A Consideration of U.S. Educational Systems in the Experience of Historical Trauma for American Indians and Their Descendants

Kathryn England-Aytes, MS, EdD

> *The war for Indian children will be won in the classroom. Whoever controls our education controls our future.*
>
> **— Wilma Mankiller (1945–2010)**
>
> *Principal Chief, Cherokee Nation, Oklahoma (1985–1995), as cited in N.S. Hill, Oneida, 2010*

Nearly three centuries after the arrival of the European colonists, the devastating impact of educational policies directed at Native American children can still be felt within Native communities. Current mainstream educational policies may still directly challenge tribal identification and traditional values for Native students, thus remaining a source of cultural conflict and negation of the individual and cultural identity (Marr, 2012; Jacobs, Cajete, & Jongmin, 2010; Grande, 2004; Deloria & Wildcat, 2001). It is important for educators to understand the unique roles that historical trauma and unresolved grief play in the lives of Native students, their families, and their communities. Cultivating awareness and empathetic concern in the educational process may help reduce the legacy of historical trauma for future generations.

Historical Trauma: A Disease of Time

Historical trauma has been called a "disease of time," with the accumulation of disease and social distress reaching into succeeding generations (Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2004, p. 6). One of the challenges in understanding this concept is that it entails the ability to conceptualize how events that took place in the distant past affect the present. A substantial body of research has emerged on historical trauma among American Indian and Alaskan Native populations in the past two decades. Dr. Maria Yellow Horse Brave Heart's landmark work defined historical trauma as cumulative emotional and psychological wounding, over the lifespan and across generations, emanating from massive group trauma experiences (Brave Heart-Jordan & DeBruyn, 1995; Yellow Horse Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998; Brave Heart, 2003).

In their work with Native child populations, Dolores Subia-Bigfoot and Burris described three primary types of trauma in Indian Country: *cultural trauma*, which is caused by an attack that affects the essence of a community and its members; *historical trauma*, which is caused by cumulative exposure to traumatic events that affect an individual and continue to affect subsequent generations; and *intergenerational trauma*, which refers to trauma that is not resolved but internalized and passed from one generation to the next (Subia-Bigfoot & Burris, personal communication, 2007).

Addressing the cumulative impact of historically traumatic events on Native peoples in educational settings requires an understanding of colonization, cultural identity, tribal citizenship, sovereignty, and federal policies directed at Native people.

Early Educational Policies: Missionaries, Treaties, and Becoming Wards of the State

Eurocentric education for Native Americans began as missionary efforts by European colonizers as early as the 1630s. Jesuit missionaries attempted to convert Native Americans to Christianity, which proved difficult, as revealed by the following Huron comment to Jesuit missionary Jean de Brébeuf in 1635:

> You tell us fine stories, and there is nothing in what you say that may not be true; but that is good for you who come across the seas. Do you not see that, as we inhabit a world so different from yours, there must be another heaven for us, and another road to reach it? (*A Huron Indian …*, 1635/2007, p. 6)

Colonizers regarded education as a necessary bridge to Christianize and "civilize" Native Americans. Curricula and teaching were implemented without consideration for the values

of Native peoples themselves, setting the stage for generations of mis-education (Boyer, 1997) and cumulative trauma. Ultimately, American Indian educational policy became inextricably intertwined with federal policies directed toward the elimination or assimilation of Native populations.

Throughout the nineteenth century, the U.S. federal government initiated hundreds of treaties with sovereign Native American nations who exchanged lands for the provision of education, healthcare, and protection from continued expansion. In spite of government promises to leave Indian Territory unmolested, westward expansion continued, fueled by the fur trade, an ever-growing push for land for white settlement, gold discoveries, and the higher calling of Manifest Destiny.

In 1862, Secretary of the Interior Caleb B. Smith discussed federal policy focused on acquiring possession of Indian land in a description of land grants for higher education in agricultural and mechanical arts:

> The rapid progress of civilization upon this continent will not permit the lands which are required for cultivation to be surrendered to savage tribes for hunting … although the consent of the Indians has been obtained in the form of treaties, it is well known that they have yielded to a necessity to which they could not resist…. Instead of being treated as independent nations [as in the past] they should be regarded as wards of the Government. (as cited in Phillips, 2003, p. 23)

Such policies were implemented with federal and state mandates to remove all American Indians to tribal reserves, disrupting sacred relationships to the land and forcing assimilation through education and religious indoctrination. Finally, although the tragic effects of differential immunity to diseases between populations are well documented as an unintended consequence of peoples coming into contact with one another for the first time, Europeans interacting with Native Americans also deliberately used diseases and their transmission as a biological weapon of choice with which to decimate the Indigenous peoples of the North American continent, resulting in countless deaths (Brave Heart-Jordan & DeBruyn, 1995; Deboe, 1940; Deboe, 1983; Duran & Duran, 1995; Jacobs et al., 2010; Ross, 1998; Zinn, 2003).

Even those charged with enforcing federal policy struggled with the morality of it. In his observations of conditions in the Indian Territory in the early 1840s, a frustrated Major Ethan Allen Hitchcock described his views of conflict between the U.S. government and the Cherokee, Choctaw, Muskogee Creek, Chickasaw, and Seminole Nations—or the Five Civilized Tribes as they were known at that time:

> The government is in the wrong, and this is the chief cause of the persevering opposition of the Indians, who have nobly defended their country against our attempt to enforce a fraudulent treaty. The natives used every means to avoid a war, but were forced into it by the tyranny of our government. (Hitchcock, E. A. 1840s/1909, p. 120)

Removal and Resistance: Walking to Indian Country

Indian territories in Oklahoma and South Dakota were initially established to accommodate westward expansion. In 1830, Congress passed the Indian Removal Act, which appropriated funds for relocation—by force if necessary—of all Native Americans to Indian Territory. Federal officials were sent to negotiate removal treaties with southern tribes, many of whom reluctantly signed, exchanging one form of genocide for another (University of Nebraska, 2010).

Arguably, although all tribes removed to the Indian Territory shared similar experiences of hardship and suffering, the Cherokee removal, known as the Trail of Tears, continues to be one of the most recognized accounts of Indian removal in American history. The Cherokee had sought to retain rights to their remaining lands in Georgia by bringing a lawsuit against the state, eventually prevailing in a companion suit decided in favor of Cherokee boundaries by the U.S. Supreme Court (Worcester v. Georgia, 1832).

Ignoring the Supreme Court's ruling, President Andrew Jackson initiated policies to terminate title to Indian land in a number of states (including Georgia shortly after gold was discovered on Cherokee land) and to relocate all Indian populations to the Indian Territory, which eventually became the state of Oklahoma (Cherokee Nation History Course, 2000). In the winter of 1838–39, the U. S. Army rounded up an estimated 16,000 Cherokee men, women, and children and interned them in forts built in North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Tennessee, where hundreds died from illness and harsh conditions before they could be removed to Indian Territory. There is no official government record of the number of Cherokee who died as a result of the removal, but it is estimated that some 4,000 died en route or shortly after arrival (Foreman, 1934).

Following the Civil War, all tribally controlled educational systems were abolished. The federal education philosophy for American Indians became an effort to

> educate the Indian in the ways of civilized life in order to preserve him from extinction, not as an Indian, but as a human being…[H]e cannot exist encysted, as it were, in the body of this great nation…. To educate the Indian is to prepare him for the abolishment of tribal relations to take his land in severalty, and in the sweat of his brow and the toil of his hands to carry out, as his white brother has done, a home for himself and family. (U.S. federal agencies, n.d., as cited in Clarke, 1993, p. 15)

Throughout the rest of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as settlers regarded Indians' control of land and natural resources as serious threats toward expansion and economic goals, a number of acts were passed by the U.S. Congress. The language of the 1871 Indian Appropriations Act effectively destroyed sovereignty for Native people living in the United States:

> PROVIDED, That hereafter no Indian nation or tribe within the territory of the United States shall be acknowledged or recognized as an independent nation, tribe, or power with whom the United States may contract by treaty…. (p. 544)

Allotment and Assimilation: Losing Ground in Indian Country

By the late nineteenth century, the treaty system was replaced with laws "giving" American Indians ownership of what was left of their original lands. The General Allotment Act was passed in 1887 by the United States federal government to regulate Indian land. It enabled the government to land that had been collectively owned for centuries and the power to divide it into separately owned lots, while distributing any unoccupied or excess land to white settlers.

U.S. Congressman Henry Dawes, the author of the General Allotment Act, or the "Dawes Act" as it became known, had great faith in private property as a means to "civilize" recalcitrant natives. To be civilized, he reportedly said, was to "wear civilized clothes...cultivate the ground, live in houses, ride in Studebaker wagons, send children to school, drink whiskey [and] own property" (quoted by Nebraska Studies, n.d., p. 1).

Communal tribal land was cut into allotments of 160-acre parcels and "given" to individual tribal members. The U.S. Government intended to hold allotted land "in trust" for 25 years, so Indians would not sell the land or return it to tribal reserves. The Act went on to offer Indians the benefits of U.S. citizenship—if they took the allotments, lived separately from their tribes, and became "civilized." The relationship between educational policy and land transfers of this period is illuminated by a Lakota Sioux elder: "They made us many promises, more than I can remember, but they never kept but one; they promised to take our land and they took it" (attributed to Lakota elder in Clarke, 1993, chap 2, p. 6). In the half century following the Dawes Act, additional federal statutes resulted in the transfer of approximately 90 million acres of land from American Indian to white owners.

While the process of decimation of ancestral lands, forced relocation to reduced land holdings, and the ultimate dismantling of those holdings had an enormous impact on Native peoples, it was the abolition of tribal education and the imposition of federally mandated residential schools that extended the cultural decimation of Native communities into subsequent generations.

Boarding Schools: Killing the Savage—Saving the Man

Historians have compared the residential school system to a penal system. Indian children as young as age 5 were taken from their families and housed in overcrowded, inadequate facilities; forbidden to use their Native language; and punished for noncompliance with ankle chains and solitary confinement. Refusing to send one's children to boarding school could result in parents' arrest and a reduction or elimination of food rations (Clarke, 1993). Capt. Richard Henry Pratt, a decorated officer in the Civil War who had supervised prisoner of war camps for the Union, was the architect of residential school policies, which he justified (as the Carlisle School founder in 1892) with this argument:

> It is a great mistake to think that the Indian is born an inevitable savage. He is born a blank, like all the rest of us. Left in the surroundings of savagery, he grows to possess a savage language, superstition, and life. Transfer the savage-born infant to the surroundings of civilization, and he will grow to possess a civilized language and habit. (reprinted in Pratt, 1973, p. 266)

The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) established 25 residential boarding schools to which hundreds of thousands of children were sent or forcibly removed between 1880 and 1970. Established as quasi-military institutions with harsh indoctrination and systematic suppression of Native culture, children learned English, Christianity, and agricultural and domestic skills. They were away from their families for months or years at a time, and conditions at many schools included long-term physical and sexual abuse of students, malnutrition, and medical neglect (Adams, 1995; Andrews, 2002; American Indian Heritage Support Center, 2012; Grande, 2004; American Indian Institute, 2012).

The legacy of residential schools has been experienced in subsequent generations as unresolved historical trauma and grief (Richie, 2008; Duran, 2006).

Federal Termination: A Solution to the 'Indian Problem'

In 1944, a U.S. Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs offered recommendations on achieving "the final solution of the Indian problem" (U.S. Senate, 1969, p. 14). Federal officials announced that Indian assimilation must be the goal of Indian policy, recommending a termination of the trust status of Indian lands and a return to individual self-reliance.

Following WWII, U.S. officials once again suggested a solution to the "Indian problem" with termination and urbanization policies. The Hoover Commission, appointed by President Truman, recommended assimilation policies aimed at integrating Indians into mainstream U.S. society as one way to relieve the federal government of the financial responsibilities entailed by its trust relationship with the tribes. A 1948 Committee on Indian Affairs (reporting to the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch) claimed that "assimilation must be the dominant goal of public policy" and that

> the basis for historic Indian culture has been swept away…. Traditional tribal organization was smashed a generation ago…. Assimilation cannot be prevented. The only questions are: What kind of assimilation and how fast? (pp. 44-45, as cited in Prucha, 1986, p. 1039)

Throughout the 1950s, Congress pursued this misguided effort to end all federal aid and, in many cases, federal protection for Native Americans. One such policy, the American Indian Urban Relocation Program**,** was designed to induce rural Natives to relocate to seven major urban areas where jobs were reportedly more plentiful. Relocation offices were set up in Chicago, Denver, Los Angeles, San Francisco, San Jose, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Cleveland, and Dallas with promises of a better life for Native people willing to relocate far from their original homes (Clarke, 1993).

An estimated 750,000 Native Americans migrated to the cities between 1950 and 1980, many through the Relocation Program. BIA employees were supposed to orient new arrivals and manage financial and job-training programs for them; however, as was the case with so many earlier agreements, often those promises were not kept. Frequently, the children of these relocated families struggled to adapt to unfamiliar surroundings, and their experiences in public education only served to heighten the loss and grief of relocation (Clarke, 1993).

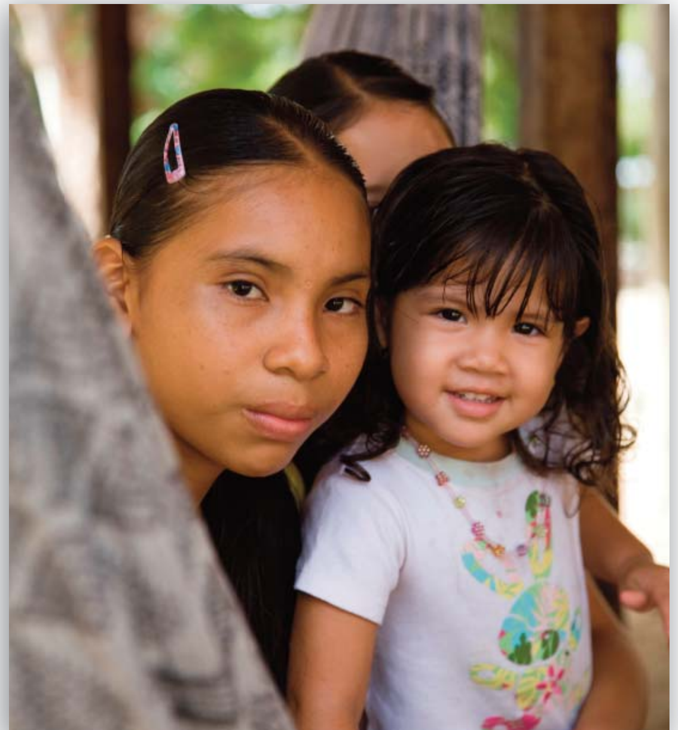
Civil Rights and Activism

The Civil Rights movement of the 1960s produced a generation of Indian activists who sought significant and permanent change in federal policies for Native Americans, not only with respect to education but also with regard to other disastrous policies.

In 1969, Senate Report 91-501, commonly known as the Kennedy Report, was published by the Special Subcommittee on Indian Education, Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

Senator Edward Kennedy observed the following:

> The coercive assimilation policy has had disastrous effects on the education of Indian children…schools which fail to recognize the importance and validity of the Indian community…a dismal record of absenteeism, dropouts, negative self-image, low achievement, and ultimately,



> academic failure for many Indian children; a perpetuation of the cycle of poverty which undermines the success of all other Federal programs. (p. 21)

Self-determination, a term from the Indian Education Act of 1972, suggested that American Indians should control their own tribal destinies (Lankford & Riley, 1986). The Act funded programs to address low-achievement and high-dropout rates among Native American students as well as bringing some dramatic changes in the way Indian education was funded and administered. The hope was that if Native Americans regained control over the education of their own children, those children would begin to make measurable gains in all levels of education, including higher education.

The Self-Determination Act of 1975 funded technical training and BIA staff support, and required federal programs to work with tribes so they might assume greater control of their members' education; however, most educational programs remained Eurocentric in their curriculum and teaching. Native teachings that emphasized indigenous wisdom were deemed inferior to mainstream, Western-style teaching (Jacobs et al., 2010).

Lessons of Remembering: Responding to Historical Trauma

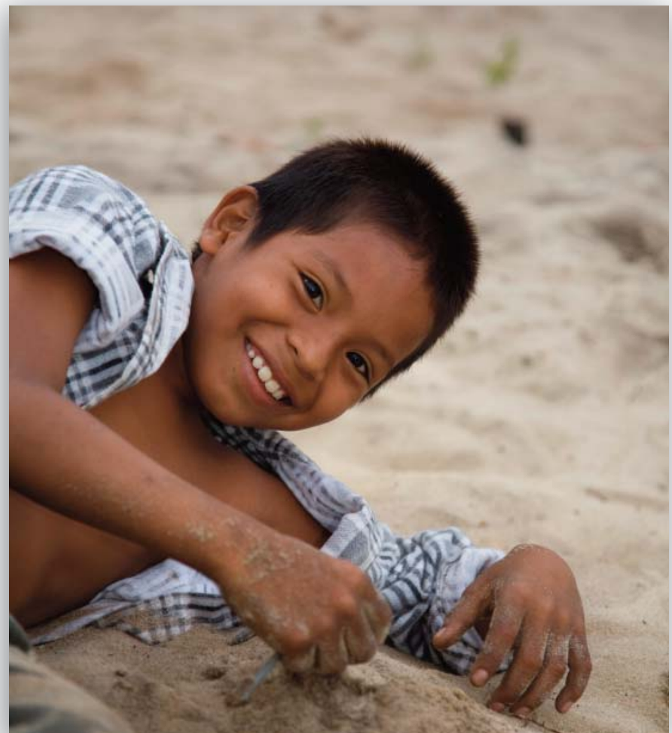
Culturally responsive teaching is defined as using "cultural knowledge, prior experiences, and performance styles of diverse students to make learning more appropriate and effective for them" (Gay, 2000, p. 29). This pedagogy embraces the effectiveness of teaching to and through the strengths of Native students. Culturally responsive pedagogy benefits all students, but it requires a degree of cultural literacy often absent in mainstream classrooms. Regrettably, the vast majority of American Indian students are taught by non-Native teachers, and no attempt to assist Native students can occur apart from an acknowledgment that mainstream educational policy has failed Native students and damaged tribal efforts to preserve cultural identity. There has been little effort to acknowledge the legitimacy of the cultures of Native students and to connect academic abstractions with their socio-cultural realities.

In *Critical Neurophilosophy and Indigenous Wisdom*, Jacobs and colleagues (2010) suggest that awareness of one's own place in the world is critical to meaningful relationships with others. Indigenous wisdom "holds that technology, including that which supports the neurosciences, is an important aspect of humanity, but that without a deeper understanding of the sacred, natural world, its consequences will continue to disrupt the balance of life on Earth" (p. 11). This view honors the Native understanding that education is a comprehensive process of life and learning, undertaken within a cultural experience, and that wisdom is never "mastered" or fully known.

Native education explores an awareness of one as an integral part of a larger Creation that is physical and spiritual, animate and inanimate, real and mystical. The importance of a person's character and how to make use of what one learns is of great significance. This is first measured within the context of family and community and determines whether one's life is in balance—what Cherokees would describe as "having a good mind" (Cross, 1998; Jacobs et. al., 2010; Mankiller, personal communication, 2009). The awareness of this fundamentally ingrained worldview, which roots the individual in generations of one's people, provides the basis for presenting educational materials that engage the world of the Native student.

Effective education provides tools for living, not rules for living. Such tools rules need to be grounded in the traditions of the people being educated. To the extent to which educators demand that a student's roots be forfeited, any curriculum becomes a weapon of destruction.

According to Ringell and Brandell (2010), Native Americans experience contemporary events on an ongoing basis that have the potential to be traumatic at individual and cultural levels at much higher rates than for other racial groups. Research on the interaction between the response of Native Americans to historical trauma and their contemporary experiences of trauma, mistreatment, injustice, and discrimination has suggested that the interplay between direct trauma experiences and transgenerational trauma is best understood against the backdrop of distal patterns of collective



harm (Whitbeck, Adams, Hoyt, & Chen, 2004). First-hand experiences of discrimination, injustice, poverty, and social inequality may reinforce ancestral knowledge of historical trauma (Brave Heart, 2003; Williams, Neighbors, & Jackson, 2003).

Although there is no single *correct* way for educators to address the complexities of historical trauma and unresolved grief among Native students and their communities, in *Teaching Truly: A Curriculum to Indigenize Mainstream Education* (England-Aytes, 2013), Native educators discuss the history of Native educational policies and contemporary teaching practices with generalizable suggestions for educators. The contributors suggest that educators consider the following:

1. *Acquire a basic understanding of the experience of Indigenous people in the United States.* With over 560 federally recognized tribes in the United States, there is no generic Native American. Native identity exists on a continuum ranging from traditional to highly assimilated. Educators interacting with specific tribes should become familiar with specific tribal history and contemporary experiences.

2. *Go beyond simply acquiring knowledge*. Culture is a complex concept with characteristics that can be difficult to define. Explore the internal representations of Indigenous culture—such as values, beliefs, and attitudes—with tribal members, particularly elders, and learn how those internal experiences are expressed and shared externally.

3. *Introduce community-level connections and collaborations with Native institutions*. Educators know that students learn best when they are actively engaged in the material. Ongoing relationships and collaborations with Native institutions provide opportunities to engage in hands-on learning about Native culture and traditional communities.

4. *Do not limit student learning about Native Americans to a historical context*. There are currently more than four million people in the United States who identify as American Indian or Alaska Native (National Urban Indian Family Coalition, 2008). Regularly engage students with contemporary Native experiences; use local Indigenous experts and sites. Native history should not be taught as a separate category of U.S. history: American history ***is*** American Indian history.

5. *Pay attention to behaviors that could indicate experience of traumatic events, including psychological stress*. Knowing the historical, social, economic, and cultural contexts in which students live can help educators respond appropriately to behaviors indicating primary or secondary trauma. Make the connection between current behaviors and historical distress.

6. *Recognize and acknowledge current experiences of discrimination and social injustice of Native people and the failure of most institutions to acknowledge responsibility in past wrongs*. In May of 2010, during an event at the Congressional Cemetery in Washington, D.C., Senator Sam Brownback read a joint resolution of the 111th U.S. Congress, formally apologizing to American Indian tribes for federal policies and historical acts of "violence, maltreatment and neglect." (U.S. Senate, 2009–2010). Some in Indian Country felt the apology should have been offered publicly by the President and that it was specifically worded *not* to suggest any compensation due to Native people as a result of such acts; however, it marked an important acknowledgement of historical wrongs (Pember, 2011).

Becoming aware of how Eurocentric education has affected Native students is an important step in acknowledging and responding to historical trauma and unresolved grief, as well as honoring Indigenous wisdom in contemporary educational settings. As Native educators, we must continue to share in a personal and public discourse that encourages preservation of Indigenous knowledge, embraces diversity of thought, and restores balance for Native people.

References

Aboriginal Healing Foundation. (2004). *Historic trauma and Aboriginal healing.* Ottawa, Ontario: Anishinabe Printing.

Adams, D. W. (1995). *Education for extinction: American Indians and the boarding school experience 1875–1928.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

A Huron Indian to Jesuit missionary Jean de Brébeuf. (1635/2007). Native American history section. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press. Available at: **http://www.smithsoniansource.org/display/primarysource/viewdetails.aspx?PrimarySourceId=1187**

American Indian Heritage Support Center. (2012). *Indian education and boarding schools*. Bentonville, AR: Author.

American Indian Institute. (2012, March 18–22). Conference proceedings: 11th Native Women and Men's Wellness Conference. Norman: University of Oklahoma.

Andrews, T. G. (2002, Winter). Turning the tables on assimilation: Oglala Lakotas and the Pine Ridge day schools, 1889–1920s. *Western Historical Quarterly, 33*(4), 407–430.

Boyer, P. (1997). *Native American colleges: Progress and prospects*. An Ernest T. Boyer project of The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. Princeton, NJ (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 409037).

Brave Heart, M. (1998). The return to the sacred path: Healing the historical trauma and historical unresolved grief response among the Lakota through a psycho-educational group intervention. *Smith College Studies in Social Work*, *68,* 287–305.

Brave Heart, M. (2003). The historical trauma response among Natives and its relationship with substance abuse: A Lakota illustration. *Journal of Psychoactive Drugs, 35*(1), 7–13.

Brave Heart-Jordan, M., & DeBruyn, L. (1995). So she may walk in balance: Integrating the impact of historical trauma in the treatment of Native American Indian women. In J. Adleman & G. Enquidanos (Eds.), *Racism in the lives of women: Testimony theory and guides to anti-racist practice* (pp. 345–368). New York: Haworth Press.

Cherokee Nation History Course. (2000). Forced removal (Section 6). In C. Smith (Ed.), *Cherokee nation history course* (pp. 1–36). Tahlequah, OK: Author.

Clarke, A. (1993). Sisters in the blood: The education of women in Native America. Center for Bilingual/Multicultural Education, Montana State University. Newton, MA: WEEA Publishing Center.

Cross, T. L. (1998). Cultural competence continuum. *Focal Point*. Portland, OR: Research and Training Center on Family Support and Children's Mental Health, Portland State University.

Dawes Severalty Act, 1887, U. S. Stat. at L. p. 388–391.

Debo, A. (1940). *And still the waters run: The betrayal of the Five Civilized Tribes*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Debo, A. (1983). *A history of the Indians of the United States*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Deloria, V., Jr., & Wildcat, D. (2001). *Power of place: Indian education in America*. Golden, CO: Fulcrum Resources.

Duran, E. (2006). *Healing the soul wound: Counseling with American Indians and other Native peoples.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Duran, E., & Duran, B. (1995). *Native American postcolonial psychology.* Albany: State University of New York Press.

England-Aytes, K. (2013). Historical trauma and its prevention in the classroom. In K. England-Aytes (Ed.), *Teaching truly: A curriculum to Indigenize mainstream education* (pp. 29-31). New York: Peter Lang Publishing.

Foreman. G. (1934). *The Five Civilized Tribes*. Civilization of American Indian Series 8. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Gay, G. (2000). *Culturally responsive teaching: Theory, research, and practice*. New York: Teachers' College Press.

Grande, S. (2004). *Red pedagogy: Native American social and political thought*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield.

Hitchcock, E. A. (1840s/1909). *Fifty years in camp and field: Diary of Major-General Ethan Allen Hitchcock.* W. A. Croffut, Ed. New York: Knickerbocker Press.

Hill, N.S. (2010). *Words of Power: Voices of American Indians*. Oneida: ReadHowYouWant, LLC.

Indian Appropriation Act, 1872, 16 U.S. Stat. at L.

Jacobs, D. Four Arrows, Cajete, G., & Jongmin, L. (2010). *Critical neurophilosophy and indigenous wisdom.* Boston: Sense Publishers.

Kennedy, E., & U.S. Senate, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. (1969). *Indian education: A national tragedy—A national challenge* [Report by Special Subcommittee on Indian Education]. Retrieved from: **http://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED034625**

Lankford, R., & Riley, J. (1986). Native American reading disability. *Journal of American Indian Education, 25*(3), 1–11.

Mankiller, W., & Wallis, M. (1993). *Mankiller: A Chief and her people*. New York: St. Martin's Griffin.

Marr, C. (2012, April 16). Assimilation through education: Indian boarding schools in the Pacific Northwest. Urbana–Champaign: University of Illinois, Modern American Poetry. Retrieved from: **http://www.english.illinois.edu/maps/poets/a_f/erdrich/boarding/marr.htm**

National Urban Indian Family Coalition (NUIFC). (2008). *Urban Indian America: The status of American Indian and Alaska Native children and families today*. The Annie E. Casey Foundation; National Urban Indian Family Coalition; Marguerite Casey Foundation; Americans for Indian Opportunity; National Indian Child Welfare Association. Retrieved from: **http://www.aecf.org/KnowledgeCenter/Publications.aspx?pubguid={CCB6DEB2-007E-416A-A0B2-D15954B48600}**

Nebraska Studies. (n.d.). *The Dawes Act, 1887.* Retrieved from: **http://www.nebraskastudies.org/0600/frameset_reset.html?http://www.nebraskastudies.org/0600/stories/0601_0200.html**

Pember, M.A. (2011). The quiet American apology to Indians. *Daily Yonder: Politics and Government.* Retrieved from: **http://www.dailyyonder.com/quiet-american-apology-indians/2011/12/07/3634**

Phillips, J. L. (2003). A tribal college land grant perspective: Changing the conversation. *Journal of American Indian Education, 42*(1), 22–35. Retrieved May 19, 2004, from: **http://jaie.asu.edu/v42/42_1_%202003%203%20Phillips.pdf**

Pratt, R. H., Captain. (1892). *Official report of the Ninteenth Annual Conference of Charities and Correction, 1892*. Reprinted in R. H. Pratt (1973), The advantages of mingling Indians with whites. *Americanizing the American Indians: Writings by the 'Friends of the Indian,' 1880–1900* (pp. 260–271). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Prucha, F. (1986). *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians* (Abr. ed.). Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Richie, C. (Dir). (2008). *Our spirits don't speak English: Indian boarding school*. Rich-Heape Films [DVD]**.**

Ringel, S., & Brandell, J. R. (2012). *Trauma: Contemporary directions in theory, practice, and research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Ross, L. (1998). *Inventing the savage: The social construction of Native American criminality*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

University of Nebraska. (2010). *The reservation system: Native American lands sold under the Dawes Act*. Nebraska Studies. Retrieved July 12, 2012, from: **http://www.nebraskastudies.org/0700/stories/0701_0143.html**

U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs. (2005). *Strengthening the circle: Interior Indian affairs highlights, 2001–2004.* Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

U.S. Senate, 111th Congress. (2009–2010). *S.J.RES.14*. Retrieved September 30, 2013.

Whitbeck, L. B., Adams, G, Hoyt, D, & Chen, X. (2004). Conceptualizing and measuring historical trauma among American Indian people. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, *33*(3/4), 19–30.

Williams, D., Neighbors, H., & Jackson, J. (2003). Racial/ethnic discrimination and health: Findings from community studies. *American Journal of Public Health, 93*(2), 200–208.

Worcester v. Georgia, 31 US 515, 6 Pet. 515, 8 L.Ed. 483 (1832).

Yellow Horse Brave Heart-Jordan, M., & DeBruyn, L. M. (1998). The American Indian holocaust: Healing historical unresolved grief. *American Indian and Alaska Native Mental Health Research, 8*, 56–78.

Zinn, H. (2003). *A people's history of the United States, 1492–present***.** New York: Harper Collins.

About the Author

Kathryn England-Aytes, MS, EdD, an Oklahoma native, is a Delaware–Cherokee descendant and teaches at California State University, Monterey Bay. She was the first visiting scholar at Northeastern State University in Tahlequah, Oklahoma, for the Cherokee Studies Program in 2010. She has served as a curriculum consultant for the Cherokee Nation, is a Board member of the Native American Children's Alliance, and is a master trainer for the Seneca Family of Agencies Education Institute in Salinas, California. She is a doctoral candidate at Fielding Graduate University, Santa Barbara, California, where she is completing a doctorate in educational change and leadership. Contact: **kaytes@sbcglobal.net**