. There are no barrels, rodeo furniture, or other extant landscape evidence associated with the rodeo grounds function. However, archaeological deposits may be present, and there are oral histories and aerial photographs that clearly associate this resource with the Stewart Indian School.

Baseball/Sports Field (no resource number assigned), ca. 1950s-1970s, contributing site

Remnants of a baseball/sports field are present southwest of Resource 24, north of the dirt road that runs along the southern portion of the property near the barns. A two-story, six panel metal fence remains intact, indicating where home plate would have been. Two lines of trees, one trending north, and the other west, create a corner behind the fence. Aerial photographs show this corner as the point of the field behind home plate and the trees parallel what would be the first and third baselines. Oral histories suggest this field was used in the 1960s and 1970s and it appears in an aerial view of campus featured in the 1961 yearbook. That view also shows a track once ringed this field and yearbooks show other sports occurring in this space. The fence and field shape appear to be the only visible remnants of the field but convey sufficient integrity to recognize function. This resource is contributing to the overall district.

Campus Landscape (no resource number assigned), ca. 1890-1980, contributing site

The designed landscape at Stewart contains many small-scale features that contribute to its overall significance and integrity, including historic vegetation, the street grid and circulation system, entrance signage, and potential archeological resources. The campus layout, featuring quadrangles, formal walkways and plantings, axial main corridors, a cohesive aesthetic, dedicated agricultural facilities, and readily identifiable community centers such as the Auditorium, Gymnasium, and Administration buildings, echoes that of state land grant colleges in the late nineteenth century. Like Stewart, such colleges were often rural in nature, emphasized practical agricultural and vocational training, designed to be accessible to a broad range of students, and promoted athletics. In addition to creating a holistic and efficient campus, this carefully constructed environment also reinforced the goal of Native assimilation, demonstrating an ideal that students were meant to be inspired by and aspire to. While examples of Historically Black Colleges and Universities as well as Indigenous colleges and universities have begun to be studied as examples of this type, relationship to the design of federal Indian boarding schools is a potentially rich subject for research.[385]

The main streets within the Stewart campus are wide, asphalt-paved, and lined with concrete sidewalks (including historic segments) shaded by mature trees that historically formed formal allées in places. In 2000, over half the species represented in the central portion of the school grounds were non-native, including Silver maple (*Acer saccharinum),* Cutleaf birch *(Betula pendula),* Scarlet hawthorn *(Crataegus laevigata),* Green ash *(Fraxinus pennsylvanica),* Crabapple *(Malus spp.),* Austrian pine *(Pinus nigra),* White poplar *(Populus alba),* Eastern cottonwood *(Populus deltoides),* Pin oak *(Quercus palustris),* Red oak *(Quercus rubrum),* Weeping willow *(Salix*

[385] J. Philip Gruen, "The Land-Grant Campus, Society of Architectural Historians SAH Archipedia, https://sah-archipedia.org/essays/TH-01-ART-011 (accessed October 14, 2026). See, for instance, Kestrel A. Smith, "Chapter 10: Serving Native Students at Land Grant Institutions in the Southwest," 149-176, in Tippeconnic and Tippeconnic Fox, eds., *On Indian Ground: The Southwest*.

babylonica), Littleleaf linden *(Tilia cordata)*, American elm *(Ulmus americana)*, *and* Siberian elm *(Ulmus pumila)*.[386] These trees line roads, edges of green spaces, and near buildings.

More recent plantings of Crabapple trees and other saplings line the green space between some dorms (see, for instance, Resources 12, 13, and 16). A contemporary garden of native and medicinal plants grows adjacent to the Administration Building. Most other plants observed near buildings are non-flowering shrubs and grasses, with a single rosebush at the front of Resource 14, consistent with Bowler's removal of Snyder's ornamental planting. Bowler also removed several open-air wood pergolas, such as that connecting the Administration Building (Resource 1) and the Post Office (Resource 2), installed by Snyder and visible in many historic photographs. Intact viewsheds include tree-lined avenues that partially obscure the mountain and desert view. By contrast, at the campus perimeter to the south and moving towards Clear Creek, native vegetation dominates, characterized by big sagebrush (*Artemisia tridentada*), Antelope bitterbrush (*Purshia tridentata*), Western tansymustard (*Descurainia pinnata*), Mormon tea (*Ephedra viridis*), Fremont cottonwood (*Populus fremontii*), coyote willow (*Salix exigua*), in addition to invasive cheatgrass (*Bromus tectorum*) and non-native black locust (*Robinia pseudoacacia*).

As the school campus developed, benches and lighting were added, which would have added to the feeling of a self-sufficient, independent residential community. Streetlights (largely modern, installed after 2008) consist of tapered metal poles with teardrop extensions for bell-shaped lamp coverings, and the few benches present include both metal and wood slat benches as well as concrete.[387] Many different types of fencing delineate residential yard space at some of the individual dwellings. Several metal clothesline T-posts remain. Activity areas, such as transformation of the sports field into a baseball field and a small, asphalt basketball court, are tucked into open green spaces between buildings rather than at the edge of the property. The setting is that of a contained, distinct, cultivated, designed environment with wilderness removed at a distance.

In 1901, Stewart sought an appropriation that would in part finance a steam heating plant.[388] The plant would deliver the heat via underground tunnels that contained pipes that would run to different buildings to carry heated water. As they were underground, the tunnels insulated the pipes, keeping the water hot. As Stewart grew, this system expanded, and while not specified in the records, the implication was that student labor would have been used in tunnel construction. The Virginia & Truckee Minden Branch rail spur delivered the coal and wood chips needed to produce the heat in the boiler plant. Students were responsible for shoveling the coal and unloading the wood from the train. This heating system was used until the school closed in 1980.[389] According to a former Stewart Buildings and Grounds Supervisor, these tunnels were about 6' deep and contained 48" pipes. However, the Nevada State Historic Preservation Office indicates these may be more typically shallower in most locations with smaller pipes; further, with the steam tunnel system no longer in use, large sections have been removed or

[386] John Christopherson, *Urban Forest Management Plan Stewart Indian School* (Nevada Division of Forestry 2001).
[387] Under its approved list for 2025 Capital Improvements Program funding, the Nevada Public Works Division lists project 25-C21 to install LED lighting and poles in the quad area east of Resource 6 at Stewart. Nevada Department of Administration State Public Works Division, "2025 Approved CIP," https://publicworks.nv.gov/uploadedFiles/publicworksnvgov/content/Home/Features/2025%20CIP%20Summary%20List%20of%20Projects.pdf (accessed October 13, 2026).
[388] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs: 1901*, 616-617.
[389] Larry Hale (former Stewart Buildings and Grounds Supervisor), Oral History, Stewart Indian School Trail Map, Stewart Indian School Cultural Center & Museum, https://stewartindianschool.com/walking-trail/ (accessed January 13, 2026).

are slated for removal. A Nevada Public Works Division project is funded to demolish and remove the former steam provision system to secure the facility grounds against possible degradation.[390]

The environment of mature vegetation, streets and sidewalks, benches, and lighting emphasized that Native students had entered the White world; they could not see the mountains or desert clearly without going to the edges of campus, which were likely fenced. These features contributed to an artificial, closed sense of place that the government cultivated in their effort to assimilate Native children. Formal lawns, broad streets, and mature trees continue to contribute to a setting distinct from the immediate surroundings.

Over the decades, the campus layout of buildings and support buildings has changed through some demolition, notably of wood frame and two-story buildings, while some mature trees have also disappeared. A 2009 Cultural Landscape Report provides a broad overview analysis of 1938, 1954, 1974, and 2003 aerial photographs.[391]

Most frame buildings are no longer extant. Based on a ca. 1940 map, the original 1890 school building (demolished by 1923) appears to have occupied the vicinity slightly west of the 1964 Classroom Building (Resource 17).[392] The original Superintendent's residence remained extant at least through 1927, at the location of the stone 1930 Superintendent's Cottage (Resource 3). A series of turn-of-the-century, one and one-and-a-half-story frame Victorian-style staff residences occupied the west side of Wai-Pa-Shone Avenue through as late as 1971.[393] Finally, a loafing shed and fenced enclosure situated behind the Dairy Barn were extant as of a 1946 photograph, while a 1948 photograph shows a third frame barn to the east (no longer extant).[394] A 1971 fire alarm station map shows that the loafing shed and another outbuilding remained extant.

A 1961 aerial view shows at least two Quonset huts used for classrooms that are no longer extant: one immediately south of the Stewart Infirmary (Resource 162) and another at the approximate location where the 1963 Nunez Lodge Dormitory (Resource 107) now sits.[395] Five other Quonset huts once occupied the area southeast of the water tower. In this vicinity on the east side of Jacobsen Way also sat a two-story frame classroom School Building (demolished 1964) as well as the two-story stone masonry 1931 Home Economics Building. The Home Economics Building, as well as a quarters and garage located immediately east of the Boiler House (Resource 92) and Water Tank (Resource 87), were demolished for construction of the 1973 Gymnasium (Resource 160).[396]

The swimming pool north of the Administration Building (Resource 1) possibly remained extant as late as 1946, based on a photograph featured in the *Desert Braves* yearbook that year. Wood spectator bleachers constructed by students in 1966 sat on the edge of the football field at least through closure of the school in 1980.[397] Finally,

[390] Nevada State Public Works Division, Project Cost Estimate, January 8, 2025, see Priority 1 projects, Item 9, "demolish steam tunnel & piping (Stewart), https://archive.leg.state.nv.us/Session/83rd2025/Budgets/Official%20CIP%202025-27.pdf (accessed October 13, 2026).
[391] Wyss Associates, Inc., *Stewart Indian School Cultural Landscape Report*, Vol. 3, Prepared for State of Nevada Public Works Board, Project Number 97-S04a (August 31, 2009), 15-19.
[392] Map, ca. 1940, reproduced in Michelle Schmitter, Architectural Resource Assessment Form, October 18, 2023, rev. April 24, 2025, B402 Update, on file with the Nevada State Historic Preservation Office, and personal communication, Chris Ann Gibbons, Stewart Indian School Cultural Center & Museum, to National Park Service, May 12, 2026.
[393] Fire Alarms Stations Map, 1971, on file with Stewart Indian School Cultural Center & Museum.
[394] *Desert Braves* (1946); *Desert Braves* (1948), 46. A concrete pad at this approximate location corresponds with this third barn. The loafing shed and cattle enclosures feature in yearbooks throughout the 1960s.
[395] *Desert Braves* (1961). Quonset hut interiors in use for Navajo Program student instruction figure in *Desert Braves* (1948), 32-34.
[396] Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Division of Plant Design and Construction, "Stewart Gymnasium" [architectural drawing], February 14, 1972, reproduced in Wyss Associates, Inc., *Stewart Indian School Cultural Landscape Report*, Vol. 3, 98. Quonset classroom interiors appear in yearbooks as late as 1963, with a 1969 photograph showing use for student instruction in tractor repair. See *Desert Braves* (1969), 98.
[397] *Desert Braves* (1966), 56.

the wood sign at the intersection of Snyder Avenue and Jacobsen Way has long been in situ but has been painted over.

Archaeological deposits at Stewart Indian School have been verified through both surface observation and subsurface testing. Surficial deposits include foundations of no longer extant buildings as well as artifact scatters, which were observed both by the authors and previous archaeologists. In 2013, a collaborative archaeological investigation including the University of Nevada Reno (UNR), members of the Washoe Tribe, and a member of the Burns Paiute Tribe took place at Stewart. These investigations involved both non-invasive methods including ground-penetrating radar and pedestrian survey as well as 1x1 meter (m) test unit excavation.

Methods were agreed upon through collaboration between tribal members, the UNR archaeology team, and the Nevada State Historic Preservation Office. This allowed Native voices to be represented in not only the field methods, but also in terms of artifact handling and collection as well as interpretation. The investigations found a mix of intact and mixed deposits with artifacts dating from the late nineteenth through late twentieth centuries. Results included identifying material remains of forced assimilation (lice combs, military uniform buttons), evidence of student resistance through culturally modified mass-produced items (knapped glass, a comb made into a pendant), a concentration of toys and colorful glass and rocks closer to the creek and away from the staff gaze, and faunal remains that included rabbit bones with evidence of butchering, which correlates to oral histories of students hunting rabbits to supplement school rations.[398] This archaeological work demonstrates there is significant information potential in the archaeological record at Stewart that may not exist within the historical record, particularly as it pertains to student spaces on campus.

Although these investigations have provided some information about the presence of archaeological deposits within the NHL district, at the time of designation, they have not been well defined. Additional work and formal archaeological evaluation would be needed to determine whether they meet the standards and integrity requirements under NHL Criterion 6. As a result, in the present nomination, archaeological deposits are considered contributing features as part of the landscape under Criterion 1 for their contributions to the integrity of location, materials, association, and setting.[399]

HISTORIC INTEGRITY

The Stewart Indian School retains a high degree of historic integrity dating to its period of national significance, 1890 to 1980.

Location: The resources within the district maintain a high level of integrity of location, as most are located in the place where they were constructed. Location importantly provides context to the spatial arrangement of campus and for archaeological deposits associated with former and current buildings on campus. No extant buildings are known to have been relocated. Nineteenth-century frame buildings are no longer extant, and only a few early twentieth-century frame buildings remain. A few two-story stone buildings were demolished in the late 1970s.[400]

[398] Ashley M. Long, Sarah E. Cowie, and Ian Springer, "Stewart Indian School Methods and Research Results," in *Collaborative Archaeology at Stewart Indian School*, Sarah E. Cowie, Diane L. Teeman, and Christopher C. LeBlanc, eds. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2019), 171-173.
[399] The Nevada State Historic Preservation Office houses archeological inventories and reports related to monitoring activities at the campus and vicinity.
[400] Seavey, "A Completion Report on the Historic Resources Inventory," 59.

Setting: Overall, this district has a high level of integrity of setting. Undeveloped land is present around most of the property with some limited development on the northwest side. This distinct demarcation between developed and undeveloped area is clear at the outer edges of the campus. On the northwest, external development consists of Washoe Tribal housing. The Northern Nevada Correctional Center's watchtower (on the east), and limited residential development (on the south) is visible. None of these external developments detract from the school's overall rural setting, while the intact complex of buildings and landscape on campus have a distinct layout and appearance, unified in no small part by its architecture and mature vegetation

Design: The property retains a high level of integrity of design through its overall layout, architecture, and landscape elements, most of which have been in place since Frederick Snyder's tenure, ending in 1934, or prior. The campus design overall resembles that of many state land grant universities in the late nineteenth century and is readily identifiable as a former residential school complex. Interiors at times reflect Native-inspired designs through murals and patterns painted on the interior walls.

Materials: The Stewart complex exhibits a high level of integrity of materials in the majority of its resources. Resources constructed from native stone selected and built by Native students and stonemasons reflect both Native agency and contemporary rustic design. At least one later resource was built with stone aggregate to echo these original materials. Some routine replacements have been made to roofs and windows, but the majority of windows appear to be historic, albeit covered to protect from damage. The interiors of many buildings are also intact with original fixtures and finishes.

Workmanship: Students were responsible for constructing the majority of buildings on campus, and their workmanship retains a high level of integrity. Intended to be permanent, the stone buildings reflect both Native workmanship in selecting and arranging the stone as well as the contemporary Arts and Crafts architectural influence prevalent in the United States during their construction. Later buildings reflect a change in style but represent the continued work of Native students in creating their campus.

Feeling: The entire property retains a high degree of integrity of feeling, evoking an isolated, self-sufficient community. Resources convey a sense of organization and a collegiate feeling with quads and green spaces between clusters of buildings that line paved roadways flanked by sidewalks and mature trees. At the edges of the property, the landscape begins to revert to native vegetation and dirt roads, in particular where the agricultural and infrastructure resources are clustered.

Association: Resources are in their original locations and configurations, with only a few later examples of infill. Spatial relationships remain the same as during Frederick Snyder and Alida Bowler's tenures at Stewart. The campus is a direct link to the students it served throughout the period of significance and retains a high degree of integrity of association. Association with the Stewart alumni community continues as facilitated by the creation of the Stewart Cultural Center, which serves as an alumni gathering space and museum for visitors to better understand what Native students experienced at Stewart. A walking tour with oral histories is available, and the museum includes recordings of oral histories with alumni, echoing the way Native history has always been taught.

Table 7*. Contributing Status of Resources within the Stewart Indian School District*

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Resource Number	Historic Building Name/ Function	Builder	Architect	Contributing Status	Resource Type	Year Built
1	Administration Building (Main Building)	Stonemasons and Students	Frederick Snyder (H. H. Steinbrucker draftsman) (addition USIS-DOI)	Contributing	Building	1923; 1928; 1938
2	Post Office	Stonemasons and Students	Frederick Snyder	Contributing	Building	1925
3	Superintendent's Cottage	Stonemasons and Students	Frederick Snyder	Contributing	Building	1930
4	Superintendent's Guest House	USIS Construction Division	Possibly USIS-DOI with Students	Contributing	Building	1938
6	Small Girls' Dormitory	Stonemasons and Students	Construction Division. U.S. Indian Service, Department of the Interior (USIS-DOI)	Contributing	Building	1930
8	Superintendent's Garage	Stonemasons and students	Frederick Snyder	Contributing	Building	1930
9	Cottage	Stonemasons and Students	Unknown	Contributing	Building	1939
11	Principal's Cottage	Stonemasons and Students	Frederick Snyder	Contributing	Building	1925
12	Girls' Dormitory (Manzanita)	Stonemasons and Students	USIS-DOI	Contributing	Building	1941
13	Girls' Dormitory	Stonemasons and Students	USIS-DOI	Contributing	Building	1941
14	Wa-Pai-Shone Trading Post	Stonemasons and Students	USIS-DOI	Contributing	Building	1939

DRAFT

Resource Number	Historic Building Name/ Function	Builder	Architect	Contributing Status	Resource Type	Year Built
15	Kitchen and Dining Room	Stonemasons and Students	Frederick Snyder	Contributing	Building	1923
16	Girls' Dormitory	Stonemasons and Students	USIS-DOI	Contributing	Building	1942
17	High-School Classroom		Bureau of Indian Affairs (Littleton, CO)	Contributing	Building	1964
18	Garage/Law Enforcement Center	Stonemasons and Students	USIS-DOI	Contributing	Building	1936
19	Bakery/Post Office	Stonemasons and Students	Frederick Snyder	Contributing	Building	1926
20	Gymnasium	Stonemasons and Students		Contributing	Building	1938
21	Sierra Lodge 1 / Dormitory	Students and James M. (Jim) Christopher	USIS-DOI	Contributing	Building	1937-1938
22	Sierra Lodge 2 / Dormitory	Students and James M. (Jim) Christoper	USIS-DOI	Contributing	Building	1937
23	Sierra Lodge 3 / Dormitory	Students and James M. (Jim) Christopher	USIS-DOI	Contributing	Building	1937
24	Sierra Lodge 4 / Dormitory	Students and James M. (Jim) Christopher	USIS-DOI	Contributing	Building	1937
25	Sierra Lodge 5 / Dormitory	Students and James M. (Jim) Christopher	USIS-DOI	Contributing	Building	1937
27	Cottage	Stonemason and Students	USIS-DOI	Contributing	Building	1937
28	Employees' Club	Stonemason and Students	USIS-DOI	Contributing	Building	1937

Resource Number	Historic Building Name/ Function	Builder	Architect	Contributing Status	Resource Type	Year Built
29	Staff quarters	Stonemason and students	USIS-DOI	Contributing	Building	1937
30	Staff quarters	Stonemason and Students	USIS-DOI	Contributing	Building	1939
31	Cottage	Stonemason and Students	USIS-DOI	Contributing	Building	1939
32	Cottage	Stonemason and Students	USIS-DOI (Carl Cederstrand)	Contributing	Building	1941
33	Duplex	Stonemason and Students	USIS-DOI (Carl Cederstrand)	Contributing	Building	1941
34	Duplex	Stonemason and Students	USIS-DOI (Carl Cederstrand)	Contributing	Building	1941
35	Cottage	Stonemason and Students	USIS-DOI (Carl Cederstrand)	Contributing	Building	1941
36	Cottage	Hugh O. Tyler and Students	USIS-DOI (Carl Cederstrand)	Contributing	Building	1942
37	Cottage	Hugh O. Tyler and Students	Hugh O. Tyler (?)	Contributing	Building	1956
44	Cottage	Students and James M. (Jim) Christopher	USIS-DOI	Contributing	Building	1937
45	School Laundry	Students and James M. (Jim) Christopher	Frederick Snyder	Contributing	Building	1931

Resource Number	Historic Building Name/ Function	Builder	Architect	Contributing Status	Resource Type	Year Built
46	Sewing Room	Stonemason and Students	USIS-DOI	Contributing	Building	1938
47	Garage	Students and James M. (Jim) Christopher	Frederick Snyder	Contributing	Building	1930
48	Commissary/ E.C.A. Store			Contributing	Building	1920
56	Warehouse			Contributing	Building	1918
57	Staff quarters	Stonemason and Students	USIS-DOI	Contributing	Building	1939
60	Duplex	Stonemason and Students	USIS-DOI	Contributing	Building	1939
61	Duplex	Stonemason and Students	USIS-DOI	Contributing	Building	1949
62	Duplex			Contributing	Building	c.1960
65	Cottage	Stonemason and Students	Carl Cederstrand and A.R. Warne (USIS-DOI)	Contributing	Building	1937
67	Four-plex	Stonemason and Students	USIS-DOI	Contributing	Building	1939
68	School Shop	Students and James M. (Jim) Christopher	Frederick Snyder	Contributing	Building	1931
70	Blacksmith Shop			Contributing	Building	1910
84	Shop Building	Stonemason and Students	USIS-DOI	Contributing	Building	1931
87	Water Tank			Contributing	Structure	1939
89	Boys' Dormitory	Stonemason and Students	USIS-DOI	Contributing	Building	1931
90	Auditorium			Contributing	Building	1925

Resource Number	Historic Building Name/ Function	Builder	Architect	Contributing Status	Resource Type	Year Built
92	Boiler Building			Contributing	Building	1924; 1939
94	Pump House			Contributing	Building	1938
96	Filter Plant			Contributing	Building	1940, ca.1955
107	Nunez Lodge Dormitory			Contributing	Building	1963
108	Garage	Students and James M. (Jim) Christopher		Contributing	Building	1929
110	Cottage	Stonemason and Students	USIS-DOI	Contributing	Building	1939
112	Horse Barn	James M. (Jim) Christopher[401]		Contributing	Building	1925
114	Dairy Barn	James M. (Jim) Christopher		Contributing	Building	1925
116	Cottage			Contributing	Building	1963
117	Cottage			Contributing	Building	1963
118	Cottage			Contributing	Building	1963
119	Cottage			Contributing	Building	1963
129	Storage shed			Contributing	Building	ca. 1970
160	Gymnasium	Bureau of Indian Affairs (Littleton, CO)		Contributing	Building	1973
161	Water Treatment Building			Contributing	Building	1978
162	Stewart Infirmary			Contributing	Building	1904; 1918; 1939

[401] "James M. Christopher and his men are working on the new barns that are being constructed for the Carson School, Nev. These barns are to replace those lost by fire in May of 1924." *The Native American* 25, no. 7 (April 4, 1925): 87.

Resource Number	Historic Building Name/ Function	Builder	Architect	Contributing Status	Resource Type	Year Built
163	Sheds			Noncontributing	Building	ca. 2010
164	Garage			Contributing	Building	ca. 1963
165	Shed/garage			Contributing	Building	ca. 1960
166	Bus stop shelter			Contributing	Building	ca. 1965
167	Bus stop shelter			Contributing	Building	ca. 1965
168	Track and football field			Contributing	Structure	ca. 1960
169	Fence Posts			Contributing	Structure	ca. 1923
170	Detention Pond			Contributing	Structure	ca. 1960
171	Fountain			Contributing	Object	ca. 1928, reconstructed 2016
172	Grill			Contributing	Object	ca. 1960
173	Firepit			Contributing	Object	ca. 1960
N/A	Substation			Noncontributing	Structure	ca. 2012
N/A	Rodeo/Hunting Grounds	Students and Staff		Contributing	Site	1930s-1970s
N/A	Baseball/Sports Field	Students and Staff		Contributing	Site	ca. 1950s-1970s
N/A	Campus Landscape	Students and Staff		Contributing	Site	1890-1980

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

_X_Previously listed in the National Register (fill in 1 through 6 below)

__ Not previously listed in the National Register (fill in **only** 4, 5, and 6 below)

1. NR #: 85002432
2. Date of listing: 9/18/1985
3. Level of significance: State
4. Applicable National Register Criteria: A_X_ B__ C_X_ D__
5. Criteria Considerations (Exceptions): A__ B__ C__ D__ E__ F__ G__
6. Areas of Significance: Architecture, Education, and Ethnic Heritage: Native American

___Previously Determined Eligible for the National Register: Date of determination:
___Designated a National Historic Landmark: Date of designation:
___Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: HABS No.
___Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: HAER No.
__ Recorded by Historic American Landscapes Survey: HALS No.

Location of additional data:

State Historic Preservation Office:

Other State Agency: Stewart Indian School Cultural Center and Museum

Federal Agency: American Indian Records Repository, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) at St. Louis, MO, San Bruno, CA, and Washington, DC

Local Government:

University: University of Nevada-Reno

Other (Specify Repository): National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition (NABS)

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MAP LOG

Map 1. Location Map

Map 2. Stewart Indian Boarding School National Historic Landmark Boundary

Map 3. Stewart Indian Boarding School Contributing and Noncontributing Resources

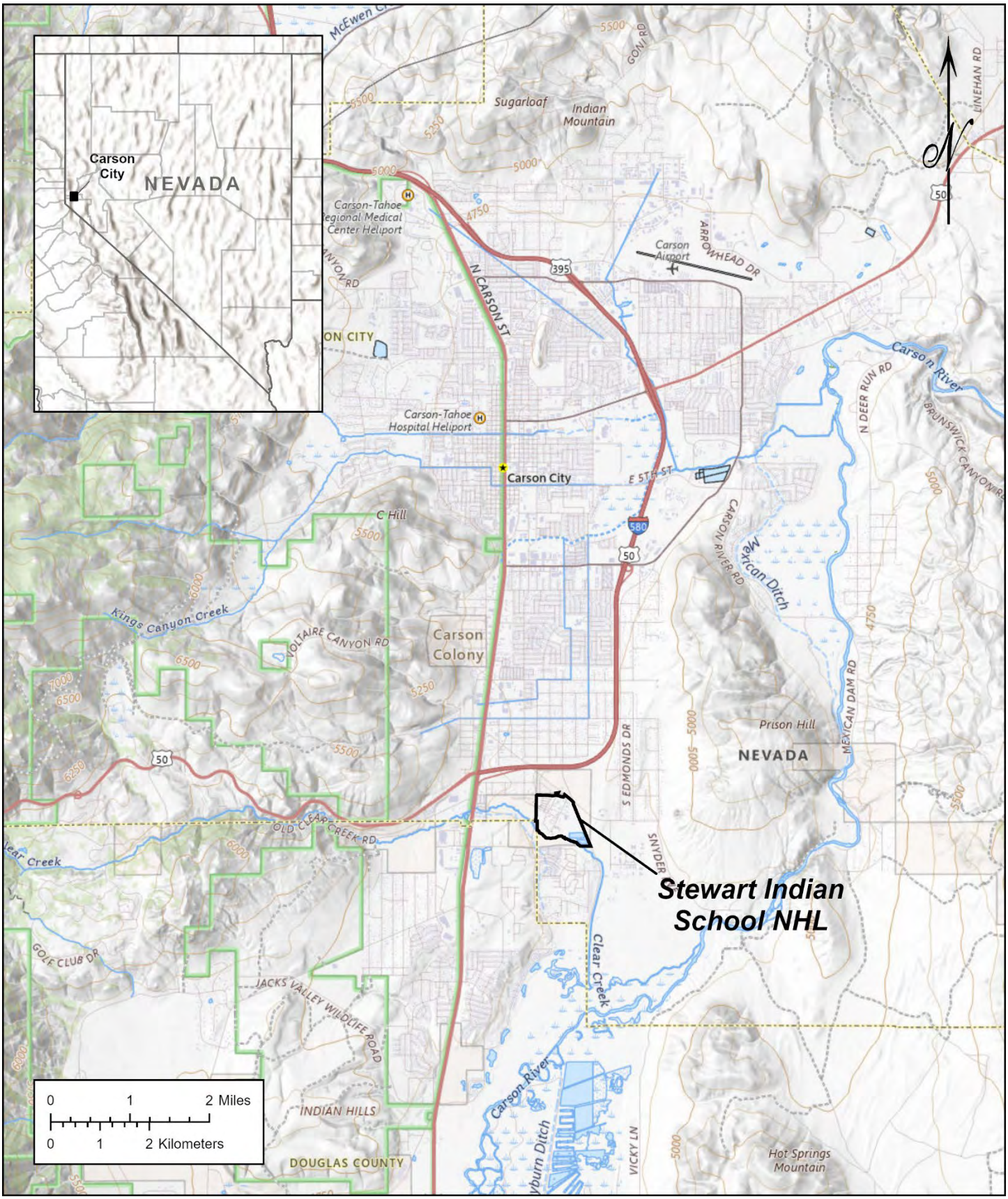
Map 4. Currently extant resources constructed 1900-1929

Map 5. Currently extant resources constructed 1930-1959

Map 6. Currently extant resources constructed 1960-1979

All maps created by John Swigart, National Association of Tribal Historic Preservation Officers, November 2026.

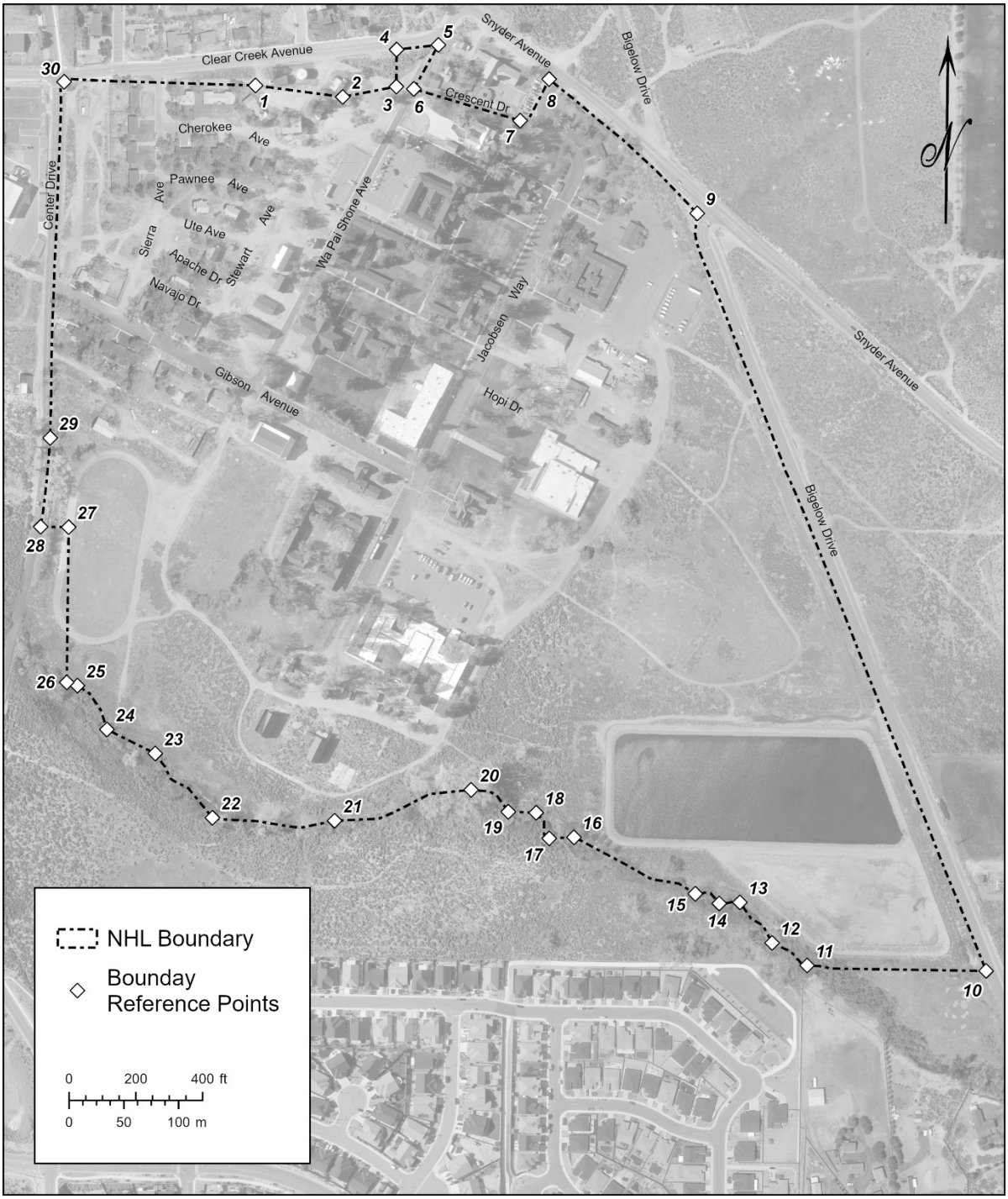
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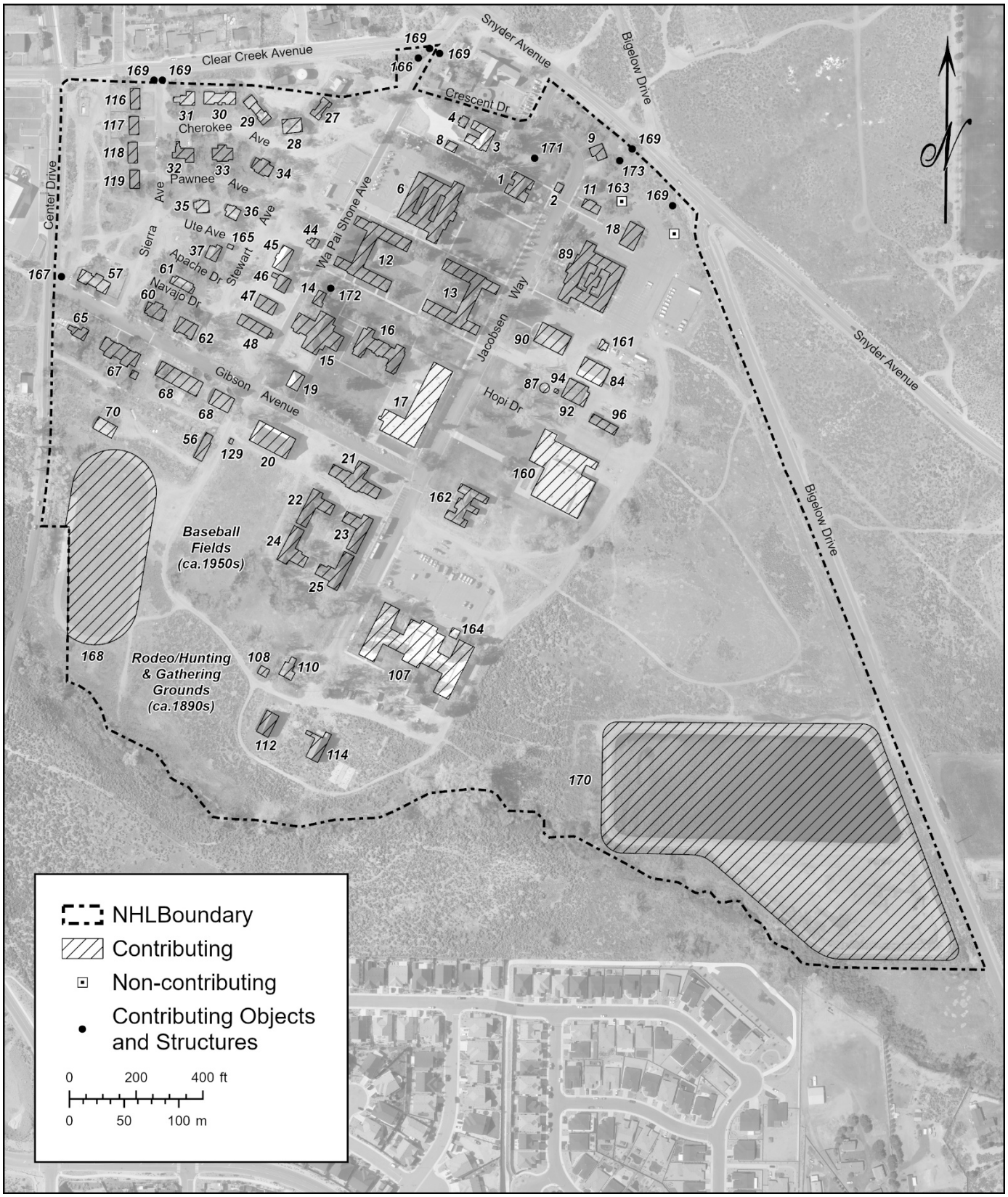
Map 2. Location Map

Latitude/Longitude Coordinates

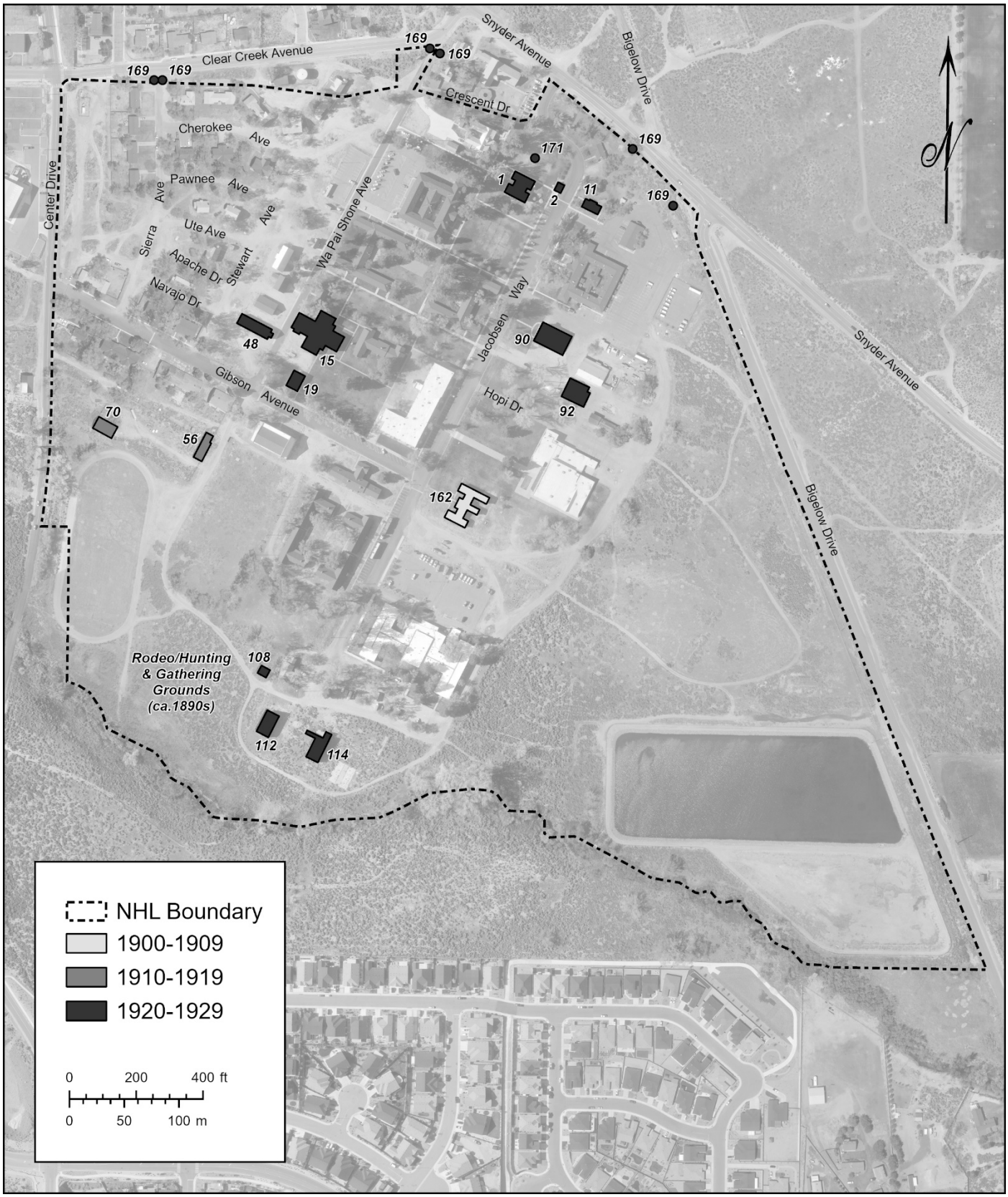
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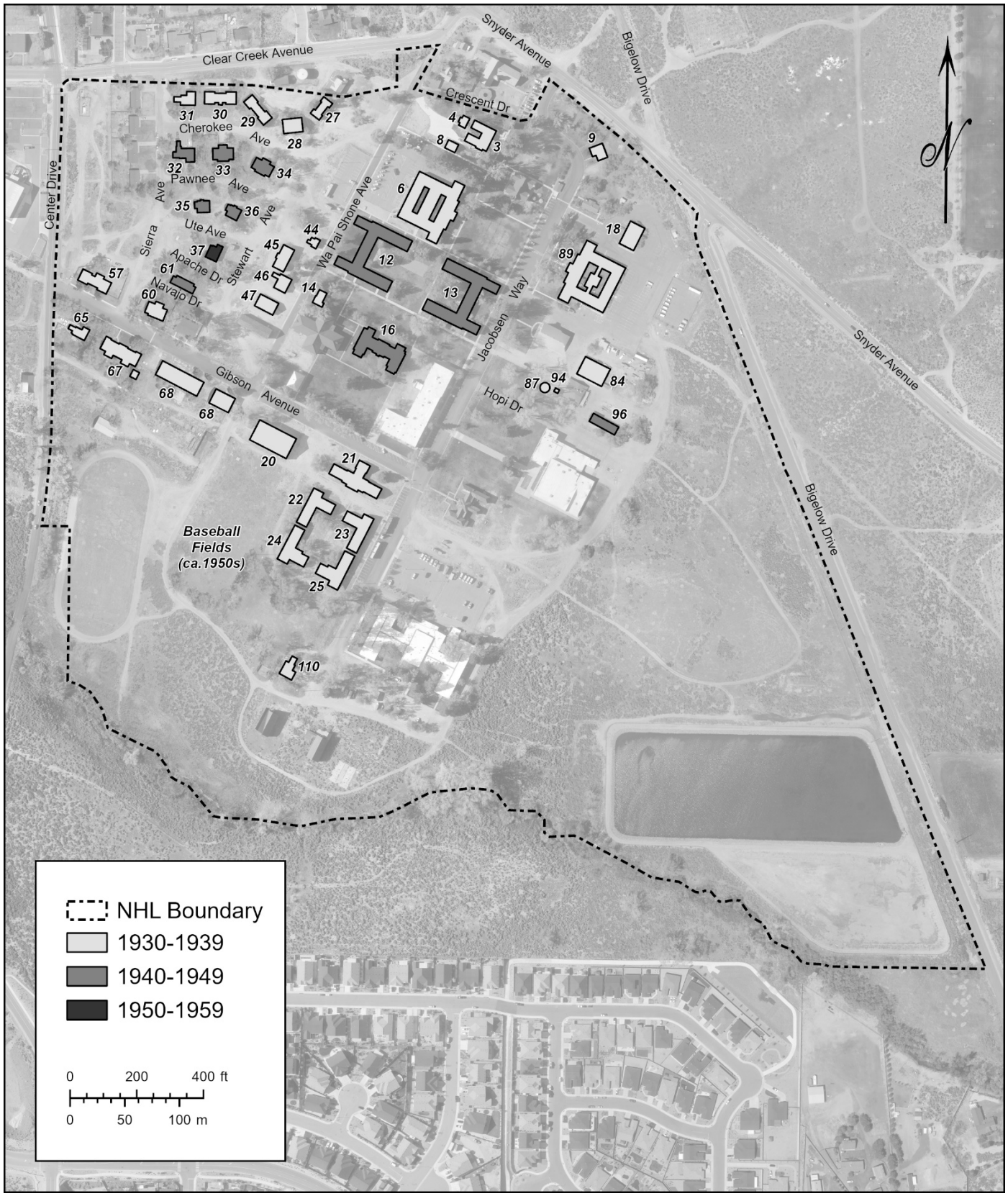
Map 2. Stewart Indian Boarding School National Historic Landmark Boundary



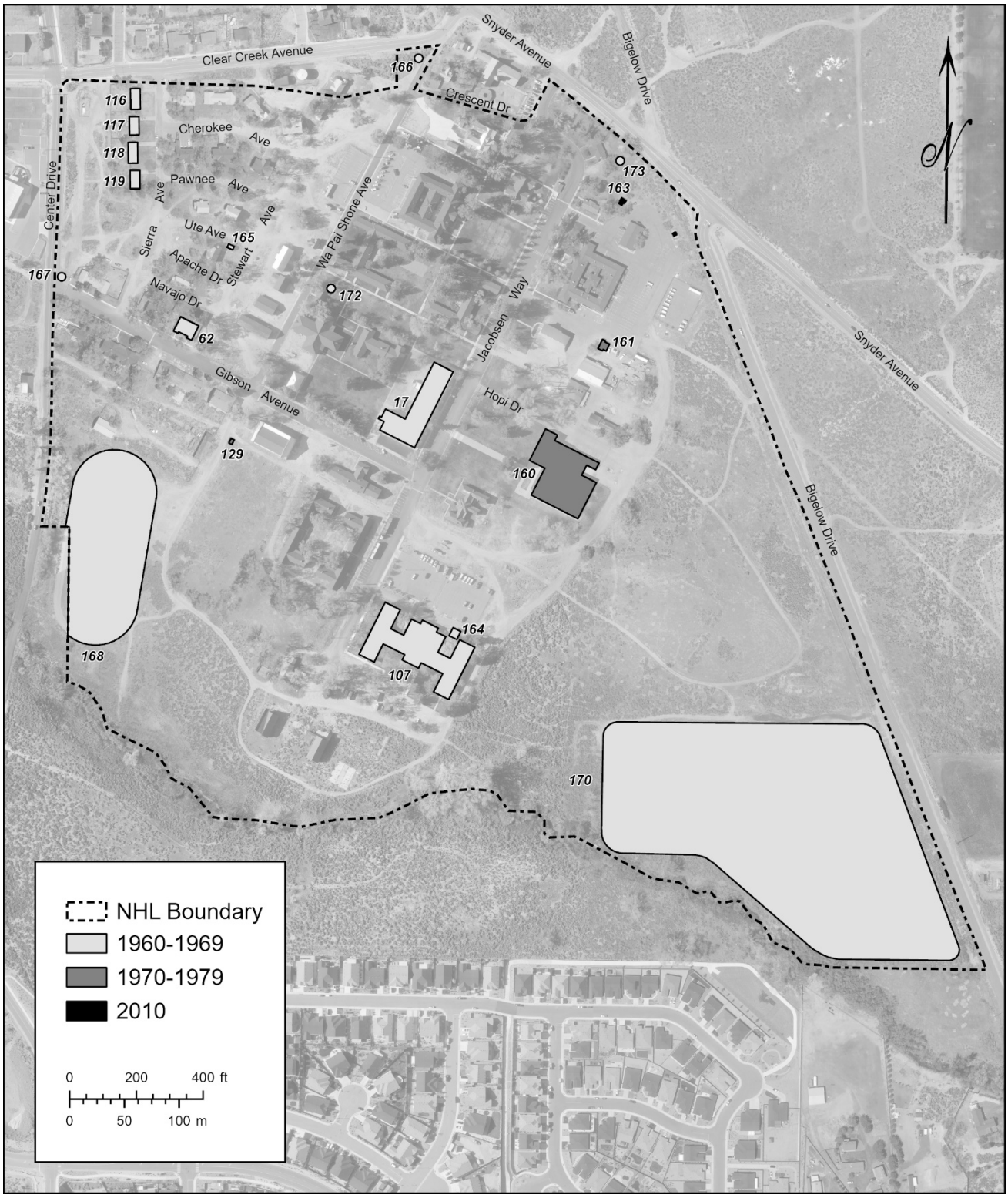
Map 3. Stewart Indian Boarding School Contributing and Noncontributing Resources



Map 4. Currently extant resources constructed 1900-1929



Map 5. Currently extant resources constructed 1930-1959



Map 6. Currently extant resources constructed 1960-2010