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# Healing Intergenerational Wounds: Land and Memory as the Site of Indian Boarding School Violences in the United States

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Healing Intergenerational Wounds: Land and Memory as the Site of Indian Boarding School Violences in the United States

Senior Project Submitted to

The Division of Social Studies

of Bard College

by

Olivia Tencer

Annandale-on-Hudson, New York

May 2022

For the children. *Para los niños.*

## Acknowledgements

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Abstract

In 2021, the location and repatriation of unmarked graves of children at former Indian Residential and Boarding Schools in Canada and the United States headlined some of the largest news media outlets in the Northern hemisphere. Through these media headlines, the untold history of the 19th and 20th century Indian Boarding Schools began to unfold for much of the American public. Through an examination of the history of Indian Boarding Schools in the United States, Western and Indigenous intergenerational trauma theory, memory scholarship, memories of Carlisle school descendants, and decolonial land-based healing practices, this paper explores how Indian Boarding Schools were implemented as tools of ongoing settler colonialism to dispossess Indigenous peoples of their ancestral homelands. As a form of structural violence, Boarding Schools were tools of Indigenous genocide, using the site of land and memory to further harm Indigenous peoples and lifeways. However, through efforts to revitalize and re-imagine intergenerational transmissions of land based knowledge, practices, and memories, healing from Boarding School wounds is possible.

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# Preface

*"How do we regard and recall what Susan Sontag has so powerfully described as the "pain of others?" What do we owe the victims? How can we best carry their stories forward, without appropriating them, without unduly calling attention to ourselves, and without, in turn, having our own stories displaced by them? How are we implicated in the aftermath of crimes we did not ourselves witness?"*

- Marianne Hirsch[1]

*Land Acknowledgment (my version)*

Since I was a child, I have always felt a deep longing for connection and healing through the comforts of the Earth and its creatures. In the front yard of my quiet home I would pick little red berries with my sister, mashing them into a cup with sharp pine needles and droplets of water slowly dripping from the long hose in the front yard, making different concoctions of fairy soup and healing potions. Leaving the mixture by the tree I would climb until my mother yelled, telling me I was far too high up. I would then patiently wait on the lowest tree branch to see if any little critters would come by and enjoy the delicious meal I had provided for them. Of course, they would never come, as this mixture was completely inedible and I was always much too close even when sitting up inside my tree friend.

As I got older, this love for the Earth and all of its gifts stayed with me. As a person with mixed Ashkenazi Jewish and Cuban ancestry, my many ancestral wounds have become entangled with my love for the Earth. My familial line has experienced displacement, violence, and exile directly. In my first year of college, these ancestral wounds led me to the practice of

[1] Marianne Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture After the Holocaust* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 2.

herbalism, where I have been able to connect to my ancestors and the lands of my people through plants. In brewing cups of tea that my matrilineal line themselves would brew and harvesting plants that helped feed my descendants, these wounds have begun to heal.

Disconnection, exile, and violence is felt intergenerationally. In trying to speak my mother tongue, Spanish, I constantly feel the anxiety of my ancestors and the fear they have that our stories and traditions will never be told as they once were, that their meaning will get lost in my primarily English tongue. In my sophomore year of college I began to learn more about Indigenous peoples from what we now call the United States and the traumas they experienced during the Indian Boarding School era. This new knowledge deeply affected me. I could not imagine being a young child ripped away from the land that I loved, from the berries in my bowl, and my tree friend. I could not imagine the deepness of Indigenous ancestral and current wounds. Their suffering has haunted me.

We are all haunted by settler colonialism. Eve Tuck (Unangax̂, enrolled member of the Aleut Community) Associate Professor of Critical Race and Indigenous Studies at the University of Toronto, and C. Ree writes that settler colonialism is haunting. For many of those who focus their scholarship on Indigenous studies as non-Indigenous peoples, or more accurately, as settlers, a land acknowledgement may not feel remedial or radical enough in the work of allyship.[2] While I produce a land acknowledgement to honor the land and original stewards of that land on which I currently reside, I also share my discomfort with the land acknowledgment as a stand alone action for non-Indigenous, primarily white folks, to use as a sufficient tool of

[2] I have chosen for the purpose of this project to use the terms Indigenous, Indigenous people, and Indigenous nations to refer to the original inhabitants, and their descendants, of the land that is now known as the United States, Canada, and Mexico. When appropriate I will identify the Indigenous nation that my Indigenous teachers originate from.

allyship. I would like to preface this project that as a white femme settler I have many privileges afforded to me, whether that be my family's generational wealth, my educational opportunities, the color of my skin, or the geographical region in which I reside. It is not my intention for this project to speak *for* Indigenous peoples and nations. Instead I hope that my Indigenous teachers and the research I have gathered speaks *through* me, as a way to use the privilege afforded to me to write this project as a platform for Indigenous-led healing and sovereignty movements to be voiced and heard.

Through my various encounters with land acknowledgments through school boards, academic institutions, and community organizations, I have found that while the producing of the land acknowledgement creates an uneasiness of sorts, where those interested in creating the acknowledgement anxiously and quickly try to learn and unlearn decades of history, they tend to cultivate an allyship that quickly comes to an end just as soon as it comes into fruition. When the land acknowledgement is written, conversations and learning cease to exist. Currently at the academic institution where I reside, Bard College, where I call the Catskill mountains and the Hudson river, the *Mahicantuk*, home, Bard has proposed a new Indigenous studies program after receiving a grant from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation's Humanities for All Times Initiative. While my time studying here at Bard is coming to a close, I look forward to knowing how Bard will do the active work of Indigenous allyship in the near future. Bard College's land acknowledgement developed in cooperation with the Stockbridge-Munsee Community is,

> In the spirit of truth and equity, it is with gratitude and humility that we acknowledge that we are gathered on the sacred homelands of the Munsee and Muhheaconneok people, who are the original stewards of this land. Today, due to forced removal, the community resides in Northeast Wisconsin and is known as the Stockbridge-Munsee Community. We honor and pay respect to their ancestors past and present, as well as to Future generations and we recognize their continuing presence in their homelands. We understand that our

> acknowledgement requires those of us who are settlers to recognize our own place in and responsibilities towards addressing inequity, and that this ongoing and challenging work requires that we commit to real engagement with the Munsee and Mohican communities to build an inclusive and equitable space for all.[3]

While starting allyship work with a land acknowledgement can be powerful, it only continues to stay powerful if it is combined with the continuous efforts to give land back to Indigenous nations, pay land taxes to Indigenous nations based on the land you own, work, and live on, provide scholarships for Indigenous peoples whose ancestral lands are now where your institution resides, support Indigenous artists, scholars, academics, musicians, cultural bearers, and people financially, create space for yourself and others to learn about Indigenous histories of both genocide and resistance, and rally with and support Indigenous organizers and activists.

The land acknowledgement is used as a statement of honoring both the land and the original stewards of that land. Based on its structure as one that honors both the land and Indigenous peoples, it purposefully honors traditional knowledge and lifeways by recognizing the kinship Indigenous people have with land, and land with people. The land acknowledgement further recognizes the forced removal, land dispossession, and genocide of Indigenous peoples through U.S federal policies and funding. With this in mind, I would like to acknowledge that I am currently living, learning, and writing this project on the ancestral homelands of the Munsee and Muhheaconneok people who through forced removal now reside in Wisconsin and are known as the Stockbridge Munsee community.

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[3] Bard College, "Land Acknowledgement For Bard College In Annandale-on-Hudson Developed in Cooperation with the Stockbridge-Munsee Community," Bard DEI Resources, accessed April 30, 2022, https://www.bard.edu/dei/resources/.

We must remember that the goal of the land acknowledgment is not to stop the haunting of settler colonialism, but instead begin the neverending work of acknowledging the discomfort we feel with this haunting. Tuck and Ree write,

> Haunting, by contrast, is the relentless remembering and reminding that will not be appeased by settler society's assurances of innocence and reconciliation. Haunting is both acute and general; individuals are haunted, but so are societies. The United States is permanently haunted by the slavery, genocide, and violence entertwined in its first, present and future days. Haunting doesn't hope to change people's perceptions, nor does it hope for reconciliation. Haunting lies precisely in its refusal to stop.[4]

With Tuck and Ree's haunting theory in mind, I have come to terms with my permanent haunting. The work I am doing here to share and uplift the voices of Indigenous peoples and the resilience of Indigenous lifeways, despite the horrors of settler colonialism, is not meant to appease or reconcile this haunting, but instead, recognize and exist *within* this haunting.[5]

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[4] Christine Ree and Eve Tuck, "Exemplar Chapter 33: A Glossary of Haunting," in *Handbook of Autoethnography*, ed. Stacey Holman Jones, Tony E. Adams, and Carolyn Ellis (Left Coast Press, Inc., 2013), 642.

[5] Indigenous lifeways or Indigenous worldviews for Indigenous peoples is the maintaining of relationships with ancestral land, "language, people, ancestors, animals, stories, knowledge, medicine, culture, and spiritual environment." Renee Linklater, *Decolonizing Trauma Work: Indigenous Stories and Strategies* (Fernwood Publishing, 2014), 27.

# Introduction

Indigenous sovereignty and decolonization movements, formal federal and Catholic Church apologies, compensation for federal and state violences, and the introduction of new federal investigations into the violence against Indigenous peoples, have all come to the forefront within mainstream American media outlets over the past few years. The *New York Times* has written 40 articles on Indigenous issues and about Indigenous peoples since January of 2022.[6] In the summer of 2021, many of the *New York Times* articles on Indigenous related issues were specifically about the United States' Indian Boarding School policies of the 19th and 20th centuries, with headlines like "Lost Lives, Lost Culture: The Forgotten History of Indigenous Boarding Schools" and "U.S to Search Former Native American Schools for Children's Remains."[7] These headlines began to reveal to many American settlers a history, and ongoing wounding, that has been purposefully erased from our public school history books.

The Indian Boarding Schools of the 19th and 20th centuries in the United States were both residential and day schools funded by federal policy and grants. With the support of Christian missionaries, these schools were used to assimilate Indigenous children into submissive and productive American workers who would value the American ideals of Christianity, individualism, and capitalism, and denounce all Indigenous cultural traditions, ways of knowing, and worldviews. The *Washingston Post* writes that these schools were a part of the colonial

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[6] I wrote this section of the project in May of 2022 and did all of my research during 2021 and 2022 for this project.
[7] Rukmini Callimachi and Sharon Chischilly, "Lost Lives, Lost Culture: The Forgotten History of Indigenous Boarding Schools," *The New York Times*, July 19, 2021, sec. U.S., https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/19/us/us-canada-indigenous-boarding-residential-schools.html; Christine Hauser and Isabella Grullón Paz, "U.S. to Search Former Native American Schools for Children's Remains," *The New York Times*, June 23, 2021, sec. U.S., https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/23/us/indigenous-children-indian-civilization-act-1819.html.

project, "one that imposed private property rights and Christianity on Indigenous people at a time when their lands and resources were viewed as ripe for plunder."[8] Assimilation "education" was primarily a tool of the U.S settler colonial state to dispossess Indigenous peoples from their land and disintegrate strong Indigenous familial and communal ties. While assimilation is violent in itself by stripping people of their cultures and identities, these Boarding Schools were also often places of physical, emotional, and sexual abuse, and neglect, where many children passed away at these schools or shortly after returning home due to injury, mistreatment, or illness. The Boarding Schools were tools of Indigenous genocide. Indigenous children's lives were not valued by Boarding School "educators" and federal policy makers, and ultimately actualized the efforts of dispossessing Indigenous peoples from their land by way of structural violence.[9]

The structural violence of the settler state has fractured Indigenous communal and land-based relations through displacement and dispossession. By severing Indigenous lifeways from people, the site of memory is fractured, aiming to ensure an end to Indigenous sovereignty and the intergenerational transmission of Indigenous knowledge. Using personal and collective memories of Boarding Schools, scholarship on decolonization and memory, intergenerational trauma theory, and land-based healing practices, I argue that the decolonization of trauma work for Boarding School survivors and descendants must focus on the site of Indigenous memory in relation to land in order for Indigenous people to heal from and resist ongoing settler colonialism as structure.

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[8] Brenda J. Child, "U.S. Boarding Schools for Indians Had a Hidden Agenda: Stealing Land," *Washington Post*, August 27, 2021, sec. PostEverything, https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2021/08/27/indian-boarding-schools-united-states/.

[9] Structural violence is violence produced by societal structures, systems, and institutions to harm particular groups of people and perpetuate collective suffering. This term was coined by Norwegian sociologist Johan Galtung, introduced in his work "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research" in 1969. Johan Galtung, "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research," *Journal of Peace Research* 6, no. 3 (1969): 167–91.

*On Settler Colonialism as Structure*

This research project focuses on the consequences of settler colonialism in the case of Indigenous peoples of Turtle Island.[10] My understanding of the structure of settler colonialism has been influenced by the teachings of many scholars. It is crucial to understand what the structure of settler colonialism is, how it functions, what it aims to do and has done, to fully grasp both the destruction and resilience of Indigenous lifeways. The definition of settler colonialism stripped back to a single sentence is the removal of an Indigenous population for the purpose of land dispossession, resource extraction, and resettlement of a new population of people. For the purpose of this project I complicate this definition by analyzing the processes and products of settler colonialism as a structure.

Evelyn Nakano Glenn, scholar of Asian and Asian Diaspora Studies at the University of California Berkeley, argues that settler colonialism is "an ongoing structure rather than a past historical event."[11] By recognizing the persistence of settler colonialism throughout history, we better understand settler colonialism as an active and never ending process. Nick Estes (Kul Wicasa), citizen of the Lower Brule Sioux Tribe, co-founder of *The Red Nation* and Assistant Professor of American Studies at the University of New Mexico, articulates a similar idea to Glenn as he writes that colonialism is "an ongoing structure of domination– one with a

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[10] Turtle Island is the name for what is known as the North America continent. This name comes from Lenape and Haudenosaunee origin stories, which tell the story of "The Great Turtle" who saved Sky Women and created the beginning of the world on its back. Robin Wall Kimmerer, *Braiding Sweetgrass*, 1st ed. (Minneapolis, Minnesota: Milkweed Editions, 2013); Linklater, *Decolonizing Trauma Work*.
[11] Evelyn Nakano Glenn, "Settler Colonialism as Structure: A Framework for Comparative Studies of U.S. Race and Gender Formation," *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 1, no. 1 (January 2015): 54, https://doi.org/10.1177/2332649214560440.

beginning, but no end."[12] Eve Tuck and C. Ree also define the structure of settler colonialism as one that is ongoing. They describe the structure as an "ongoing horror made invisible by its persistence."[13] This use of the word "invisibility" reminds us that to analyze a structure and its processes, that have purposefully tried to remain inconceivable, is both a difficult but necessary task.

In following the structure of settler colonialism as a process that is ongoing, Leanne Betasamosake Simpson (Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg), scholar and artist, writes "the structure [of settler colonialism] shifts and adapts, however, because it has one job: to maintain dispossession by continually attacking Indigenous bodies and destroying Indigenous families."[14] This "maintenance" that Simpson writes about, reveals that settler colonialism relies on continual processes rather than ones that will begin and then end. Similar to Simpson's idea of "maintenance," Tuck and Ree argue that settler colonialism is the "management of those who have been made killable."[15] This language of "maintenance" and "management" depicts how settler colonialism is continually and actively harming Indigenous populations, making their efforts to heal difficult as new traumas are formed and existing traumas are constantly provoked. The ongoing processes of settler colonialism are built into its structure to maintain the existing population of people. This population is seen as a nuisance or threat for the settling and flourishment of the new population of people, allowing settler fears to determine ongoing processes of settler colonialism.

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[12] Nick Estes, *Our History Is the Future:Standing Rock versus the Dakota Access Pipeline, and the Long Tradition of Indigenous Resistance* (Verso, 2019), 11.

[13] Ree and Tuck, "Exemplar Chapter 33: A Glossary of Haunting," 642.

[14] Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, "Land as Pedagogy: Nishnaabeg Intelligence and Rebellious Transformation," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 3, no. 3 (November 21, 2014), 46 https://jps.library.utoronto.ca/index.php/des/article/view/22170.

[15] Ree and Tuck, 642.

While settler colonialism is ongoing, its processes are not static. Simpson argues that the processes of settler colonialism shift within the structure to both "give appearance that the structure is changing" and to "meet the insatiable need of the state for land and resources."[16] Simpson's observation of the structure as changing for the "appearance" of change is tangible in the ways that settler-colonialist neoliberal states, like Canada and the United States, position themselves as supporters of Indigenous peoples and movements. This "support" is seen as the lofty rhetoric and long overdue apologies of settler states, despite their continuous efforts to dispossess Indigenous peoples from their land and resources.[17] In conversation with Simpson, Estes depicts a personified settler colonialism as one that is constantly reproducing itself, "always need[ing] more land and water." Estes writes, "as it [settler colonialism] expands, it eats away at Indigenous territory, destroying fauna and flora and annihilating Indigenous subsistence economies."[18] Settler colonialism as structure requires an active reproduction of never ending violence.

I have often referred back to Glenn's framework of the structure of settler colonialism in my research process. Glenn argues that what defines settler colonialism in the United States is the "intention to acquire and occupy land on which to settle permanently."[19] For this occupation and settlement to be achieved, the Indigenous people must be eliminated. In the case of Indigenous people in what we now call the United States and Canada, elimination took place through various forms of genocide, including "military violence" and "biological and cultural assimilation."[20] Glenn further complicates the definition of settler colonialism by identifying how

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[16] Simpson, "Land as Pedagogy: Nishnaabeg Intelligence and Rebellious Transformation," 46.
[17] Simpson, 46.
[18] Estes, *Our History Is the Future*, 166.
[19] Glenn, "Settler Colonialism as Structure," 69.
[20] Glenn, 69.

settler ideology was and is justified. The elimination of Indigenous people was justified through means of believing that Indigenous people were "savage," "heathen," and "uncivilized," therefore "not making productive use of the land or its resources."[21] In chapter one of this project, this "justification" will be seen throughout my condensed historical overview of the Indian Boarding School Era.

In further complicating our definition of settler colonialism, Estes' framework provides further insight into the specific processes of settler colonialism. Estes argues that settler colonialism is "capitalism's twin," as together they transform "both humans and nonhumans into labor and commodities" and call for the complete "annihilation of Indigenous peoples."[22] Estes writes, "capitalism arose under a racist European feudal system. It used 'race' as a form of rule-to subordinate, to kill, and to enslave others– and used that difference for profit-making. Racial capitalism was exported globally as imperialism, including to North America in the form of settler colonialism."[23] Therefore, racial capitalism and ongoing settler colonialism harm Indigenous peoples and lifeways.

My working definition of settler colonialism as structure has also been informed by the decolonial writing and scholarship of Yomaira Figueroa-Vásquez, Associate Professor of Afro Diaspora Studies at Michigan State University. Figueroa-Vásquez argues that her decolonial concept, "Destierro," is a precondition for settler colonialism that can help us "to think through exile and diaspora in a longer colonial historical and relational context."[24] Being intentional

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[21] Glenn, 69.
[22] Estes, 29.
[23] Estes, 43.
[24] Yomaira Figueroa-Vásquez, "Chapter 3: Destierro," in *Decolonizing Diasporas: Radical Mappings of Afro-Atlantic Literature* (Northwestern University Press, 2020),Figueroa-Vásquez, "Chapter 3: Destierro." 27, 93, https://library.oapen.org/handle/20.500.12657/49666.

about looking at a longer colonial context, *the longue durée*, is pertinent for scholarship on Indigenous studies as it is the ongoing processes of colonialism that continues to harm and destroy Indigenous peoples and lifeways. *Destierro*, meaning exile, banishment, and uprooting in Spanish, is the "phenomenon of being ripped forcefully from the earth."[25] Figueroa-Vásquez's concept reminds us that violence is central in settler colonialism. This violence is seen as the murdering and raping of Indigenous peoples, but also the violence of ripping away people from land. Figueroa-Vásquez writes, it is "the processes of coloniality, settler colonialism, and neocolonialism which attempt to further sever our connection to the land and systematically othered knowledge." To write about settler colonialism and understand the functions of settler colonialism as structure, one must understand how violence and the severing of people from land and land from people is prioritized.

I propose the following working definition of settler colonialism that will help me navigate the nuances of such a structure in my investigation. Settler colonialism is the ongoing violence towards Indigenous populations and Indigenous lifeways for the purpose of both the maintenance and act of land dispossession, resource extraction, and the permanent resettlement of a population of people.

*On Genocide*

The term genocide can be unsettling for many readers and scholars to read outside of works written on the Holocaust. I have chosen intentionally to use the term genocide throughout my project to describe the acts of violence against and towards Indigenous peoples on Turtle

[25] Figueroa-Vásquez, "Chapter 3: Destierro," 27.

Island. The 1948 U.N. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide coming out of the Holocaust and WWII, defines genocide as “to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group” through methods, yet not limited to, murder, torture, and deliberate deprivation of resources needed for survival.[26] Estes points out that this definition of genocide also includes the targeting of women and children to threaten the production of future generations. Estes writes, “although the genocide convention is not retroactive (it only became applicable in the United States in 1988, the year the U.S Senate ratified it), it is a useful lens for studying Indigenous history.”[27] I, like many other scholars, agree with this statement, as looking at what is continuing to happen to Indigenous people through a lens of genocide not only helps us to recognize the atrocities of the ongoing structure of settler colonialism, but also helps us confront how acts of genocide produce complex traumas that impact past, current, and future generations. In chapter 2, I provide more research on intergenerational trauma theory, which has primarily come out of scholarship on the Holocaust and is now used in both psychological and Indigenous studies, to analyze how the genocide of Indigenous peoples in the United States produced intergenerational trauma and wounding for Indigenous peoples and nations.

While I use intergenerational trauma theory work that writes about Holocaust survivors and that comes out of Holocaust scholarship, this project is by no means comparing acts of genocide, or the Holocaust, to the plundering of Indigenous peoples in North America. I will not use this work as a means to prove that genocide is an appropriate word, or lens to use, when writing about the destruction of Indigenous peoples and lifeways. Instead, this project will use the term genocide because this project believes survivors of  Boarding School violences. In much

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[26] Estes, 96.
[27] Estes, 96.

of trauma work, especially in Western therapeutic contexts, the retelling and recounting of trauma is one of the first steps a patient and therapist will take together. Most, if not all, of the Indigenous authors and scholarship I have read, cited, and come to know through this research project have described what has happened to Indigenous peoples in North America as genocide. Therefore, I will honor this retelling and sharing of trauma by writing it as it was provided to me. Genocide is a precise naming of Indigenous Boarding School experiences in ongoing settler colonialism based on the intentional aims of these schools to harm Indigenous children and eliminate their ways of life.

Elizabeth Castle, documentarian, storyteller, and oral historian, writes that the discussion of genocide in the "national conversation" is too often left out.[28] Castle argues that the connection between genocide and intergenerational trauma should be "fully and offically recognized" in any work that addresses Indigenous people and their history.[29] Castle writes that as historians become "braver" in taking a position on the naming of genocide and recognizing the "intergenertional impact of genocide," only then can we "understand the unique historical positioning of contemporary Indigenous survival."[30] While my positionality on the term genocide is not a result of my "bravery," it is necessary to understand how genocide impacts Indigenous peoples and results in complex intergenerational trauma. The violence of genocide is not only experienced intergenerationally, but it stratetgically implemented generationally to eliminate a peoples and eradicate their ways of being in the world.

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[28] Elizabeth A. Castle, "'Keeping One Foot in the Community': Intergenerational Indigenous Women's Activism from the Local to the Global (And Back Again)," *American Indian Quarterly* 27, no. 3/4 (2003): 842.
[29] Castle, "Keeping One Foot in the Community," 842.
[30] Castle, 842.

*The Project*

As human beings, we were all once children who sought the comforts of our families, the memories of our homes, and the land on which we played. This project is meant to honor the children who were taken from the physical world much too early by the abuse and neglect of the United States Indian Boarding Schools, and for the children who grew into adults, surviving and flourishing, in a country that continues to harm Indigenous peoples and lifeways through the various ongoing processes of settler colonialism. This is a project of honoring a history and people I was told no longer existed and no longer flourished.

In chapter one, I write a condensed version of the United States Indian Boarding School history of the 19th and 20th centuries, including major policies, acts, and shifts from the Boarding School era. While much of this project is dedicated to further understanding how Indigenous communities heal and resist from the violence of settler colonialism, it is important to acknowledge the historical and current processes of settler colonialism as structure. Academic research and scholarship in the field of Indigenous studies and on Indian Boarding Schools in the United States is limited. However, through a small collection of ethnographic and historical research, I outline how the Indian Boarding Schools of the United States and connected policies are clearly tools of settler colonialsim that commit acts of genocide and dispossess Indigenous peoples from their ancestral homelands. Chapter one ends with a brief case study and historical overview of the first off-reservation Boarding School in the United States, the Carlisle Indian Industrial School and its founder Richard Henry Pratt. This section of the chapter analyzes how the Carlisle school functioned as a site of federal policy and how pedagogical practices of

assimilation were implemented to indoctrinate Indigenous children into American values by severing their ties to land, family, and community.

Chapter two focuses on theories of intergenerational trauma and memory scholarship. Through the memories of Carlisle Indian Industrial School descendants, first hand experiences of intergenerational trauma demonstrate how settler colonial violence fractures the site of memory by disintegrating Indigenous lifeways to dispossess Indigenous peoples from their homelands. This chapter is not an in depth analysis of current Indigenous inequities in the United States, as the focus of this project is on the strength-based responses of Indigenous peoples healing from structural violence. In using descendant memories, I argue that memory, active remembering, and re-imagining Indigenous lifeways not only makes healing from intergenerational trauma possible, but is also a resistance towards systems of settler colonialism itself. Structures of settler colonialism require Indigenous communities to forget who they are, assimilate into Western American life as passive laborers without citizenship or be killed at the hands of settler vigilantes and federal authorities.

In chapter three, I explore the decolonization of trauma work being implemented by Indigenous mental health practitioners. This chapter emphasizes that the decolonization of trauma work is the project to heal Indigenous-land relations that have been wounded by Indian Boarding Schools and federal assimilation policies. Land, through a memory lens, is centered in this conversation because settler colonialism enacts violence for the purpose of land accumulation, commodification, and resource extraction. By re-imaging and reconstructing fractured Indigenous memories to land and land-based practices, Indigenous people heal from and resist ongoing settler colonialism as structure and its rapacious need to steal Indigenous

homelands. By using decolonial theories across an interdisciplinary and intersectional approach, along with specific examples of land-based healing programs, chapter three illustrates how Western and colonial psychological and therapeutic philosophies pathologize Indigenous suffering without acknowledging the root of suffering as settler colonial violence. By using both clinical and cultural understandings of health and wellness, Indigenous peoples are provided with all possible services and resources to heal from and resist structural violence.

# Chapter One: Making Visible

*"But we're still here. There are Indians all over this county"*

-Lakota Harden[31]

*"It separated us from our traditional knowledge and lifeways, the bones of our ancestors, our sustaining plants–but even this did not extinguish identity. So the government tried a new tool, separating children from their families and cultures, sending them far away to school, long enough, they hoped, to make them forget who they were."*

-Robin Wall Kimmerer[32]

The history of the Indian Boarding Schools and connected policies of the 19th and 20th centuries in the United States, like much of the history of marginalized peoples in the United States, has been left out of the American public school education system. It is rare for children to learn about Indigenous populations within the United States, outside of the false narrative of Thanksgiving or mischaracterized stories of Columbus making contact with the New World. As a product of the Connecticut public school system, where almost every highschool has or has had a wildly inappropriate Indigenous person as a mascot, I did not receive an education where I learned much about Indigenous history in general or more specifically the United States Indian Boarding School policies of the 19th and 20th century. It was not until my sophomore year in college that Indian Boarding Schools and connected policies became a part of my vocabulary and education.

The Indian Boarding Schools of the 19th and 20th century in the United States were federally funded and supported schools, run by state officials and missionaries to assimilate

[31] Castle.
[32] Kimmerer, *Braiding Sweetgrass*, 16-17.

Indigenous children into American ideals of Christianity, individualism, and capitalism, to make them productive workers and passive subjects of the government. While assimilation is violent in itself as a means to eliminate Indigenous connections to land, community, ancestors, memory, and self, the Boarding Schools were also places of frequent abuse, neglect, and death of Indigenous children.

Currently there is limited academic research on the Indian Boarding Schools in the United States. The U.S. government has made continuous effort in refusing to federally recognize the country's active role in perpetrating genocide and assimilation through the forced removal of Indigenous children. There is still much to uncover about these schools, their policies throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, and how these schools have affected Indigenous communities in the decades that follow. While there is a lack of information on Indian Boarding Schools within primarily white academic circles, Indigenous communities in the U.S. and Canada continue to discuss, rally, resist, and heal from the immense effects of these schools. In comparing the U.S. with Canada, the government of Canada has federally recognized its role in establishing Indian Residential Schools to pacify Indigenous communities and subsequently steal their land. While federal recognition and even reparations barely scratch the surface of reconciliation between Indigenous populations and these federal governments, it is important for these settler colonial nations to begin somewhere. The work of reconciliation and healing for these communities will take generations in which federal funding and participation is necessary according to many Boarding School survivors and those leading the Boarding School Healing Movement.[33]

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[33] The National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition was started by Indigenous leaders from the U.S and Canada in 2011, to "develop and implement a national strategy that increases public awareness and cultivates healing for the profound trauma experienced by individuals, families, communities, American Indian And

Healing is a mode and practice of restoration or countering harm when the body-mind has undergone trauma. While the majority of this project is to focus on the resilience and strength-based healing frameworks of Indigenous peoples and their communities, it is important to be aware of the history of these Indian Boarding and Residential Schools, to provide a context of the policies and pedagogies that were used to assimilate and control Indigenous populations, producing both individual and collective experiences of intergenerational trauma that has harmed Indigenous communities for decades.[34] This history has purposefully been erased within Western history and the American education system to make Indigenous people nearly invisible to the American public. To write this history, even in its condensed version, resists the notion that Indigenous people are no longer here and that colonization is over. The time to listen to Indigenous voices is long overdue.

The foremost argument I make in this chapter is that the main purpose of these schools was to steal land from Indigenous communities. Mary Pember from *Indian Country Today* writes, "the aim [of the Boarding School] was to extinguish Indigenous holds on land and resources through erasure of culture and identity and finally subsuming Indigenous peoples into the bottom rung of capitalistic systems that would render them powerless."[35] In the U.S we are able to trace back these institutions as early as 1618, where the Anglican Church sanctioned the Virginia Colony in an attempt to assimilate the local Indigenous population, the Powhatan

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Alaska Native Nations resulting from the U.S adoption and implementation of the Boarding School Policy of 1869." "About Us," The National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition, accessed April 30, 2022, https://boardingschoolhealing.org/.

[34] In the U.S. the federally funded schools used to assimilate Indigenous children are called Indian Boarding Schools or Indian Industrial schools. In Canada, these schools are referred to as Residential Schools.

[35] Mary Annette Pember, "Canada, U.S. Differ on Boarding School Policies," Indian Country Today, accessed November 5, 2021, https://indiancountrytoday.com/news/canada-u-s-differ-on-boarding-school-policies.

peoples, through obligatory education initiatives.[36] This was the beginning of the collaboration between Christian churches and the U.S federal government to harm Indigenous people and lifeways. Almost 200 years later, in 1816, Thomas Lorraine McKenney, the first Superintendent of Indian Affairs, later known as the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), promoted the policy of "civilizing" Indigenous populations and removing them from their lands by placing them West of the Mississippi River. This forced removal would ensure that Indigenous people would not impede or resist the federal government, trying to further settle and extract resources from dispossessed Indigenous homelands. In a statement to the House Committee in 1818, McKenney says,

> In the present of our country, one of two things seems to be necessary: either these sons of the forest should be moralized or exterminated….Put into the hands of their children the primer and the hoe, and they will naturally, in time, take hold of the plough; and, as their minds become enlightened and expand, the Bible will be their book, and they will grow up in habits of morality and industry, leave the chase to those whose minds are less cultivated, and become useful members of society.[37]

While McKenney positions the moralization and the extermination of Indigenous peoples as opposites, they were often parallel experiences for Indigenous peoples during the Boarding School era. During the early 1800s, McKenney advocated for federal policies that would allow Indigenous "education" and civilization work to be done in a network of schools run by Christian missionaries under his direct supervision.[38] These policies included the passage of the Indian Civilization Fund Act of 1819, which provided these Christian missionaries and churches with the needed funds to run these schools and further encouraged non-educators to become leaders in

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[36] Native American Rights Fund, "Trigger Points: Current State of Research on History, Impacts, and Healing Related to the United States' Indian Industrial/ Boarding School Policy," 2019, 5.
[37] Jon Reyhner and Jeanne Eder, American Indian Education: A History (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), 43.
[38] Native American Rights Fund, "Trigger Points," 5.

the assimilation of Indigenous children.[39] McKenney's initial policies became instrumental in further dispossessing Indigenous peoples from their homelands and committing genocide. By funding the "civilizing" of Indigenous children, the federal government had legalized the violence against Indigenous peoples and lifeways. McKenney's Department of Indian Affairs, within the Department of War in 1824, was paramount in overseeing and administering the civilizing funds to interested churches.[40] In 1824, the Indian Civilization Fund subsidized over 32 schools, amounting to over 900 children.[41] Then in 1830, over 52 schools were subsidized, with a total of 1,512 students.[42] These policies began to rapidly and viciously affect Indigenous communities at incomprehensible rates over the next two centuries.

During the first 60 years, from 1819 to 1879, most Boarding Schools were located within reservations or on Indigenous homelands where children were able to return home daily and on the weekend.[43] Yet, this close proximity of children to their families quickly became a concern for the BIA. If children were not completely isolated from their "savage antecedents" then they would not be able to become fully assimilated and "civilized."[44] This was only the beginning of the United States Boarding School policies and rhetoric used around the need for a complete erasure of Indigenous lifeways. Yet, to remove children from families was not a simple task for the federal government. Indigenous nations and individual families resisted these horrid acts and fought federal agents and missionaries trying to steal their children, at times as young as three

[39] Native American Rights Fund, 5.
[40] Native American Rights Fund, 5.
[41] Native American Rights Fund, 6.
[42] Native American Rights Fund, 6.
[43] This research project refers to reservations occasionally. However, my research does not look extensively into reservation life or history.
[44] Native American Rights Fund, 6.

years of age.[45] In 1869, the Board of Indian Commissioners and the Peace Policy enforced a Boarding School policy, authorized by President Ulysses S. Grant, allowing for both the voluntary and coerced removal of Indigenous children from their families by any means necessary. This policy was used to specifically try and destabilize Indigenous populations on the plains where the United States wanted to secure land access and settler ownership.[46] A powerful example of resistance to family separation was the Ghost Dance, which "unif[ied] Indigenous peoples behind a revolutionary movement."[47] Many Lakota and Dakota Ghost Dancers protested the reservation systems enforced upon their people by refusing to send their children to federally funded Boarding Schools.[48] While this was not the first time Indigenous communities were met with force, the ripping away of their children was a traumatic event that shook these families to their very cores. This trauma is what many communities and families are still healing from today. The long continuing process of child removal from the home would largely disintegrate Indigenous family structures and interfere with how family life developed.[49] The U.S Government used the forced removal of children because it was less costly than going to war with Indigenous communities over land.[50] Estes writes that "the battleground had shifted," now it was Christian missionaries, the Boarding Schools, and the use of military discipline and punishment that would be used to control Indigenous peoples and steal their land.[51] To meet the

[45] Alexander S. Dawson, "Histories and Memories of the Indian Boarding Schools in Mexico, Canada, and the United States," *Latin American Perspectives* 39, no. 5 (2012): 81.
[46] Native American Rights Fund, 7.
[47] The Ghost Dance is a resistance and anticolonial movement that included the withdrawal from the enforced reservation life, opposition to reservation authorities, creation of resistance camps, destruction of agricultural equipment, stealing of white settlers' crops and cattle, refusal to send children to Boarding Schools, refusal to speak English, refusal to participate in the census, etc. Estes, 30, 145.
[48] Estes, 30.
[49] Alexander S. Dawson, "Histories and Memories", 84.
[50] Native American Rights Fund, 7.
[51] Estes, 135.

least amount of resistance possible when ripping away children from families, the U.S federal government passed the General Allotment Act of 1887, which imposed individual ownership of land on Indigenous nations and disregarded the communal stewardship of land central to Indigenous worldviews.[52] This act led to the divestment of two thirds of Indigenous homelands and forced families to live separately on allotted lands far away from one another. The separation of family generations made the removal of Indigenous children less challenging for federal agents and missionaries as they no longer were met with the force of entire Indigenous communities and multi generational families. This forced removal was also met with less resistance because with the destruction of Indigenous lifeways, reservations often became places of immense poverty which in turn led Indigenous families to rely on the federal government for food rations to survive.[53] The threat of ending food rations gave families little to no choice in relinquishing their children to be sent to Boarding Schools.[54] In 1878, the first reservation police forces were formed that systematically surveilled and controlled Indigenous populations. Then in 1883, the BIA created a Court of Indian Offenses to punish Indigenous people for practicing Indigenous cultural traditions and ceremonies in addition to leaving the reservation or owning weapons.[55] Punishments included withholding rations, imprisonment, and the taking away of children, sending them to Boarding Schools far away where many died from abuse and neglect.[56] The focus and value of American individualism was central to the process of separating children from their families, as individualism is the antithesis of Indigenous traditional and communal

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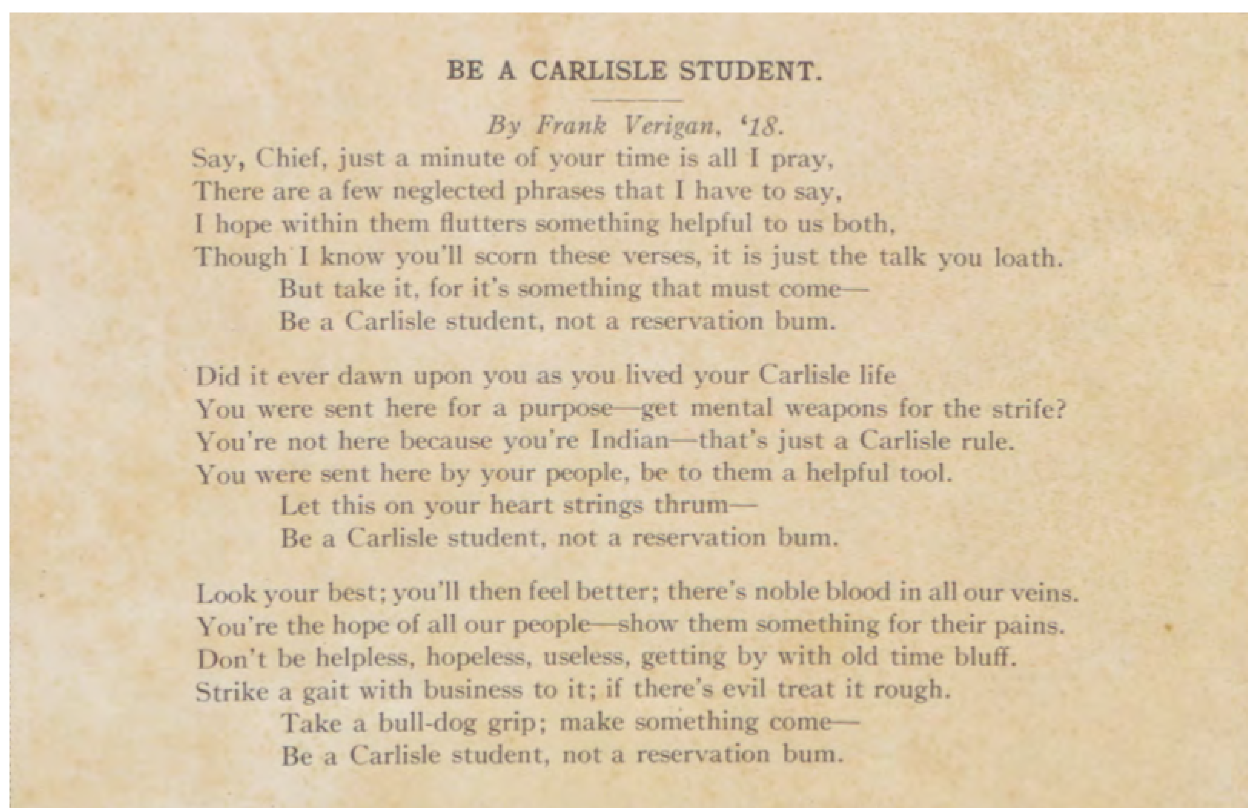
[52] Estes, 8.
[53] Estes, 8.
[54] Heather Bruegl, "No More Stolen Children: A History of the Indian Child Welfare Act and the Fight to Save It" (Bard College, November 17, 2021).
[55] Estes, 136.
[56] Estes, 136.

values.[57] After the murder of Crazy Horse in 1877 and the surrender of Sitting Bull in in 1881, Indian policy focused on the remaining concentration of Indigenous populations onto fewer reservations, the allotment of remaining Indigenous lands, and the expansion of U.S law and jurisdiction over existing Indigenous reservations.[58]


BE A CARLISLE STUDENT.

By Frank Verigan, '18.

Say, Chief, just a minute of your time is all I pray,
There are a few neglected phrases that I have to say,
I hope within them flutters something helpful to us both,
Though I know you'll scorn these verses, it is just the talk you loath.
But take it, for it's something that must come—
Be a Carlisle student, not a reservation bum.

Did it ever dawn upon you as you lived your Carlisle life
You were sent here for a purpose—get mental weapons for the strife?
You're not here because you're Indian—that's just a Carlisle rule.
You were sent here by your people, be to them a helpful tool.
Let this on your heart strings thrum—
Be a Carlisle student, not a reservation bum.

Look your best; you'll then feel better; there's noble blood in all our veins.
You're the hope of all our people—show them something for their pains.
Don't be helpless, hopeless, useless, getting by with old time bluff.
Strike a gait with business to it; if there's evil treat it rough.
Take a bull-dog grip; make something come—
Be a Carlisle student, not a reservation bum.

*Yearbook entry by student Frank Verigan '18 titled "Be a Carlisle Student."* Carlisle Indian School, "Yearbook of the Carlisle Indian School 1918" (Yearbook, Dickinson College Archives and Special Collections, 1918), Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/publications/yearbook-carlisle-indian-school-1918.

In 1891, Thomas Jefferson Morgan, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, introduced the "Settled Indian Policy," that required Indigenous children to be kept in their schools no matter the circumstances. This set of policies made it difficult for children to return home, even in the

[57] Native American Rights Fund, 8.
[58] Crazy Horse was the Oglala Sioux Indian chief and Sitting Bull was the Teton Dakota Indian chief who were both leaders in the battle of Little BigHorn in 1876. The Battle of Little BigHorn was a result of new federal policy ordering all Lakota people onto reservations. Estes, 135.

case of emergencies.[59] Boarding Schools began to keep children on average 10 months out of the year and controlled every aspect of their day to day lives.[60] These schools quickly became overcrowded and understaffed leading to the spread of illness where many children fell sick and perished. While child mortality was higher during this time period in the United States, there is evidence based on witness testimony and personal experience in which many of these instances where children passed away, became sick, or were physically injured were due to school abuse and neglect.[61] These off-reservation Boarding Schools were also often called Indian Industrial Schools as they prepared Indigenous boys for occupational fields in manual labor and farming and girls for a life of domestic servitude. In 1879, the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, became the first off-reservation school in the United States.[62] Every year after 1879, over 1,000 students were enrolled. The founder of the school, Richard Henry Pratt, ran this school based on his experiences controlling Indigenous military prisoners as a former 10th Cavalry Officer.[63] On many occasions at these off-reservation schools, children were placed with white families on outings or school "field trips" to further assimilate them into "nuclear American family ideals."[64] The Carlisle Outing Program placed students into local communities during the summer months to continue their assimilation and keep them away from their traditional lifeways and supportive communities.[65] Off-reservation Boarding Schools like Carlisle used a military focused routine of discipline and order to shape Indigenous children into

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[59] Native American Rights Fund, 10.
[60] Native American Rights Fund, 10.
[61] National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition, "Healing in a Time of Truth and Justice: Boarding School Healing Virtual Summit" (Virtual, November 19, 2021), https://www.nabshealingsummit.org/.
[62] Native American Rights Fund, 12.
[63] Native American Rights Fund, 12.
[64] Native American Rights Fund, 12.
[65] Genevieve Bell, *Telling Stories Out of School: Remembering the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, 1879-1918* (Stanford University, 1998), 65.

docile, compliant, and submissive subjects, “the necessary ingredients for indoctrinating U.S patriotism and citizenship.”[66]

1. On the Bandstand with Teacher. 2. Studying on the Way to Domestic Science. 3. Smiles Kill Many Ills. 4. On My Sole.

*Photos of female Indigenous students at Carlisle with titles left to right, 1. “On the Bandstand with Teacher,” 2. “Studying on the Way to Domestic Science,” 3. “Smiles Kill Many Ills,” and 4. “On My Sole.”* Carlisle Indian School. “Yearbook of the Carlisle Indian School 1918” (Yearbook, Dickinson College Archives and Special Collections, 1918), Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/publications/yearbook-carlisle-indian-school-1918.

By the 1920s, the BIA started to change their ideas about what education for Indigenous children should aim to do and agreed to allow Indigenous lifeways to be a part of children’s

[66] Estes, 138.

lives. However, traditional lifeways were only permissible as long as Indigenous communities would not become a burden for the federal government or cause substantial problems for the processes of ongoing settler colonialism. This policy change made the enrollment of Indigenous children in Boarding Schools off the reservation a lower priority for the United States and the BIA. While citizenship rights were granted to Indigenous peoples in 1924 through the Indian Citizenship Act, prior to this act, Indigenous peoples were made to choose tribal status or American citizenship. This act allowed in theory for Indigenous peoples to be citizens of both, however not until 1948 did they have full citizenship rights as voting rights were left in the hands of states.[67]

In 1928, Indigenous activist demands and "criticism leveled at the Indian Bureau" led to an investigation and report of the BIA's practices.[68] The Meriam Report, or The Problem of Indian Administration, revealed much of the abuse and the failures of Boarding Schools as an extension of the "indictment of federal Indian policies of assimilation and allotment.[69] The most alarming finding of the report for much of the nation was "mass starvation across reservations."[70] The BIA then became the focus of massive changes under the Indian New Deal, which led to the federal plan of putting Indigenous children into public schools, ending allotment, and ending bans on Indigenous cultural and religious ceremonies.[71] While reports like the Meriam Report made recommendations for improving the schools and addressing abuse, the commitment to assimilation by the U.S federal government did not change at its foundation. While off-reservation industrial schools started to disappear in the 1930s, in 1934, John Collier, the

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[67] Dawson, 81.
[68] Estes, 243.
[69] Estes, 243.
[70] Estes, 156.
[71] Estes, 243

Commissioner of Indian Affairs, helped pass the Indian Reorganization Act that shifted federal policy once again to put Indigenous children into public and day schools.[72] Estes writes that while Collier is credited with "envisioning" the Indian Reorganization Act, it is clear that this act drew inspiration from the previous activist work of the Society of American Indians (SAI).[73] This relocation of Indigenous children from Boarding Schools into public schools did not come without pushback from white settlers and their families.[74] Estes writes that while the BIA and Congress recommended a course of action, they ultimately had left "already hard pressed Indigenous communities to fight for themselves against powerful federal bureaucracies and violently hostile white settlers."[75] Furthermore, while enrollment dropped from 22,000 to 17,000, the BIA still ran 49 off-reservation schools in 1941.[76] The Indian Reorganization Act also "defended" the rights of Indigenous students to preserve their own languages and cultural traditions.[77] After 1942, this act repealed the former legal ability to remove children based on the financial situations of their families.[78] In 1966, the Rough Rock Demonstration School on the Navajo Reservation became the first BIA contracted school to be tribally controlled. This led to a transfer of control of many former Indian Boarding Schools once run by the BIA to Native nations.[79] In 1969, the National Indian Education Association was successfully created by both native educators and activists.[80] This happened in the same year that the Kennedy Report, *Indian Education: A National Tragedy* came out, which revealed much of the high rates of alcoholism,

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[72] Bell, *Telling Stories Out of School*, 15.
[73] The SAI was "the first entirely American Indian-led, national professional organization, and an ideological predecessor to the National Congress of American Indians."(232) The SAI disbanded in 1923. Estes, 243.
[74] Estes, 186.
[75] Estes, 186.
[76] Bell, 15.
[77] Dawson, 85.
[78] Dawson, 85.
[79] Native American Rights Fund, 15.
[80] Native American Rights Fund, 15.

suicide, violence, and incarceration within reservations. This report argued that some of these issues stemmed from  Boarding School life, which led to the United States Senate calling for the closure of the remaining  Boarding Schools run by the BIA.[81] In Canada, the last residential school closed in 1983.[82]

*Honoring a History of Resistance*

To write a history of Indigenous peoples in the United States is to write both about the horrors of the system of colonialism and the ongoing resistance and resilience against that very system. If I am to use my writing to uplift Indigenous voices, I must honor the strength of Indigenous communities and show the duality of both tragedy and perseverance– historically, and in current time. I have written earlier that the main objective of settler colonialism and the Boarding School system was to steal land from Indigenous peoples, therefore, the secondary objective was the assimilation and pacification of Indigenous peoples. In knowing that land disposession during settler colonialism in the United States depended upon the genocide, ethnocide, and cultural hegemony of Indigenous peoples, one could say that the fact that Indigenous peoples still exist, despite these horrific lived experiences, provides testament to the strength and resilience of their communities to survive.

Nick Estes writes an historical account of two centuries of Indigenous resistance leading to the Mní Wičóni "Water is Life" movement.[83] He writes that the Red Power Movement during

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[81] Dawson, 86.
[82] Dawson, 86.
[83] Estes writes, "Mni Wiconi are part of a longer history of Indigenous resistance against the trespass of settlers, dams, and pipelines across the Mni Sose, the Missouri River. The Oceti Sakowin—our relationship to Mni Sose, and our historic struggle for liberation—are fundamentally tied to our prior history of Indigenous nationhood and political authority." Water protectors have led this movement against the Dakota Access Pipeline being built on the

the 1960s and 1970s is representative of how Indigenous peoples have long banded together in the struggle against settler colonialism. Estes calls this historical accounting, "traditions of Indigenous resistance," that have changed overtime as the processes of settler colonialism have shifted as well.[84] The American Indian Movement (AIM) was established in 1968 and takes place among the broader social and political movements of the time, including the Civil Rights Movement and the new language of decolonization and Human Rights coming out of WWII.[85] In 1972, with the Vietnam War still raging on and the re-election of Richard Nixon, eight Indigenous organizations created The Trail of Broken Treaties, demanding that the federal government respect and implement Indigenous treaties and sovereignty.[86] This work led to the formation of the 2007 UN Declaration on the Right of Indigenous Peoples.[87] AIM, one of the eight organizations founded by a group of Ojibwes, was a community patrol inspired by the Black Panther Party for Self Defense.[88] Estes writes that Native historian Philip Deloria saw "Black Power" and "Red Power" as more than "repudiations of the exploitation of land, people, and life itself by capitalism, colonialism, and racism; they were also affirmations of peoplehood."[89] Doug Kiel, enrolled member of the Oneida Nation of Wisconsin and postdoctoral fellow at the University of Pennsylvania writes, "American Indian political history is not simply a story of resistance from the margins of American society, it is also about the dynamic political processes at the center of Native peoples' own worlds. Like anywhere else, Indian Country is

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Standing Rock Reservation. To learn more about this movement I recommend reading *Our History Is the Future: Standing Rock versus the Dakota Access Pipeline, and the Long Tradition of Indigenous Resistanc*e. Estes, 35.
[84] Estes, 34.
[85] Doug Kiel, "Rebuilding Indigenous Nations: Native American Activism and the Long Red Power Movement," *Expedition*, 2013.
[86] Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous Peoples' History of the United States*, vol. 3 (Beacon Press, 2015), 185.
[87] Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous Peoples' History of the United States*, 185.
[88] Estes, 201.
[89] Estes, 196.

shaped by a multitude of internal and external forces, and Native American history cannot simply be reduced to a series of shifts in federal policy." Kiel's description of an Indigenous history of resistance as one that is political, reminds us that Indigenous peoples are not necessarily racially marginalized groups but silenced political agents who are fighting for political and national sovereignty. With that knowledge, a history written on Indigenous resistance must first and foremost portray Indigenous nations as nations, established and sovereign political entities, and Indigenous peoples as citizens of those sovereign nations.

Indigenous leadership and movement building coming out of this period during the 1960s and 1970s is one that built the foundation for Indigenous-led movements like "Water is Life" against the trespassing of settlers, dams, and pipelines and overall violations of Indigenous sovereignty.[90] It is within this period of Indigenous resistance and movements that Indigenous education is also transformed. Estes writes about Lakota Water Protector Marcella Gilbert and her mother Madonna Thunder Hawk, leader in the Red Power Movement, within the prologue of his book. Thunder Hawk was one of the founders of the "We Will Remember" Survival School in 1974. The Survival Schools were founded as alternative Indigenous led schools for Indigenous youth who had parents facing federal charges or who had dropped out of the education system.[91] This school was one of many alternative schools coming out of the National Federation of Native-controlled Survival Schools established during the American Indian Movement.[92] By the 1970s there were 16 Survival Schools all founded by Indigenous women.[93] These schools did not initially use federal funding and relied on grassroots organizing to maintain independence as

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[90] Estes, 34.
[91] Castle, 845.
[92] Castle, 844.
[93] Estes, 201.

sovereign Indigenous nations.[94] These schools, during initial years, did not have permanent locations, could only provide lunches based on food stamp donations, and taught classes on volunteer availability. However, in the later years of the AIM schools, federal grants were secured which gave more permanence to these schools and allowed for improved programming.[95]

In a roundtable discussion at the American Studies Association annual meeting in November of 2002, Thunder Hawk, her daughter Marcella, and her niece Lakota Harden, were asked about intergenerational Indigenous women's activism in both global and local community spheres.[96] Harden reflects on the differences between the Survival School and her time in an Indian Boarding School at the age of 7. At the AIM Survival School, Harden was taught Indigenous ideology and about their perseverance as a people. However, in her Boarding School run by Catholic missionaries, she speaks about the abuse they faced and being "herded…like little cattle." She says that she knew "that there was a greater purpose for me than just being mistreated by these nuns and priests and being told that we were wrong because we were brown and because our ancestors were sinners."[97] Unlike the abuse and neglect in the Boarding Schools, the AIM Survival Schools taught Indigenous children treaty rights, Native culture, and history.[98] These schools also addressed "rampant discrimination against native children in public

[94] Estes, 202.
[95] Bradley Shreve, review of *Survival Schools: The American Indian Movement and Community Education in the Twin Cities*, by Julie L. Davis, *Tribal College Journal of American Indian Higher Education* 27, no. 1 (2015), https://tribalcollegejournal.org/survival-schools-the-american-indian-movement-and-community-education-in-the-twin-cities/.
[96] Castle, 841.
[97] Castle, 855.
[98] Estes, 34.

schools" and tried to "undo the indoctrination of Christianity and US patriotism at the government-and- church-run Boarding Schools."[99]

*Unclear Shifts in Indian Policy: The 1970s to Present Day*

The 1970s seemed like an era of Indigenous control and sovereignty over Indigenous education. Through the movement building of Indigenous resistance leaders, 103,000 public school enrollments in 1971, the Indian Education Act of 1972 giving more control to tribes over Native education, the creation of the Office of Indian Education in 1972, the "overturning" of decades of paternalism by the BIA in published guidelines calling for Indigenous student rights and freedoms in 1974, the Education Amendments Act of 1978 facilitating Native control over affairs, and the Tribally Controlled Community College Act of 1978 providing movement for Native autonomy in education, there were many reasons to be hopeful. However, there was still much healing needed, as Boarding School trauma was ingrained as "burning memories" in the body-minds of Indigenous peoples.[100] Furthermore, policies of ripping children away from Native families did not solely exist within the Boarding School system.

In 1978, the Indian Child Welfare Act (ICWA) intended to give more control to tribal nations over their children, as many children had been separated from their families through the foster system. This separation had a long history of government and adoption agencies removing children from Indigenous families and giving those children to non-Indigenous families through means of coercion or kidnapping.[101] In that time, 25-35% of children were taken and placed into

[99] Estes, 34.
[100] Native American Rights Fund, 17.
[101] Heather Bruegl, "No More Stolen Children."

state care, as settlers believed that Indigenous families were unfit to care for their children.[102] While children were continually taken away from their communities and placed with white settler families through other means, the question of why these federal policies on Boarding Schools in the U.S changed still remains unclear. While many of these schools started to close during a period where there was an increase in public information on the abuse and neglect in the schools and an increase in Indigenous activism, it is also accurate to say that this change happened because the initial goal of the Boarding Schools had been reached. The land had been "successfully" stolen and Indigenous communities had been displaced onto small fractions of their homelands or enclosed reservations. However, because settler colonialism is ongoing and has an insatiable need for more land and more resources at the expense of Indigenous peoples survival and wellbeing, violence continues into perpetuity. While Indigenous peoples have been allocated 56 million acres of land through the reservation system in the United States, this allocation is only two percent of ancestral Indigenous land that the United States occupies.[103] This occupation is ongoing, violent, and continues to surveill and harm Indigenous peoples to maintain existing land holds and claim new ones. Between off-reservation schools and the General Allotment Act of 1887, over 90 million acres of Indigenous land has been stolen by the U.S government.[104] Why would the U.S government continue to spend more money institutionalizing children when they had effectively annexed Indigenous ancestral lands?

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[102] Native American Rights Fund, 17.

[103] *Native Voice: Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian* (Great Museums Television), accessed April 23, 2022, https://www.britannica.com/video/212505/Shrinking-Native-American-lands-in-the-United-States-indigenous-peoples.

[104] *Native Voice: Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian*.

In 1989, a report issued by the U.S Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs also found that there was much abuse and neglect in the federally funded Boarding Schools and blamed the BIA for never issuing guidelines to keep these children safe nor report such cases.[105] This became the first inkling of federal recognition of the U.S' role in the genocide of Indigenous peoples. The government had recognized that this pattern of abuse was the fault of the BIA, as they did not require background checks for teachers, whom many were known pedophiles, nor report or reprimand those who physically or sexually abused the children in these schools.[106] While both Residential and Boarding Schools were based on racist beliefs about Indigenous intellectual inferiority and were used to disrupt Indigenous lifeways to take control of Indigenous land, it is important to acknowledge some of the ways the Canadian government has recognized its role in genocide and failure to protect Indigenous populations. While it is true that Canada modeled their Residential Schools after the Boarding Schools in the U.S, they have been the first out of the two countries to formally apologize for their role in abusing and neglecting Indigenous children.[107] While, many of the Residential Schools in Canada lasted longer than those in the U.S, with it's last school closing in 1977, Canada has publicly recognized these acts of genocide by forming a Truth and Roconciliation Commission (TRC) in 2008. Prior to the TRC, in 2006 the Indian School Settlement Agreement was formed, which pushed for the creation of a TRC to officially acknowledge and compensate children and families who attended these schools between 1879 and 1996. This successfully allocated a $1.6 billion compensation package for 105,000 former school residents.[108] In 2015, the TRC's final report condemned the Canadian

[105] Native American Rights Fund, 17.
[106] Native American Rights Fund, 17.
[107] Pember, "Canada, U.S. Differ on Boarding School Policies."
[108] For former residents of the Indian Residential Schools in Canada who could reasonably prove they experienced abuse while at these schools, further compensation was provided. Christina Dobson and Randall Brazzoni, "Land

government for cultural genocide.[109] There is nothing like the Canadian TRC currently in the U.S as U.S officials are not concerned with addressing long-term effects of federally funded abuse and the genocide of Indigenous peoples.[110] Yet, why has the Canadian government addressed these abuses and the U.S has not? Are there specificities about the Canadian government or the resistance efforts of Indigenous nations in Canada that has led to this formal recognition? Or is it merely a matter of the U.S government being unwilling to reflect on its history of Indigenous land disposession and genocide? While these questions remain unclear, we do know that currently there has been a great incentive for the Canadian government to continue to respond to its role in the Residential School era and the colonization of Indigenous people. This is due to the fact that there is no possible way for the Canadian government to turn a blind eye to the unearthing of hundreds of unmarked Indigenous graves of children. At this point, there is no other choice but to look directly at the failures and great harms their government has done to Indigenous people and their communities.[111] This horrific truth has pushed the United States' first Native American Interior Secretary, Deb Haaland of Laguna Pueblo, to create a new Federal Indian Boarding School Truth Initiative. This has been the first official step in acknowledging the federal policies on Indian Boarding Schools in the U.S. Under the new initiative proposed by

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Based Healing: Carrier First Nations' Addiction Recovery Program," *Journal of Indigenous Wellbeing* 2, no. 2 (December 16, 2016): 11.

[109] Native American Rights Fund, 24.
The Canadian Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) defines the establishment and operation of the residential schools in Canada as central elements of "cultural genocide." Cultural genocide is the "destruction of those structures and practices that allow the group to continue as a group. States that engage in cultural genocide set out to destroy the political and social insititutions of the targeted group." While the TRC defines what has happened as "cultural genocide", I argue that the Residential and Boarding Schools were also,what TRC calls, "physical genocide" and "biological genocide," as mass killings of Indigenous poeples did occur and by targeting children in particular, the group's reproductive capacity was also harmed. "Canada's Residential Schools: The History, Part 1 Origins to 1939 The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada" (Truth and Reconciliation Commision by McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), 3.

[110] Native American Rights Fund, 24.

[111] Pember.

Secretary Haaland, the Bureau of Indian Affairs "is instructed to identify and collect records and information of the Indian Boarding School program with special attention to records of deaths and burial sites. The initiative also includes securing records and information from Christian denominations that operated schools".[112] Haaland's initiative represents both the first official U.S acknowledgement of the Boarding Schools and a commitment by the government to investigate the history of the schools and their role in the oppression of Indigenous communities. The Initiative states, "While it may be difficult to learn of the traumas suffered in the Boarding School era, understanding its impacts on communities today cannot occur without acknowledging that painful history. Only by acknowledging the past can we work toward a future we are all proud to embrace."[113] While these first steps in acknowledging truth are important, there is still much more work to be done. This initiative does not include specific plans for exploring past and current Boarding Schools nor is a formal apology of the United States.[114]

*A School with a Mission: Kill the Indian and Save the Child*

The Carlisle Indian Industrial School was the first government funded, co-educational, secular, off- reservation Indian Boarding School in the United States. I use the Carlisle school as a case study throughout this project. By looking at one school in particular, I engage with a specific collection of survivor and descendant memories to further illustrate how Boarding Schools have harmed Indigenous peoples and lifeways. Carlisle became a crucial example and template for many off-reservation schools in the following years after its official opening. While

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[112] Pember.
[113] Pember.
[114] Pember.

8,500 students from over 75 different Native American nations enrolled in the Carlisle school only 600 graduated over a 30 year period. Why did only a small percentage of students who went to Carlisle graduate from its curriculum? What happened to Indigenous children at Carlisle? And, who is Carlisle's founder, Richard Henry Pratt? Genevieve Bell, Australian anthropologist, writes one of the most complete historical overviews I have found on the Carlisle school. Her doctoral thesis, *Telling Stories Out of School: Remembering the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, 1879-1918*, not only shares a history of the school, but illustrates how Carlisle functioned as a site of federal Indian policy and how these policies shaped the lives of Indigenous students. Bell argues that Carlisle owes its existence to federal policy and leads her work with that pertinent relationship.[115]

The Carlisle Indian Industrial School, founded by Pratt in 1879 in Carlisle Pennsylvania, had a vastly diverse population of Indigenous students. While Pratt tried to procure as many students for enrollment as possible, he also believed it was important to have a diverse student body to "detribalize" the students.[116] Pratt writes, "we can never make the Indians real, useful American citizens by any system of education and treatment which enforce tribal cohesion and deny citizenship association."[117] Carlisle symbolized for much of the country the possibilities of assimilating Indigenous children. Bell writes, " it [Carlisle] presented a different sort of Indian education, and it gave the American public a new kind of Indian," one that could be "redeemed" and "saved."[118] Bell argues that the Indian  Boarding Schools, especially Carlsile, operated as tools of the state to reproduce both individual and collective identities for assimilation purposes.

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[115] Bell, 10.
[116] Bell, 10.
[117] Bell, 38.
[118] Bell, 21.

[119] Bell, like other scholars, believes that a history of Carlisle can not exist without a history of its founder, Richard Henry Pratt.

While Pratt was seen as one of the most "successful" Indian "educators" in the country during the 1880s, he quickly became a "embattled reactionary" within the public eye by the 1890s, changing the way Carlisle was seen not only by the public but by the federal government. [120] Richard Henry Pratt was born on December 6th, 1840 into an impoverished family. His father was murdered at a young age which made Pratt his family's sole financial supporter. This responsibility led Pratt to a lifetime of military service where he began his career during the Civil War.[121] In March of 1867, Pratt re-enlisted into the military and was stationed at Fort Gibson on Indigenous territory where he was given the responsibility of overseeing several Indigenous scouts.[122] It was this experience that proved to Pratt that Indigenous men had "intelligence" and "civilization" within them.[123] Pratt writes, "their intelligence, civilization, and common sense was a revelation."[124] Pratt believed that through education and opportunity all Indigenous peoples could become "true" American citizens.[125] In 1875, Pratt participated in the Washita River Massacre and the Red River War where he was ordered to supervise the confinement of 72 prisoners of war from the Kiowa, Comanche, and Southern Cheyenne tribes. Pratt used this opportunity to test the prisoners by forcing them to guard one another through manipulation and psychological torture.[126] During this time with the prisoners, Pratt believed it would be

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[119] Bell, 21.
[120] Bell, 55.
[121] Bell, 55.
[122] Bell, 53.
[123] Bell, 53.
[124] Richard Henry Pratt, Battlefield and Classroom: Four Decades with the American Indian, 1867-1904 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1964), 5.
[125] Bell, 53.
[126] Bell, 54.

productive to teach them how to read, write, and learn other various industrial skills.[127] Pratt's two experiences with Indigenous prisoners influenced his career to such a great extent that he began formalizing a plan to create his own Indian Boarding School.

*Image of unspecified Plains Indigenous prisoners at Fort Marion in Florida (before picture). Pratt had "experimented" with teaching prisoners English here before creating his school.* Lonna M. Malmsheimer, "'Imitation White Man': Images of Transformation at the Carlisle Indian School," *Studies in Visual Communication* 11, no. 4 (October 1985): 56, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2326-8492.1985.tb00135.x.

[127] Bell, 54.

*Image of unspecified Plains Indigenous prisoners at Fort Marion in Florida (after picture). Pratt regularly used before and after photos of his Indigenous students to "prove" transformation from "savagery" to "civilization."* Lonna M. Malmsheimer, "'Imitation White Man': Images of Transformation at the Carlisle Indian School," *Studies in Visual Communication* 11, no. 4 (October 1985): 57, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2326-8492.1985.tb00135.x.

In 1878, Pratt made a deal with the federal government to find an educational institution for his prisoners in exchange for financial compensation. After developing a plan for a school of his own, he met with the Secretary of the Interior and eventually the President of the United States, Rutherford B. Hayes.[128] Pratt's proposal centralized the idea that moving students off the reservation would be the most effective and efficient way to assimilate Indigenous children into American life. Pratt writes, "transfer the infant white to the savage surroundings, he will grow to possess a savage language, superstition, and habit. Transfer the savage-born infant to the surroundings of civilization, and he will grow to possess a civilized language and habit."[129]

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[128] Bell, 57.
[129] David Wallace Adams, Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience 1875-1928 (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1995), 52.

While applying for government funding and finding a location for his school was not an easy task, his "success" with the prisoners and unique ideas provided the federal government with enough incentive to grant Pratt his own funding through the Civilization Fund Act of 1819. Pratt was then given an unused military post, the old Hessian fort in Carlisle Pennsylvania, for his new school.[130] This military post was given by the Secretary of the Interior on the basis that in return for Carlisle, Pratt would first recruit children from "hostile" tribes outlined by the War Department.[131] During this same time period, from 1805-1873, the United States had made 35 treaty agreements with the Oceti Sakowin, later called the Sioux Nation.[132] For the United States government to gain access to Indigenous land, communal land practices had to be broken, Indigenous women's political authority had to be undermined, and Indigenous children had to be ripped away from their families.[133] While this was all done in the name of "civilizing" and "moralizing" Indigenous peoples, and whether or not the federal government and American white settlers truly believed they were "civilizing" a "savage" people, an overwhelming amount of harm had been done for resettlement, a wounding that is still ongoing.

[130] Bell, 58.
[131] Bell, 58.
[132] Estes, 100.
[133] Estes, 108.

*Image of Indigenous students, Mary Perry, John Chaves, and Ben Thomas' before and afters (left to right).* Lonna M. Malmsheimer, "'Imitation White Man': Images of Transformation at the Carlisle Indian School," *Studies in Visual Communication* 11, no. 4 (October 1985): 61, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2326-8492.1985.tb00135.x.

In 1879, Pratt began to collect students from the Rosebud reservation of the Sicangu Oyate tribe and the Pine Ridge Reservation of the Oglala Lakota tribe in South Dakota.[134] While Pratt tried to appeal to Lakota leaders by arguing that the loss of their land and the violations of their treaties was due to their inability to read and write in English, the families refused to give away their children. In a conversation with Sioux Chief Spotted Tail, Pratt states,

> Spotted Tail, you are a remarkable man. Your name has gone all over the United States. It has even gone across the great water. You are such an able man that you are the principal chief of these thousands of your people. But Spotted Tail, you

[134] Bell, 59. To learn more about the history of these tribes, see Nick Estes' chapter 2 in his book "Our History is the Future."

> cannot read or write. You cannot speak the language of this country. You have no education. You claim that the government has tricked your people and placed the lines of your reservation a long ways inside of where it was agreed they should be….If you, yourself, had had an education you might be owning the Black Hills and be able to hold them…If you had been educated, Spotted Tail, you might be helping to make the laws that take care of us in these United States…Spotted Tail, do you intend to let your children remain in the same condition of ignorance in which you have lived, which will compel them always to meet the white man at a great disadvantage through an interpreter?[135]

Pratt's warning to Chief Spotted Tail proposes the idea that through the learning of the English language and the ability to read and write, Indigenous people would be better equipped to resist settler colonial laws and policies. However, what is  the cost to no longer need the interpreter as mediator? And, what do Indigenous nations lose when they take on the colonizers language and laws? Pratt establishes with Chief Spotted Tail that to be given respect one must become part of the colonizers' or "American" ways, and if these ways are refused, Indigenous people will be met with colonial violence. When parents refused to send their children to the Carlisle school after Pratt's proclamations, a violent ripping away of children from families occurred through the enlistment of missionaries and federal Indian agents.[136]

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[135] Manuscript, Richard Henry Pratt, The Indian No Problem (later draft), box 20, folder 693, p. 9, Richard Henry Pratt Papers. Yale Collection of Western Americana, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, p. 313.
[136] Bell, 59.

GROUP IN "FEUDALISM TO FREEDOM"—REPRESENTATIVE OF THE YEAR 1621.
Left to right: Massasoit, Hobbamock, John Alden, Priscilla, Squanto, and Captain Miles Standish.

*Group of Indigenous students dressed up for a play on "'Feudalism to Freedom'- Representative of the Year 1621."* "Yearbook of the Carlisle Indian School 1918" (Yearbook, Dickinson College Archives and Special Collections, 1918), Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/publications/yearbook-carlisle-indian-school-1918.

Pratt's school was run like a "military outfit" where a bootcamp structure was used to "kill the Indian" and "save the man".[137] Carlisle had a strict no tolerance policy of English only and no traditional clothing or objects of significance could be in the possession of Indigenous children. Any object that tied the Indigenous student back to their homeland and to their tribe was confiscated and destroyed, or later sold for profit by school "educators."[138] Indigenous boys were made to shave their heads at Carlisle, which in many cases was an act of mourning or

[137] Bell, 62.
[138] Bell, 62.

considered unclean in traditional Indigenous cultures. The shaving of the head was an act of oppression against the Indigenous child as their long hair symbolized their connection to spirit and traditional culture.[139] All students at Carlisle were also given an Anglo name. A Lakota student named Standing Bear writes, " One day when we came to school there was a lot of writing on one of the blackboards. We did not know what it meant, but our interpreter came into the room and said. 'Do you see all these marks on the blackboard? Well, each word is a white man's name.'"[140] The student later writes, " When my turn came I took the pointer and acted as if I were about to touch an enemy. Soon we all had the names of white men sewed on our backs".[141] While assimilation was overall traumatizing, the documented health conditions of the Boarding Schools and the rates of student death at these schools provides insight into student lived experiences. In the early period of the Boarding School era, many of the students that became extremely ill and experienced life threatening conditions were often immediately returned home as it was too great of a responsibility for the schools to care for sick or dying children even when they had created the conditions for the spread of disease, abuse, and neglect in the first place.[142] Many students became ill with the measles, mumps and scarlet fever during this time as sanitation was poor, they were often malnourished, and their housing was overcrowded.[143]

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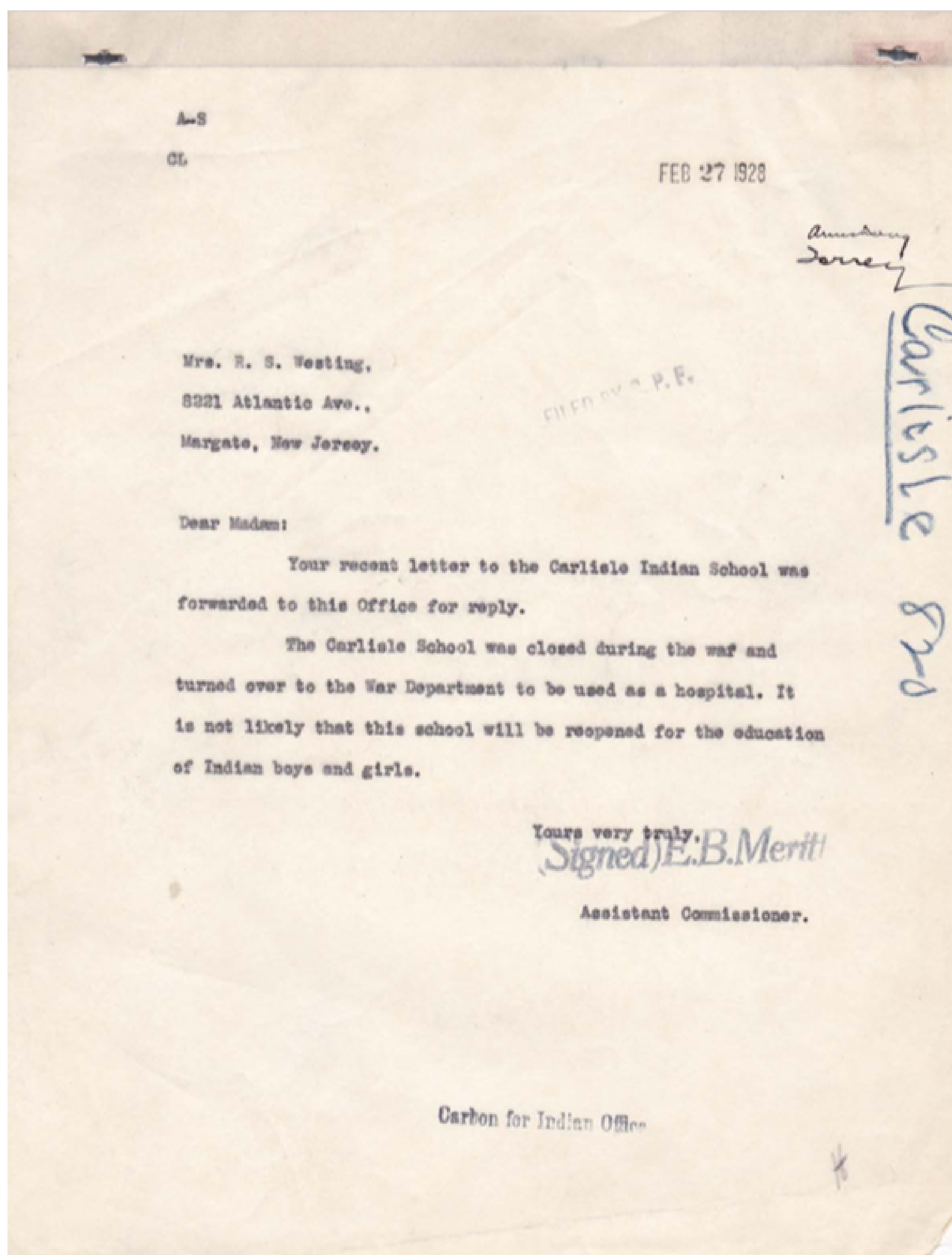
[139] Bell, 62.
[140] Bell, 63.
[141] Bell, 63.
[142] Bell, 64.
[143] Bell, 64.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FEB 27 1928

Mrs. R. S. Westing,

8221 Atlantic Ave.,

Margate, New Jersey.

Dear Madam:

Your recent letter to the Carlisle Indian School was forwarded to this Office for reply.

The Carlisle School was closed during the war and turned over to the War Department to be used as a hospital. It is not likely that this school will be reopened for the education of Indian boys and girls.

Yours very truly,
(Signed) E.B.Meritt

Assistant Commissioner.

Carbon for Indian Office

*A letter from the* Assistant Commissioner to Mrs. R. S Westing, "Inquiries Regarding Closure of the Carlisle Indian School," February 27, 1928, Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center, https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/documents/inquiries-regarding-closure-carlisle-indian-school.

At Carlisle, there are currently 200 children known to be buried in the school's cemetery.[144] The Rosebud Sioux tribe has at least 10 children buried within the Carlisle cemetery that they wish to repatriate in order to bring the children back home to their reservation for a proper burial within traditional prayers and services.[145] Among the Rosebud Sioux's children, there are also 186 gravestones with no birth dates, no ages, and some without names, only to be marked as unknown.[146] Preston McBride, a Native American studies scholar writes that it is estimated that over 500 children died at Carlisle, either at the school or shortly after being sent home as the school officials knew they were too ill to survive.[147] Just within the first decade of the school existing, it has been documented that 96 children died.[148] While grave repatriation is quite complicated, the Rosebud tribal council has gone to federal authorities to make its claims and ask that their right to grieve and bury their ancestors within their cultural traditions be honored and protected. This case, whether or not the tribe is able to be reunited with its children, will affect the outcome of future grave repatriation tribal cases. As mentioned earlier, the demand to find unmarked graves of former Boarding and Residential School children headlined in 2021 as the former Canadian residential school, the Muskowekwan Indian Residential school in Saskatchewan, initially found 215 unmarked graves of children through ground penetrating radar based on witness testimony from Muskowekwan residential school survivors.[149] As of September 2021, over 1,300 unmarked graves have been found across five former schools in Canada.[150]

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[144] Jeff Gammage, "Those Kids Never Got to Go Home," *The Inquirer*, March 13, 2016, https://www.inquirer.com/news/inq/those-kids-never-got-go-home-20160319.html.
[145] Gammage, "Those Kids Never Got to Go Home."
[146] Gammage.
[147] Gammage.
[148] Gammage.
[149] Nilo Tabrizy, *Searching of the Unmarked Graves of Indigenous Children* (The New York Times, n.d.), https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/10/20/video/indigenous-graves-children-canada-video.html.
[150] Antonio Voce, Leyland Cecco, and Chris Michael, "'Cultural Genocide': The Shameful History of Canada's Residential Schools- Mapped," *The Guardian*, September 6, 2021,

While previous estimates of the Residential School death toll estimated that around 3,200 children had died while attending the school or shortly after leaving the schools, the estimation now is much higher after these unmarked grave findings. [151] Furthermore, while the Canadian Prime Minister, Justin Trudeau, has pledged to take concrete actions, the cost of these searches is expected to exceed the amount of money offered by the federal government.[152] In 2009, the request for $1.5 million dollars to fund the Truth and Reconciliation Initiatives was denied.[153] While the U.S Secretary of the Interior, Deb Haaland, has proposed a new initiative for the U.S to locate all the bodies of former Boarding School children, the Indigenous tribes located in what is now called the United States are facing similar barriers to Indigenous communities in Canada. Only time will tell how both the Canadian and United States government will address their active roles in state sponsored genocide through the murder and neglect of Indigenous children.

https://www.theguardian.com/world/ng-interactive/2021/sep/06/canada-residential-schools-indigenous-children-cultural-genocide-map.

[151] Tabrizy, *Searching of the Unmarked Graves of Indigenous Children*.

[152] Tabrizy.

[153] Tabrizy.

# Chapter Two: Where Collective Memories Become

*My generation is now the door to memory.*
*That is why I am remembering.*

-Joy Harjo[154]

*The telling keeps stories alive.*

-Louellyn White[155]

In Western schools of psychology, trauma as theory and disorder are thought of as a primarily individual experience. However, intergenerational trauma theory has posited that trauma does not solely have to be about individual pathology but instead can be collective.[156] If so, how does an entire generation heal from collective trauma? In Chapter two, I apply my readings of intergenerational trauma theory, proposed by both non-Indigenous and Indigenous scholars, psychologists, and researchers, through a lens of memory studies, to the memories passed down from survivors to their descendants of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School. Without unnecessary pathologizing and incomplete diagnoses, I provide examples of how these harmful and violent experiences at the Boarding Schools produced and triggered the risk factors for intergenerational trauma. While this chapter will not look into current systemic inequalities and hardships Indigenous peoples experience in the U.S, the work of this chapter will lead us

[154] William Heyen, ed., *September 11, 2001: American Writers Respond* (Etruscan Press, 2002).
[155] Louellyn White, "Who Gets to Tell the Stories? Carlisle Indian School: Imagining a Place of Memory Through Descendant Voices," *Journal of American Indian Education*, no. 1 (2018): 122–44.
[156] While many Indigenous and non-Indigenous mental health practitioners may define historical and intergenerational trauma differently, for the purpose of my research and this project, I have decided to use these terms synonymously with one another. Maria Yellow Horse Brave Heart et al., "Historical Trauma Among Indigenous Peoples of the Americas: Concepts, Research, and Clinical Considerations," *Journal of Psychoactive Drugs* 43, no. 4 (November 22, 2011): 282, https://doi.org/10.1080/02791072.2011.628913.

towards chapter three to focus on the strength-based responses of Indigenous people in their resilience to heal and flourish despite the ongoing violences of settler colonialism.[157]

Chapter two also explores my proposed argument that the reclamation of memories, what we might also call remembering against the grain, are forms of active resistance against the structure of settler colonialism.[158] Based on my analysis of the structure of settler colonialism as an annihilator of both Indigenous memories and therefore Indigenous lifeways, the structure of settler colonialism requires that Indigenous peoples forget who they are, and assimilate into Western life or perish at the hands of the U.S. military and white vigilantes in order for the U.S. to dispossess Indigenous peoples from their land.

Memory in ongoing settler colonialism is both a site of oppression and resistance. Settler colonialism as structure fractures the memories of Indigenous lifeways, evident in the ways Boarding Schools have used punitive and violent means of assimilation to ensure that Indigenous children forget who they are as Indigenous people. Throughout this chapter I provide more evidence for this fracturing of memory through vignettes, or what I call descendant memories. However, memory is also a site of resistance against settler colonialism for Indigenous people through the reconstructing and re-imaging of fractured memories.[159] While some memories of Indigenous lifeways may never become whole once again, a re-imagining of what it means to be

[157] Throughout my writing I will refer to Indigenous people as "people/nations," "peoples," or "nations" to evoke the teachings of Doug Kiel who reminds us that Indigenous people are "silenced political agents" and not necessarily just marginalized groups of people. To solely write about Indigenous people as "communities" could potentially strip them of their political and national sovereignty as nations.

[158] I will use the language of both memories and memory as one in the same throughout this argument. Both will be used to talk about the ways that settler colonialism actively targets memory or the memories of Indigenous people and lifeways to commit genocide and ethnocide for land dispossession.

[159] When I write about memories as a tool of resistance I am acknowledging how Indigenous people/nations reconstruct memories or re-imagine memories of Indigenous lifeways or ways of being. To be Indigenous in a settler colonial state is to resist settler colonialism as the very structure of settler colonialism can not "succeed" if the Indigenous population is not controlled or destroyed.

Indigenous and to honor one's people has already occurred and is continuing to happen by many Indigenous nations. This reclamation, reconstruction, and re-imaging will be explored further in chapter three, where I analyze how the site of memory is being healed through a decolonization of land-based trauma work. In examining Boarding School experiences, trauma, and wounding, through both a Western psychological lens and an Indigenous decolonial lens, I argue that Indigenous-led trauma work should include any and all philosophies of health and wellness that help Indigenous people heal and should not be limited to non-intersectional treatments or worldviews. Opening up healing to all possibilities counters colonial binaries, linearity, and violence.

In many psychological sciences, trauma has been shown to significantly affect memory. Memories from traumatic events, much like our other memories, “are prone to distortion.”[160] While this chapter will not discuss in detail how trauma distorts memory, it is helpful to understand that memory is greatly affected by trauma. In the case of intergenerational trauma, the memory of the collective is significantly impacted, impaired, and what I have previously described as fractured. To help structure this chapter further, I will call stories of schooling “memories” as these stories live beyond Boarding School walls, to show how ongoing settler colonialism has impacted generations of families and communities in a multitude of ways. By analyzing each of these memories, I, as a settler, am granted the potent knowledge of how the life of a single memory can continue to resist ongoing settler colonialism. Therefore, memory is both a site of erasure and resistance for Indigenous peoples. Theories of intergenerational trauma in discourse with memory studies, articulate the ways in which Boarding Schools were sites of

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[160] Deryn Strange and Melanie K. T. Takarangi, “Memory Distortion for Traumatic Events: The Role of Mental Imagery,” *Frontiers in Psychiatry* 6 (February 23, 2015): 27, https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyt.2015.00027.

cultural erasure and continue to disrupt Indigenous lifeways. Boarding Schools were methodically and systematically used to break communal and family ties between Indigenous adults and elders, and their children. The lingering negative effects of this rupture of generational kinship has been carried beyond those who physically experienced the jarring shifts of the Boarding School era. Many Boarding School survivors who have been marked by the violences and subsequent trauma of separation and abuse, have unintentionally transferred the trauma they experienced to their children and grandchildren through various means. Yet, despite this devastation, Indigenous peoples are reclaiming memories, healing from individual and collective trauma, and resisting the structure of settler colonialism to stop the cycle that is intergenerational trauma.

*Memories of Carlisle Through Descendant Voices with Louellyn White*

As mentioned previously, I include memories of descendants within this chapter, of those who had family members attend the Carlisle Indian Industrial School. What can we learn about Carlisle survivors through those who have inherited these stories and memories? These memories are alive and will continue to exist through my writing and the writing of others. These memories have also been altered over time, both by those who speak them aloud and those who write them on the page itself, they are no longer the same as when they were first told. Yet, whether or not these memories reflect the exact happenings of the past, they are the lived experiences of those who have been greatly affected by the United States Boarding School policies of the 19th and 20th centuries. Memory is necessarily fragmented, non-linear, partial (in every way), with some elements foregrounded and some discarded. They memorialize lived

experiences of collective suffering and collective resistance, a product of the ongoing violence of settler colonialism as structure, and will forever be reminders of this haunting.

Although these memories are extensions of extreme violence, I do not include written memories that explicitly describe Indigenous peoples experiences of violence because it is not necessary to include potentially triggering and sensationalizing experiences to understand how violence harms individuals, communities, and generations of people. While the Carlisle school closed in 1918 (and accordingly, all alumni have since passed away), descendant re-memories continue to flourish. In the case of intergenerational trauma studies, it is valuable to understand how these memories exist in the hands of descendants as they are removed from the Boarding School by one or more generations.

Louellyn White, Akwesasne Mohawk and Associate Professor at Concordia University, has powerfully put together the stories of numerous Carlisle School survivor descendants. White writes, "stories passed on to descendants become our own stories, informing how we make sense of Boarding School history and integrate narratives into our lives."[161] This inheritance of the Boarding School narrative, then becoming one's own narrative, functions as a way to show how memory, entangled with trauma, is passed down from generation to generation. While much of Boarding School stories and memories are publicized as horrific abuses and neglect after the founding of the 2008 Truth and Reconciliation Commision in Canada, it is also important to acknowledge that some Indigenous people report positive experiences at various Boarding Schools.[162] White writes,

> We may not understand why some people report positive experiences and others only negative. But they are not mutually exclusive; humans are capable of feeling a multitude of emotions at once. Certainly the era of Indian Boarding Schools

[161] White, "Who Gets to Tell the Stories?" 122.
[162] White, 138.

> was a confusing time, eliciting an array of emotions spanning lifetimes. Sometimes recollections are shared decades later; only good times are emphasized, which may be a testament to resilience and survival strategies. Others may only share stories of brutality, or maybe they were perpetrators themselves toward fellow classmates, carrying decades of guilt and shame. Perhaps they were victims of abuse, but as with many survivors of childhood trauma, they can still love and protect the only caregivers they ever knew.[163]

The argument that memories of the Boarding School falls within a spectrum of experiences allows us to further understand that there is not one collective experience of the Boarding School, but instead many. We then can acknowledge that there is not only one way to heal from Boarding School violences. White illustrates that the ways these stories and memories are passed down from survivors to descendants may be strategies of survival, resistance, and protection for those who have had first hand experiences at these schools and for those that these stories will be shared with. Therefore, the study of memory provides a more complex understanding of what happened at Indian Boarding Schools in the United States and how these schools and the ongoing violences of colonialism have affected Indigenous peoples.

While I have focused primarily on stories that describe experiences of intergenerational trauma produced by the Boarding School policies in the United States, I have also tried to be mindful throughout my research and writing process not to sensationalize the stories of Boarding School survivors.[164] Throughout this process I have chosen to be open to alternative stories of Boarding School experiences whilst writing about how these Boarding Schools harm Indigenous peoples and rupture Indigenous lifeways for the purpose of land dispossession. White writes,

> We need to listen to and respect the entire spectrum of experiences while knowing our families refused, resisted, negotiated, and incorporated Western education into

[163] White, 138.
[164] White, 138.

> their lives, often on their own terms. We need to allow space for all Boarding School interpretations by survivors and descendants who feel what they describe as historical trauma and a need for healing. The healing process is helped by filling in gaps, gathering information, and claiming our own narratives while recognizing our continued survival as Indigenous peoples.[165]

While White is writing directly to her Indigenous peers and kin, her writing helps us as non-Indigenous folks better understand how healing and descendant memories are connected. The need for healing is emphasized by many Indigenous descriptions of historical or intergenerational trauma. In terms of this project, White's work on memory has been helpful in further understanding how memory can be a site of healing and repair for Indigenous peoples. The restructuring and reclaiming of Indigenous Boarding School memories and narratives is part of the healing process. White argues that the passing down of memory is "a step in reclaiming [Indigenous] histories." This reclamation is key to what I discuss further in chapter three on the decolonizing of trauma work. When Boarding School survivors and their descendants are keepers of their own memories, they are able to reimagine fractured memories and pass down memories onto future generations. Additionally, they are able to strengthen their identities and relations as Indigenous people and resist ongoing settler colonialism that works to overwrite Indigenous narratives, especially ones of Indigenous resilience, healing, and flourishing.[166]

I would like to show immense gratitude to Louellyn White as she has been an impactful teacher for me throughout my project in working with descendant memories and stories of the Carlisle Indian Boarding School. To "indigenize Boarding School history," we as

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[165] White, 139.
[166] Decolonizing trauma work refers to what Indigenous mental health practitioners, like Renee Linklater, have defined as an approach to Indigenous trauma work that (1): "Indicates the relevance of Indigenous worldviews, knowledge, and cultural strategies that Indigenous health care practitioners are finding useful in their practices. (2): "Engages in a dialogue about the use of psychiatry and psychiatric diagnoses amongst Indigenous people." Linklater, 27.

non-Indigenous folks need to allow Indigenous people to tell their own stories and provide spaces for Indigenous people to do so.[167] White writes,

> How is access to stories in the public realm controlled? While descendants cannot control public record access, in a decolonizing process of reclaiming space and renarrating Carlisle history, descendants can be caretakers of their own stories, their own interpretations, their own memories, sharing them when, where, and how they choose. As Indigenous people of oral cultures, we have a responsibility for our stories, to remember them, and to share them with our families. We develop a relationship with our stories rather than a colonial view that objectifies memory into lifeless data.

The decolonizing process that White refers to is one that takes a centering of Indigenous memories and narrative and the work of non-Indigenous allyship. White emphasizes that a re-imagining of memory, of collective identity, and of Indigenous narrative is necessary for the development of a decolonial relationship to Indigenous stories. The concept of being in relationship to, versus the colonial concept of objectification and classification of, is central to decolonizing the narrative, and speaks to the ways that memories are not just a biological or psychological concept but one that is spiritual and integral to Indigenous lifeways. When we look to the biological or psychological concepts and understandings of trauma we must remember that memory work does not solely exist within a Western and colonial canon. Instead, the pairing of Western and Indigenous thought can provide a deeper understanding of collective and intergenerational experiences and illustrate how memory is both a site of resistance and oppression in settler colonialism as structure.

*Introduction to Intergenerational Trauma Theory*

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[167] White, 136.

The contemporary Western psychological field has a limited understanding and scholarship on what has been defined as intergenerational trauma. While this theory was originally formulated to encapsulate the experiences of children of Holocaust survivors, this theory is starting to be "applied to descendents of survivors of many forms of violence."[168] Intergenerational trauma theory has been applied, but not limited to, descendants of survivors of genocide in Armenia, Cambodia, Rwanda, and Indigenous nations, as well as the enslavement of African-American populations, and displaced/refugee experiences.[169] For clarity purposes, I use intergenerational trauma theory not to argue that intergenerational trauma from the Holocaust and intergenerational trauma from Indian Boarding Schools can be compared or are similar, but instead, I use scholarship on intergenerational trauma to provide theory for how collective trauma can be produced through state violence. While Western trauma research has focused primarily on "single-episode present-life trauma," the impacts and symptomatology of intergenerational trauma have yet to be fully understood.[170] Intergenerational trauma theory is conceptually understood by its cyclical nature. My definition of intergenerational trauma comes from definitions similar to Fitzgerald et al., who suggests that parents "with histories of trauma are at increased risk of passing on their traumatic experiences to their own children."[171] In accessible terms, if a parent or caregiver has experienced trauma within their lifetime, they are more likely to create an environment for their child that has more risk factors than protective

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[168] Sam Gerson, "The Enduring Psychological Legacies of Genocidal Trauma: Commentary on 'The Intergenerational Transmission of Holocaust Trauma: A Psychoanalytic Theory Revisited,'" *The Psychoanalytic Quarterly* 88, no. 3 (July 3, 2019): 502, https://doi.org/10.1080/00332828.2019.1616491.
[169] Gerson, "The Enduring Psychological Legacies of Genocidal Trauma," 502.
[170] Tori DeAngelis, "The Legacy of Trauma," *American Psychological Association* 50, no. 2 (2019), https://www.apa.org/monitor/2019/02/legacy-trauma.
[171] Michael Fitzgerald, Antoinette London-Johnson Wright, and Kami Schwerdtfeger Gallus, "Intergenerational Transmission of Trauma and Family Systems Theory: An Empirical Investigation.," *Journal of Family Therapy* 42, no. 3 (May 1, 2020), 406, https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-6427.12303.

factors. This increase of risk factors can lead to psychological distress and potentially increase the risk for the child to have a psychological disorder, in this case, intergenerational trauma.[172] In a study of two Indigenous tribes, not specified for confidentiality, the risk and resilience factors of what is known as "reservation life" were analyzed.[173] The reservation, created through U.S federal policy, was a tool of settler colonialism to dispossess Indigenous people from their ancestral homelands entirely or from large portions of it. For Indigenous people,

> Reservation lands are significant places imbued with a critical history, but they also reflect a deeply seated ambivalence. Whereas reservation lands may provide for opportunities for social support that protect against psychological distress, they also can serve as a source of psychological distress, reminding residents of colonization and its attendant trauma.[174]

Much like other U.S policies, specifically the U.S Boarding School agenda, fractured Indigenous nations were left with new risk and protective factors based on their geographic locations and violent interactions with the U.S settler colonial state. This study suggests that reservation life can present multiple risk factors for mental illness such as geographic and social isolation, limited economic development and employment opportunities, displacement, drug use, domestic violence, weakened community bonds, limited traditional lifeways, and environmental pollution.[175] Yet, the reservation presents multiple resilience factors as well because they

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[172] The definition of risk factors in the field of psychology is much more complex than how I have described above. Some criteria for the characteristics and/or variables that are qualified as risk factors have to increase the probability of a disorder and occur before the start of a disorder, they can be both biological or psychological in nature, they can cause the potential for a disorder or cause the disorder, etc. On the other hand, protective factors help to provide theoretical explanations for resilience. Protective factors are those that "modify, ameliorate or alter a person's response to some environmental hazard that predisposes to a maladaptive outcome." Patricia J. Mrazek and Robert J. Haggerty, "6, Risk and Protective Factors for the Onset of Mental Disorders," in *Reducing Risks for Mental Disorders: Frontiers for Preventive Intervention Research* (National Academies Press (US), 1994), https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK236306/.

[173] Kimberly R. Huyser et al., "Reservation Lands as a Protective Social Factor: An Analysis of Psychological Distress among Two American Indian Tribes," *Socius* 4 (January 1, 2018): 2378023118807022, https://doi.org/10.1177/2378023118807022.

[174] Huyser et al., "Reservation Lands as a Protective Social Factor."

[175] Huyser et al.

"provide geographic space for tribal-specific social networks to exist."[176] Some of these protective factors include the space for reclamation of language and Indigenous lifeways and the ability to have strong social support networks.[177] These risk and protective factors show how ongoing settler colonialism has destroyed parts of Indigenous lifeways and has created instability for many Indigenous nations, which in turn, has led to a perpetual cycle of intergenerational trauma and the persistence of these risk factors. Yet, as this study has comparatively shown, Indigenous nations are extremely resilient and are healing from both past and current violences of settler colonialism through the communal reclamation of Indigenous lifeways and Indigenous memories.

In further trying to understand the current field of Western psychology and intergenerational trauma theory, I would like to acknowledge that the American Psychological Association (APA) has stated that the current understanding of post traumatic stress disorder, which many Indigenous people are diagnosed with in Western psychological settings, could benefit from a generational perspective of trauma.[178] Yet, the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders fifth edition (DSM-5) does not currently include an intergenerational trauma diagnosis. While it is not officially a diagnosis, there is theoretical research currently being done. One of the first articles to officially note intergenerational trauma is from 1966, where Canadian psychiatrists documented "high rates of psychological distress among children of Holocaust survivors."[179]

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[176] Huyser et al.

[177] Huyser et al.

[178] DeAngelis, "The Legacy of Trauma."

[179] Holocaust survivors and their children have been the most researched population in intergenerational trauma studies. Holocaust research has led to Indigenous trauma studies in Western psychology, as Indigenous populations in the U.S and Canada have had similar generational experiences of surviving "massive cultural oppression." Even less directly studied is the intergenerational trauma of slavery on African-American populations. By applying the

Intergenerational trauma theory has begun to examine the possible psychodynamics, biological, biogenetic, and epigenetic processes of intergenerational trauma.[180] Intergenerational trauma theory has also been approached through existing Western psychological concepts. For example, the family systems theory, which suggests that family members are interdependent, meaning the wellbeing of one family member affects the wellbeing of the other family members, has been used to elucidate the transmission of intergenerational trauma.[181] This theory may be beneficial for Indigenous scholarship as Indigenous communal ties are similar to what has been described as family ties in psychology. The reciprocal relationship in the family systems theory is the basis of many Indigenous lifeways, where all flourishing should be mutual.[182] While I will not focus on the psychiatric symptomatology of intergenerational trauma, I will explore the mechanisms by which trauma is transmitted in the context of ongoing settler colonialism through various perspectives of intergenerational trauma or wounding and memories of  Boarding School life. It is not productive to dichotomize Western psychology and Indigenous wellness philosophies, as an application of both can have the shared goal of realizing Indigenous healing. However, Western psychology is likely to overlook the history of settler colonialism as structure and can further perpetuate harm towards Indigenous peoples if mental health practitioners are not culturally competent, do not have a deep understanding of the history of settler colonialism in the United States, and do not understand how pathologizing the experiences of Indigenous peoples is

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framework of intergenerational trauma theory across cultural contexts, I am not suggesting that the experiences of survivors of genocide are comparable, but instead that an examination of intergenerational trauma is useful for my investigation of the  Boarding School era in the United States. DeAngelis.

[180] Psychodynamics: attachment, resilience and protective factors. Gerson, 502.

[181] DeAngelis.

[182] Kimmerer.

contrary to Indigenous healing models and decontextualizes the root of their suffering as structural violence.

*Memory Studies and "Postmemory" with Marianne Hirsch*

Marianne Hirsch, Professor of English and Comparative Literature at Columbia University, has inextricably linked trauma, memory, and violence in her work on "postmemory." Hirsch has coined the term "postmemory" to describe her experiences of the "structure of inter- and transgenerational return of traumatic knowledge and embodied experience."[183] While Hirsch is not writing specifically about Indigenous peoples in her work, she does come from the "postgeneration," or second generation, descendants of Holocaust survivors. "Postmemory" helps us to further understand how memory and interruptions of trauma and catastrophe are inherited transgenerationally.[184] Hirsch herself believes that while she writes about the Holocaust and much of her own personal experiences, her discussion of trauma, memory, and forgetting can be applied to numerous other contexts of "traumatic transfer."[185] Her structure of postmemory is a "consequence of traumatic recall but (unlike posttraumatic stress disorder) at a generational remove."[186] The structure of postmemory provides another lens of memory studies to further understand how ongoing settler colonialism ruptures the memories of entire Indigenous generations. As a memory studies scholar, Hirsch looks to the past in order to move towards the future.[187] In putting White and Hirsch into conversation with one another, the work of decolonizing trauma work through memory scholarship illustrates how Indigenous ways of

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[183] Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory*, 33.
[184] Hirsch, 33.
[185] Hirsch, 18.
[186] Hirsch, 5.
[187] Hirsch, 6.

healing are tied to the work of postmemory as “a form of repair and redress” and the reimagining and generational keeping of story [188]

Hirsch’s work on memory begins with the question, do children “have memories of their parents suffering?” And if they do, do these memories suggest that there is a transfer of the past to the present, a “past that is internalized without fully being understood?”[189] For Indigenous studies, not only do children have memories of their parents' trauma and suffering at the hands of state violence, but, in the case of the Boarding Schools, it was the children who were specifically targeted by the U.S government. For White, these enduring gaps in memory are to be filled through the reimagining of fractured connections and the agency to be the caretaker of one's own story. Through Whites’ work with descendent memories, we are able to recognize how descendant memories are partial in their recollections. But also how descendant memories are often repetitive and illustrate notable themes of both disconnection and loss. How is the transmission of memory specifically ruptured by a collective historical trauma?[190] For the integration of these questions into the context of this project, Hirsch’s question could be framed as: how is the transmission of Indigenous memories and lifeways ruptured by Boarding School trauma? And how does the trauma itself conjure up new memories that become embodied in the present? These questions are useful for my investigation of intergenerational trauma in Indigenous Boarding School survivors and their descendants, because they acknowledge that memory is transferred in communities whether or not there is also a presence of trauma.

Indigenous peoples transfer memories by teaching their children Indigenous lifeways and ways of knowing. Yet, when there is catastrophic historical trauma, the generational transfer of

[188] Hirsch, 6.
[189] Hirsch, 31.
[190] Hirsch, 33.

memory is fractured. Memories of Indigenous lifeways are now woven together with the memories of trauma. Hirsch writes that these “breaks in transmission resulting from trauma… necessitates forms of remembrance that reconnect and re-embody an intergenerational memorial fabric that is severed by catastrophe.”[191] Furthermore, these questions help remind us that while these memories of trauma and lifeways are being passed down, in “postmemory” there is also a temporal distance between generations that is not easily recovered.[192] Hirsch writes, “…an enormous distance must be bridged; the break between then and now, between the one who lived it and the one who did not remains monumental and insurmountable, even as the heteropathic imagination struggles to overcome it.”[193] This distance that Hirsch writes about between generations and the inability to truly understand or relate to one another is fatal for the survival and flourishing of a community. For Indigenous peoples in the United States, state violence has created generational distance through the trauma of ongoing settler colonialism by severing communal ties and further dispossessing Indigenous nations of their land and resources. Alongside these fractured memories, there is the absence of memories entirely. In an educational lecture with author, storyteller, and seed keeper Rowan White (Mohawk/Kanienkeha:ka), White addresses that much of her family's Indigenous knowledge was not passed down from her grandparents to her parents and then unto herself.[194] This absence of knowledge and memory inheritance occurred because her grandparents were Boarding School survivors and wanted to protect their children from potential abuse at the hands of white settlers.[195]

[191] Hirsch, 32.
[192] Hirsch, 86.
[193] Hirsch, 86.
[194] Rowan White, “Seed Rematriation: Re-Storying the Land and Centering Indigenous Relationships” (Virtual, March 8, 2022).
[195] White, “Seed Rematriation.”

M. Jacqui Alexander, Professor of Emeritus at the Women and Gender Studies Department of the University of Toronto, writer, and activist, writes on cultural and ancestral forgetting in her work titled *Pedagogies of Crossing*. Alexander writes,

> ...but that at times the forgetting is so deep that forgetting is itself part of what we have forgotten. What is so unbearable that we even forget that we have forgotten? "The scent of memory (our own and that of strangers)" can become faint, as faint as the scent of dried roses, when things become unspeakable and unbearable, when the terms of belonging get reshuffled.[196]

While Alexander is writing about her own ancestral relations as an Afro-Caribbean woman, her questions and meditations of forgetting resonate with the narratives of others who have been through intergenerational trauma and violence at the hands of the state. Alexander writes that a "site of traumatic memory" is "such a memory of violence and violation [that] begets a will to forget, to forget the innards of that violation." For Indigenous grandparents and parents of children or future children, this forgetting, either conscious or unconscious, is a way to try and keep children from experiencing violence. If Indigenous children are unable to speak their languages or practice traditional Indigenous lifeways, then there is less incentive on the part of the United States government to assimilate them. Through forgetting, the absence of memory is a potential tool for protection, coping, and survival. Yet, as Alexander seemingly warns us, what happens when we forget that we have forgotten? More specifically, how does forgetting and assimilation impede Indigenous revitalization efforts and healing?

Several descendants of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School reflect on these absent memories. Carlisle school descendant Warren Petoskey, Odawa and Lakota, writes, "my wife's great-grandmother and great-grandfather were survivors of the Trail of Tears. She did not even

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[196] M. Jacqui Alexander, "Chapter 6: Remembering This Bridge Called My Back, Remembering Ourselves," in *Pedagogies of Crossing: Meditations on Feminism, Sexual Politics, Memory, and the Sacred* (Duke University Press, 2005), 276, https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822386988.

know she was Indian until we met, and her father revealed it to her. She is Choctaw and Cherokee."[197] While we can only assume why Petoskey's wife did not know that she was Indigenous, this acknowledgement of her grandparents experiencing a massive historical trauma, like the Trail of Tears, illustrates that experiencing such a violent trauma may lead to the refusal or inability of memory inheritance which leads to the erasure of Indigenous ways of knowing and tribal connections. These memories may include both memories of Indigenous lifeways and memories of trauma, and in this specific memory, the acknowledgement of Indigeneity. To put an end to this transferring through the absence of memory entirely may be a means to try and protect descendants from the horrors of settler colonialism and assimilation policies of the United States government. Louellyn White writes about the absence of memories specifically within her work on Carlisle descendant voices. She writes,

> My mother, a fluent Mohawk speaker, told me my father didn't want them to talk to me in Mohawk. He didn't want me to get beat up at school, like he was" (Respondent 46, Question 10). Others describe harsh punishments: "My great-auntie told me of being slapped for speaking the language. She spoke of the little jail where repeat offenders were imprisoned without food or water. I also heard how older students were chosen to punish younger ones" (Respondent 14, Question 9); "My grandmother wrote to Carlisle saying, 'stop beating my boy' " (Respondent 61, Question 8).[198]

Through descendant voices, White is able to illustrate some of the assumed intentions of grandparents and parents trying to protect their children from white settlers and state violence. This focus on language is seen throughout many of these memories where language is emphasized as a site of settler oppression to assimilate Indigenous children and fracture Indigenous memories. When thinking about the relationship between language and memory, we

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[197] Warren Petoskey, "Response to Visiting Carlisle: Experiencing Intergenerational Trauma," in *Carlisle Indian Industrial School: Indigenous Histories, Memories, and Reclamations*, ed. Jacqueline Fear-Segal and Susan D. Rose (University of Nebraska Press, 2016), 334, https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1dwssxz.24.
[198] White, 127-128.

might ask: what is being lost in these memories or what remains absent from these memories when they can not be passed down through traditional Indigenous languages and oral storytelling? Furthermore, what can only be inherited through ancestral language? These questions help us to think deeply about the ways that the destruction of Indigenous languages and lifeways has affected what has been able to be passed down through generations, what is fractured, what has survived, and what remains absent. White writes,

> While archival material, firsthand accounts, and descendant narratives contribute a depth and breadth of knowledge into Boarding School life, we cannot forget about the silent ones. Some descendants say their family never talked about Carlisle or had a difficult time: "She never ever talked about her time away at Carlisle" (Respondent 7, Question 90). Negative experiences might be implied in silencing and privileging some stories over others: "When asked about Carlisle, my grandpa would only say: 'That was a long time ago.' But he would readily share stories about serving in WWI and experiencing mustard gas" (Respondent 112, Question 9). Silence cannot be found in the archives, yet refusal is open to a wide range of interpretations about how students perceived Carlisle. We must remain vigilant in allowing those silent spaces to exist without attaching an inaccurate narrative to them.[199]

As someone who is removed from these memories and removed from these communities and lifeways, it is easy for my work to perpetuate harm despite good intentions. White's work has been pertinent to this project and specifically this chapter on memories of Boarding School descendants. I often use White's piece on descendant voices to reflect on my own writing, my intentions, my platform, and my limitations. As I have mentioned before, we can only assume why such memories are absent or as White refers to as "silent." In working with descendant narratives and memories we must learn that there is not one central narrative and to allow for "silent spaces" to exist without question, conflation, or projection. It is through silence that these memories speak.

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[199] White, 131.

Marianne Hirsch brings the work of Toni Morrison into her own writing on memory. Hirsch's conversations with Morrison and the connections she makes between historical trauma from the Holocaust and that of chattel slavery are evidence for how memory scholarship can be used as a lens to look at historical trauma cross culturally.[200] The conversations between Morrison and Hirsch illustrate how trauma "marks" the individual that can then be recognized by the collective.[201] The markings of chattel slavery and the Holocaust, while physically visible as scars and tattoos, could also be incorporeal or intangible markings that find their way into the body-mind connection for both survivors of direct trauma and their descendants. These markings are then recognizable by the collective as part of the traumatized "we." This recognition of the collective is pertinent for healing to occur, as this healing is inherently collective in its strive for communal repair and reimagining. I have tasked myself with finding these less visible "markings" of trauma seen within stories of schooling to further analyze how Boarding Schools create collective memories of trauma that require collective healing.

Hirsch, through the teachings of Morrison, also helps us to further understand how these collective memories of trauma are repeated over and over again.[202] The cyclical life of memories, although changed, modified, and altered, continue through generations, which is the very basis of intergenerational trauma theory. Morrison defines the concept of "rememory," writing that "the re in rememory signals not just the threat, but the certainty of repetition: It will happen again."[203] Morrison's theories lead us to ask: How is trauma for Indigenous peoples in the U.S being repeated? What are the ways in which Indigenous peoples are living these burdens of "double

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[200] Hirsch, 81.
[201] Hirsch, 81.
[202] Hirsch, 84.
[203] Hirsch, 84.

realities" both inflicted with trauma and ongoing violence? As settler colonialism is ongoing, trauma experienced by Indigenous peoples is cyclical and repeated, not only because trauma is being transferred generationally by Indigenous people, but because new traumas are being produced daily. Furthermore, if settlers and their descendants can not identify how they have immensely harmed Indigenous peoples, then how can Indigenous people heal? This acknowledgment and the uncovering of the past is pertinent for healing and trauma work. Hirsch writes, "The child of survivors who 'transpose' herself into the past of the Holocaust lives the 'burden of a double reality' that makes 'functioning' extraordinarily complex."[204]

*Intergenerational Trauma as "Soul Wound"*

Dr. Maria Yellow Horse Brave Heart (Hunkpapa/Oglala Lakota), Associate Professor of Psychiatry at the University of New Mexico, is a leader in research on historical trauma for Indigenous peoples. Her work acknowledges the lack of insufficient data on the "emotional responses to collective trauma and losses among Indigenous Peoples" within current Western psychological studies.[205] For this chapter, I would also like to make clear that much of the current studies of intergenerational and historical trauma on Boarding/Residential School survivors and their descendants come out of Canadian research. While this project focuses primarily on Indigenous people in what we currently call the United States, much of the research on intergenerational trauma has been focused on the Residential School system in Canada. Dr. Renee Linklater, citizen of Rainy River First Nations, writes that the historical traumas of Indigenous People across the Americas have many similarities, as "over 500 years of contact

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[204] Hirsch, 85.
[205] Brave Heart et al, "Historical Trauma Among Indigenous Peoples of the Americas," 282.

between the original peoples of the Americas and the settler nations [has] produced extensive displacement and disconnection."[206] It is important to read and study the existing work published by Indigenous psychiatrists, social workers, and healers to further understand how these communities are affected by the violences of ongoing settler colonialism in the United States. To address much of the psychological suffering in Indigenous populations, trauma work must be aligned with historical trauma intervention practice.[207] This practice involves "developing culturally responsive interventions driven by the community to improve behavioral health."[208] In chapter three, I further address how Indigenous mental health practitioners work to facilitate and support these community practices of healing and re-imagination specifically with land. Within this chapter, I put multiple conceptual frameworks of historical trauma from various Indigenous psychologists and researchers into conversation with one another.

Brave Heart defines historical trauma as the "cumulative emotional and psychological wounding across generations, including the lifespan, which emanates from massive group trauma."[209] The massive group, or collective, trauma that Indigenous peoples have experienced is what differentiates this trauma theory from other trauma and stress-related disorders. Brave Heart writes, "historical trauma theory frames lifespan trauma in the collective, historical context, which empowers Indigenous survivors of both communal and individual trauma by reducing the sense of stigma and isolation." This collectivized "we," seen in the work of Hirsch and Morrison, is what makes historical trauma devastating on both the communal and individual level.

[206] Linklater, 20.
[207] Brave Heart et al., 282.
[208] Brave Heart et al., 282.
[209] Brave Heart et al., 283.

Linklater defines this trauma as the "cumulative, emotional and psychological wounding over time that is transmitted from one generation to the next."[210]

In the memory of the Carlisle school descendant Warren Petoskey, he describes his personal and familial experience of the cyclical and intergenerational transmission of trauma originating from his grandfather's Boarding School experience. Petoskey writes,

> My grandfather graduated in 1902. It is our belief that when my grandfather's dad walked on [passed away], his two children were taken to Carlisle. Our lives as a family would never be ordinary or normal due to the psychological effects my grandfather displayed. Not only was he dealing with all the conditions brought on our people by the foreign occupation and takeover; in addition he had to try to process what he was forced to go through at a military- style Boarding School and the abuse he experienced while at Carlisle. Due to the behaviors of my grandfather, he and my father had no relationship at all. When Carlisle came into the picture and after hearing all the stories from the elders who experienced Carlisle, I knew why my grandfather was the way he was. My grandfather walked on when I was three. They tell me he would come to visit when I was born and wanted to hold me and be a grandfather to me, as much as he knew how, but that was limited because he was raised in an institution with no parents or elders around him to teach him or be examples. He appeared suspended between two worlds, one his Native origin, and the other the false world that was taught him.[211]

Petoskey's memories of his grandfather are ones that have been passed down to him by other family members. We might use Hirsch's theory of "postmemory" and temporal distance to explain how these memories remain viable or festering within the body-minds of descendant generations. While these descendants are once-removed from the generation that had experienced the initial trauma of the Boarding Schools, they experience a trauma inherited, replicated, and altered. This trauma does not look identical to that originally experienced within these Boarding Schools as it is a learned trauma stemming from neglect and abuse. While Petoskey's grandfather passed away when he was merely a child, Petoskey's memory illustrates

[210] Linklater, 23.
[211] Petoskey, "Response to Visiting Carlisle," 333-334.

how the trauma his grandfather experienced at the Carlisle school has affected multiple generations of his family. Petoskey continues to address how this trauma has lived through him and how it has now been passed down onto his children.

> My wife and I met in April 1967 and were married at the end of June that same year. We just celebrated our forty- fifth anniversary. Through those forty- five years the demons we battled and the baggage we carried and had to get rid of were evident. The presence of this baggage in our lives was also evident. We passed residuals on to our children, and they have struggled, and some continue to struggle. My wife, Barb, and I established a better home environment than we grew up in, but we still passed some of the baggage on because we were unable to identify it for what it was.[212]

In the latter part of this memory, Petoskey writes about this inadvertent passing down of further trauma to his children. As we know that the vicious cyclical nature of intergenerational trauma is a primary aspect of ongoing settler colonialism as structure, it is difficult to identify from an individual perspective. When one recognizes the patterns of this inheritance of trauma within the collective, intergenerational trauma is more discernible. Similar to the ideas of Morrison, when an individual recognizes the markings of historical trauma, they are then able to recognize that they are a part of a larger collective trauma. It was not until Petoskey was able to identify the markings passed down in his family that he was able to recognize the markings within himself. In both Indigenous and non-Indigenous trauma work, the initial recognition of the traumatic event(s) or of these markings is the first step to healing. While the awareness of such trauma is the first step, Indigenous ways of healing and decolonial trauma work acknowledges that deeper work is needed for Indigenous people to heal from the ongoing violences of settler colonialism and Boarding School experiences.

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[212] Petoskey, 335.

Amy Bombay, Anishinaabe from Rainy River First Nations and Associate Professor for the School of Nursing and Department of Psychiatry for Dalhousie University, writes that much of the existing research on how historically traumatic events that have affected Indigenous peoples does not consider both the larger context of these traumatic events as well as how the family and community have been affected.[213] To further define historical trauma, Bombay offers three distinguishing characteristics of a "historical trauma event." The first characteristic is that the event was "widespread," meaning that many group members were affected within the specific group or population.[214] The second characteristic is that the event was "perpetrated" by members outside of the group with the intent to harm the targeted population.[215] Lastly, the event "generated" immense "collective" distress within the targeted group.[216]

Brave Heart also defines historical trauma responses, which are the associated reactions to "massive group trauma."[217] Most commonly associated with historical trauma is historical unresolved grief. Historical unresolved grief is defined as "profound unsettled bereavement resulting from cumulative devastating losses, compounded by the prohibition and interruption of Indigenous burial practices and ceremonies."[218] The cumulation of loss for Indigenous peoples is colossal. Furthermore, to not be able to grieve those losses in culturally significant respects creates further devastation for Indigenous communities. In the case of the Boarding Schools, children were traumatically and forcibly removed from families, where many never returned

[213] Amy Bombay, Kimberly Matheson, and Hymie Anisman, "The Intergenerational Effects of Indian Residential Schools: Implications for the Concept of Historical Trauma," *Transcultural Psychiatry* 51, no. 3 (June 2014): 321, https://doi.org/10.1177/1363461513503380.
[214] Bombay et al., "The Intergenerational Effects of Indian Residential Schools," 321.
[215] Bombay et al., 322.
[216] Bombay et al., 322.
[217] Brave Heart et al., 283.
[218] Brave Heart et al., 283.

home. There are currently thousands of unrecovered and unaccounted bodies of Indigenous children at Residential and Boarding Schools across the United States and Canada.

Storyteller Dovie Thomason, Lakota and Kiowa Apache, writes about her experience visiting the Carlisle school cemetery with her young daughter.

> So many headstones, identical headstones, and they march on and on, uniform and laid out in military precision. We weren't alone; there were other people—some of you now in this room—walking through that cemetery searching for names, touching stones, finding names, leaving gifts. Soft voices, many not speaking English, moved through that cemetery. My daughter was trying to figure out the story that would explain why we were there. She was reading the names. At last, her face turned to me as she said, "There are a lot of Lakota graves here." And I said, "I know . . . I know, honey." Puzzled, she said, "But they call them Sioux." And I said, "Well, they didn't know what to call us back then; this was around 1879." She kept looking at the graves and then she said, "There's Apache graves here, even more Apache graves. That's you; you're Lakota and Apache." And I said, "I know . . . I know, honey, but none of my family is here." I could see her next question on her face, troubling her.
>
> *There are some stories you don't want to tell your children.*
>
> *There are some stories you need to tell your children…*
>
> I started to braid my daughter's hair as I stood there. It's a thing mothers do; we think it comforts you, but we know it comforts us both. I stood there, without words, braiding her hair as she kept looking around. And I thought, how am I going to tell her, how am I going to tell her about this? She doesn't know why we're here; she's not prepared for this. Why should a mother have to tell a daughter these things?
>
> *There's some stories you don't want to tell your children.*
>
> *There's some stories you don't want to tell at all.*
>
> *There's some stories you have to tell your children.*[219]

Thomason's memory of being in the cemetery with her daughter not only describes the critical context of neglect and death at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School leading to the burying of

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[219] Dovie Thomason, "The Spirit Survives," in *Carlisle Indian Industrial School: Indigenous Histories, Memories, and Reclamations*, ed. Jacqueline Fear-Segal and Susan D. Rose (University of Nebraska Press, 2016), 316-318, https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1dwssxz.23.

Indigenous children in mostly unmarked and undated graves, but also identifies how memories are passed down from generation to generation. Furthermore, Thomason's echoing phrases, "There are some stories you don't want to tell your children. There are some stories you need to tell your children. There's some stories you don't want to tell at all. There's some stories you have to tell your children," stays with us in thinking deeply about how unresolved grief lives within the body and festers unless this grief is addressed, stories are shared, and ancestral children are mourned.[220]

In thinking about Thomason's memory, I ask: how can one be expected to grieve and heal from these losses when the ancestral children of Indigenous nations are still missing? How can Indigenous peoples be expected to heal when the abuse and neglect that happened at Residential and Boarding Schools has never been appropriately recognized by the settler governments and church officials who allowed these violences to happen? Indigenous peoples in the United States were unable to mourn in traditional ways between 1883 and 1978 until the American Indian Religious Freedom Act was passed.[221] As an assimilation tactic, in 1883 the Code of Indian Offenses was created by the federal government, along with other legislation, to restrict cultural and religious ceremonies of Indigenous tribes in the U.S.[222] The illegality of traditionally mourning the death and murder of loved ones, including children, has led to a more complex "prolonged grief" for many Indigenous peoples.[223] Brave Heart argues that all mental health practitioners and researchers should address grief and loss within Indigenous communities

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[220] Thomason, "The Spirit Survives," 316-318.
[221] Brave Heart et al., 284.
[222] Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, "Rules Governing the Court of Indian Offenses" (U.S Department of the Interior, March 30, 1883), https://rclinton.files.wordpress.com/2007/11/code-of-indian-offenses.pdf.
[223] Brave Heart et al., 284.

through the lens of "traditional normative grief resolutions" in conjunction with modern tribal practices to best support Indigenous peoples on both the individual and collective level.[224]

Linklater, like these other practitioners, argues that the trauma Indigenous people have experienced is one that is multigenerational and persistent. Linklater writes, "It is necessary to declare that the root of injury has been caused by colonial violence, which was significantly enforced by governments through legislation and institutions."[225] Yet, Linklater also argues that much of Indigenous trauma and behavior is misinterpreted and wrongly pathologized by the Western psychological standard.[226] Linklater argues that the western term of trauma "implies that the individual is responsible for the response, rather than the broader systematic force caused by the state's abuse of power."[227] This misinterpretation of Indigenous experiences is what perpetuates further harm for Indigenous people/nations. Furthermore, Western psychology is not focused on the intergenerational and multigenerational contexts of trauma as these practices instead focus on singular traumatic events of the individual. While much of Indigenous healing work does not care to pathologize trauma and trauma responses because these ideas stem from a Western and colonial origin, there are ways of understanding what is defined as trauma in Western psychology within Indigenous thought. The concept of "blood memory" is defined similarly to the concepts of intergenerational and historical trauma.[228] According to Linklater, blood memory is the memory which one, or a collective, experiences as the memories of those

[224] Brave Heart et al., 284..
[225] Linklater, 20.
[226] Linklater, 21.
[227] Linklater, 22.
[228] Linklater, 23.

who came before you.[229] You are born with and within a "collection of memories."[230] These memories for many Indigenous people/nations include the memories of the Boarding Schools which continue to live within the body-minds of these communities today.

For Indigenous psychologist Eduardo Duran (Apache/Tewa), the Indigenous concept of historical trauma is the "soul wound" in which symptomatology has been described by Indigenous people as "spiritual injury," "soul sickness," "soul wounding," and "ancestral hurt." [231] This injury is one "where blood doesn't flow."[232] In terms of the language around blood, this injury may refer to what Linklater defines as "blood memory." The connection between body-minds here is what Indigenous decolonial healing requires. Duran writes,

> The colonial process experienced by these people can be described as a collective raping process of the psyche/soul of both the land and the people. It is the inclusive lifeworld that becomes the victim of such an assault. As mentioned before, abuse occurs at the physical, psychological, and spiritual levels. Therefore, the issue must be addressed at all of these levels. Healing of the body, mind, and spirit is further compounded by the fact that the trauma occurs at the personal, community, and collective levels.[233]

While chapter three will delve deeper into the land-based decolonization of trauma work for Indigenous people, Duran helps us to understand how the violences of settler colonialism as structure aims to harm all aspects of Indigenous lifeways: spiritual and physical, individual and collective. Duran's acknowledgment of kinship between land and Indigenous people will be centered in chapter three as much of decolonizing trauma work and healing work is a revitalization of the relationship Indigenous people have with land, and land with Indigenous

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[229] Linklater, 23.
[230] Linklater, 23.
[231] Eduardo Duran, *Healing the Soul Wound: Trauma-Informed Counseling for Indigenous Communities*, 2nd ed. (Teacher's College Press, 2019), 17.
[232] Duran, *Healing the Soul Wound*, 10.
[233] Duran, 23.

people. United States' Boarding School policies have indelibly harmed the relationship between land and people. The institutionalization of these policies was enacted in order to pacify, and consequently to perpetuate the mass murder of Indigenous people. The decimation of Indigeous peoples and their lifeways is part and parcel of the efforts by actors within the settler colonial state to dispossess Indigenous people from their land.

The Residential/ Boarding Schools both in Canada and the United States are seen as a clear example of historical trauma for Indigenous peoples. Bombay et al. writes, "in addition to the significant number of mortalities and children who went "missing" from these schools, many were also victims of chronic mental, physical, and sexual abuses and neglect."[234] Both the survivors of these schools and their descendants have been affected by the trauma Boarding School survivors experienced in these schools. Intergenerational and historical trauma should be particularly pertinent to the current field of psychology as these theories argue that historical events continue to affect the well-being of those living in the present time. The data currently available on the Residential/ Boarding Schools suggest that survivors continue to have their health and well-being undermined by the trauma they experienced, their familial history of attendance with these schools interacts with the current stressors in their lives, and the risk factors associated with these schools may "accumulate" across generations.[235]

Through a reclamation and re-imagining of memory, Indigenous people heal from and actively resist the structure of settler colonialism. Theories of intergenerational trauma, historical trauma, soul wounding, blood memory, and postmemory provide insight into the site of memory as the intentional target of violence by state-sanctioned settler colonialism. It is memories that

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[234] Bombay et al., 323.
[235] Bombay et al., 323.

allow for a passing down of tradition, storytelling, language, and overall Indigenous lifeways to flourish and survive. Yet, when these memories have become fractured, intertwined with trauma, or all together silenced, settler colonialism as structure is able to weaken and disintegrate familial and community ties, which subsequently dispossesses Indigenous people from their ancestral homelands and lifeways. What we might call a generational forgetting of self and community, or tactics of assimilation, are required by the structure of settler colonialism itself and 19th and 20th century policy makers of the U.S. Yet, while much of this generational loss or forgetting has already happened, memories and their caretakers have always and continue to survive and resist. Many Indigenous peoples are currently remembering fractured memories and are further resisting ongoing settler colonialism through a re-imagination of Indigenous lifeways in the wake of past, present, and future violences to come. This healing and resistance work is happening within both Western and Indigenous intergenerational trauma theories and frameworks. Within a collective trauma, there exists the potential for collective healing. In chapter three, this paper will explore a healing of Indigenous lifeways done through a decolonization of the body-mind in relationship to the natural world. I will explore how Indigenous mental health practitioners are decolonizing trauma work and focusing on relationship with land as the foremost practice of healing in the wake of both current and intergenerational trauma from the ongoing violences of settler colonialism as structure.

# Chapter Three: Reconnecting with Land Kin

*She will call you by your ancient name,*
*and you will answer because you will not have forgotten.*
*Water always remembers.*

- Alexander, M. Jacqui[236]

In this final chapter I explore how Indigenous mental health practitioners decolonize trauma work for their Indigenous patients and community members. This chapter also examines the emphasis placed on healing the relationship between Indigenous peoples and land, in re-imagining Indigenous lifeways and reconstructing fractured Indigenous memories. Reconnecting with land is imperative for healing because disconnecting nations from their lands and disrupting their relationships to ancestral lands are critical features of land dispossession via settler colonialism both presently and during the 19th and 20th century Boarding School era. A reclamation of land-based practices, kinship with land, and memory of land actively resists ongoing settler colonialism as structure and its insatiable hunger to steal land from Indigenous people through explicitly violent means.

## *On Decolonization and Indigenous Futurity*

Renee Linklater defines decolonization, using the framework proposed by Waziyatawin Angela Wilson and Michael Yellow Bird, as the

> intelligent, calculated, and active resistance to the force of colonialism that perpetuate(s) the subjugation and/or exploitation of our minds, bodies, and lands, and it is the ultimate purpose of overturning the colonial structure and realizing Indigenous liberation.[237]

[236] Alexander, "Chapter 6: Remembering This Bridge Called My Back, Remembering Ourselves."
[237] Linklater.

Decolonizing trauma work involves centering Indigenous worldviews, lifeways, and knowledge production as successful and meaningful strategies for Indigenous healthcare practitioners. Additionally, this approach proposes an alternative dialogue that challenges the use of psychiatric diagnosis and pathology in the case of Indigenous peoples.[238] The colonial dimensions of trauma and Western psychology will be expanded upon later in this chapter.

While there are various theoretical proposals on what decolonization is in theory and practice, I have chosen to define decolonization through the teachings of Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang, professor and scholar in Indigenous organizing, critical pedagogy, and ethnic studies at the University of California, San Diego. In their work "Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor," Tuck and Yang argue that decolonization is not a metaphor for the ways we want to improve our societies, but is solely and unapologetically the repatriation of Indigenous land and life.[239] Tuck and Yang write,

> Because settler colonialism is built upon an entangled triad structure of settler-native-slave, the decolonial desires of white, non- white, immigrant, postcolonial, and oppressed people, can similarly be entangled in resettlement, reoccupation, and reinhabitation that actually further settler colonialism. The metaphorization of decolonization makes possible a set of evasions, or "settler moves to innocence", that problematically attempt to reconcile settler guilt and complicity, and rescue settler futurity.[240]

The entanglement of people and structures within settler colonialism illustrates how decolonial desires often become entangled with other desires that work to further settler colonialism as structure. The emphasis on decolonization, not as metaphor, explains how metaphor works to ease what is unsettling and find points of connection, synonym, and coexistence. It is metaphor

[238] Linklater, 27.
[239] Eve Tuck and K Wayne Yang, "Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 1, no. 1 (2012): 1.
[240] Tuck & Yang, "Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor," 1.

that “makes possible a set of evasions" for the desires of settler colonialism to continue to exist and attempts to reconcile the violence against Indigenous people and lifeways through a settler “move to innocence,” ultimately rescuing the settler state. Instead, decolonization, similar to Tuck and Ree’s haunting theory in “A Glossary of Haunting,” is and should always remain unsettling. The haunting characteristics of decolonization exist as a continued reminder and remembering of colonial violence.[241]

As Tuck and Yang propose, decolonization operates counter to “settler futurity,” which lives in tension against “Indigenous futurity.” Marcel Brousseau, Senior Instructor in the Department of English at Portland State University, writes that settler futurity, as used by Eve Tuck and Rubén A. Gaztambide-Fernández, is the “permanent preparation for settler dominance and territorial control.”[242] Settler futurity works through methods of “replacement,” including “homicide, state-sanctioned miscegenation, the issuing of individual land titles, native citizenship, child abduction, religious conversion, reprogramming (via missions or Boarding Schools), and myriad forms of assimilation.”[243] This “logic of elimination,” as theorized by Patrick Wolfe, is an assertion of the settler’s insatiable need for more territory realized by the forced removal and mass killings of Indigenous peoples.[244] Tuck and Yang refer to the narratives within the “settler colonial imagination” that fantasize about Wolfe’s “logic of elimination,” writing that, “in the settler colonial imagination in which the Native (understanding that he is becoming extinct) hands over his land, his claim to the land, his very Indian-ness to the settler for safe-keeping. This is a fantasy that is invested in a settler futurity and dependent on the

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[241] Tuck & Yang, 3.
[242] Marcel Brousseau, “‘Unrefutable Responsibility’: Mapping the Seeds of Settler Futurity and Seeding the Maps of Indigenous Futurity,” *Journal of the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association* 8, no. 1 (2021), 113.
[243] Brousseau, “Unrefutable Responsibility,” 112.
[244] Brousseau, 112.

foreclosures of an Indigenous futurity."[245] In thinking about "Indigenous futurity," Brousseau uses the framework proposed by Laura Harjo (Mvskoke), stating that Indigenous futurity is an imagining of the "possible worlds to live in that refuse elimination at the hands of settler colonialism," including a return to "encounters, to dialogue, to settler uncertainty, and to Indigenous sovereignty."[246] The use of metaphor in decolonization secures settler futurity through its requisite to strive for reconciliation. Yet, decolonization, not as metaphor, emphasizes that the settler nation cannot exist once decolonized, and only then are Indigenous futures truly secured.[247] The very existence of the settler colonial nation of the United States negates the existence of Indigenous futurity. In imagining and implementing decolonization, we must consider how the restitution of ancestral lands and the formal recognition of Indigenous sovereignty is necessary for Indigenous healing from ongoing settler colonialism.

I appreciate Tuck and Yang's characterization of decolonization, which presents decolonization by what it is not. Therefore, Tuck and Yang define decolonization negatively which opens up myriad imaginings of what decolonization is and moves towards a multiplicity of Indigenous possibilities. While I propose definitions of decolonization in conversation with other theories, I think it is inevitable for me to separate myself and my own identities from this dialogue. What is my role in decolonization as settler? What is my role in defining actions around a process of decolonization or implementing decolonization? And what happens to the settler state in which my futurity has been secured? Is decolonization a destruction of the United States as we know it? Is this what Laura Harjo means in returning to "encounters, to dialogue, to settler uncertainty, and to Indigenous sovereignty"? While I can not offer answers, I feel that it is

[245] Tuck & Yang, 14.
[246] Brousseau, 118.
[247] Tuck & Yang, 36.

important to be upfront and acknowledge that while I offer a multiplicity of definitions proposed by my scholar teachers, it is challenging as a settler to try and comprehend, or imagine a changing of the world as I know it. However, I ultimately propose these theories of decolonization to show how they connect and work together to emphasize that decolonization is a way of healing.[248] Decolonization for Indigenous peoples is connected to Indigenous healing because decolonization protects and values Indigenous life and land which actively resists settler colonial violences that wound Indigenous peoples. Decolonial land restitution and Indigenous healing practices rely on one another in reciprocity because without open access to lands, not privately owned or commodified, Indigenous land-based healing cannot be practiced. While decolonization is centrally defined through a component of land repatriation, decolonization should not be understood as solely a physical return of land. Instead, the returning of land is: a re-imagining of fractured memories, a revitalization of language, a reconnection with land as kin, a remembering of Indigenous lifeways, and a repairing of Indigenous generational and ancestral ties.

In offering ideas that would constitute an intersectional approach to Indigenous studies, queer theory provides other ideas on futurity as proposed by José Estaban Muñoz. Muñoz's inclusive model of futurity allows for multiple ways of being that can inform Indigenous decolonization projects and imaginings. For Muñoz, futurity speaks of a "we," a we that is "not yet conscious," an invoking of a future society, and possibly of what we might connote as

[248] The focus of land repatriation for Tuck and Yang is central to much of the ways of healing I write about within this chapter. Because it is land that is insatiably consumed by the settler state, repatriating stolen land, providing re-access to public and ancestral lands, and protecting Indigenous lands from further colonial and capital harm, are all intrinsically part of Indigenous ways of healing. It is also the reciprocal relationships between land and Indigenous people that are explored later in the chapter as the site for healing and for re-imagining fractured memories.

utopian hope.[249] This idealist theorizing of Muñoz explores a "realm of potentiality," that "queerness is not quite here," but within that "quite" there exists a queer futurity.[250] In relation to Indigenous studies, one could say that Indigenous futurity, like queer futurity, explores and imagines potentiality, more specifically a potential world without settler colonialism or a potential world to reconnect fractured memories and regain forgotten knowledge. This potentiality is about imagining worlds without the ongoing violences of settler colonialism. This call to the future is what Muñoz argues is a critique of "straight time" where straight time tells queer people that there is no future for them, only the now.[251] Similar to the unknown future of Indigenous peoples and lifeways within ongoing settler colonialism, Indigenous people live within what we might call "settler time," in which Indigenous people and lifeways are always at risk.[252]

Mark Rifkin, professor of English and Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies at the University of North Carolina, writes in his book, *Beyond Settler Time: Temporal Sovereignty and Indigenous Self-Determination,* that there is a need for a more expansive examination of history and present that are outside of the narrative of "settler time" as imposed by the experience of temporality by the settler state.[253] Rifkin traces these impositions of settler time on Indigenous peoples to show how Indigenous temporal frameworks have been foreclosed. In opposition to

[249] José Esteban Muñoz, "Queerness as Horizon: Utopian Hermeneutics in the Face of Gay Pragmatism," in *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity* (New York University Press, 2019), 20.
[250] Muñoz, "Queerness as Horizon," 21.
[251] Muñoz, 22.
[252] The settler framing of time as linear, not only works to devalue Indigenous temporalities, which are often circular or nonlinear, but also works to chronologize colonized peoples and mark their experiences (beginning, middle, and end) through coloniality. This demarcation through a linear existence is seen in the colonial and American historical agenda, that marks the beginning of Indigenous existence at the point of settle contact and Indigenous disappearance at points of genocide, assimilation, and land disposession. Mark Rifkin, *Beyond Settler Time: Temporal Sovereignty and Indigenous Self-Determination* (Duke University Press, 2017).
[253] Rifkin, *Beyond Settler Time*, viii.

settler time, Indigenous temporality envisions "futurity through connection across time and with nonhuman entities."[254] For Rifkin, settler time becomes evident through such impositions as "... narrating the dispossession of Native peoples as simply the inevitability of progress while casting Indigenous peoples' continuing inhabitants in their homelands as an anomaly- an anachronistic residue."[255] While Muñoz's "queer futurity" can not be synonymously applied to Indigenous futurity, Muñoz's work offers an ideal and utopian framework that shifts heternormatove and colonial temporalities.[256] In putting Muñoz in conversation with Rifkin, the designated neutral or non-issue of the "shared present" of both non-Indigenous and Indigenous persons is questioned by identifying how the present is defined by "settler institutions, interest, and imperatives."[257] To apply Muñoz's framework to current conceptions and imaginings of decolonization, Indigenous futurity is potentialized "as the illumination of a horizon of existence."[258] In writing about trauma, there is a temporality always present. In the DSM-V, Western psychology defines Post-traumatic Stress Disorder through the linear temporal understanding that this disorder presents itself *after* the trauma. Yet, in intergenerational or historical trauma theory, continued violences and ongoing settler colonialism create ongoing traumas for Indigenous peoples, where before and afters are not easily identifiable. Therefore, to decolonize trauma work means that one has to challenge the Western and colonial understandings of temporality.

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[254] Rifkin, x.
[255] Rifkin, 84.
[256] Indigenous feminism also offers radical imaginings of Indigenous futurities where "Indigenous sovereignty can be asserted and heteropatriarchy can be defeated." By incorporating Indigenous feminism into decolonization, land-based practices will not reinforce settler colonial heteropatriarchy and gendered violence in human and non-human relations.Tasha Spillett, "Gender, Land, and Place: Considering Gender within Land-Based and Place-Based Learning," *Journal for the Study of Religion, Nature & Culture* 15, no. 1 (January 2021): 17-18, https://doi.org/10.1558/jsrnc.39094.
[257] Rifkin, viii.
[258] Muñoz, 25.

*Decolonizing Trauma Work*

Linklater writes that because Indigenous and Western concepts of wellness and psychology greatly differ, there is a danger for Indigenous peoples to be treated within a Western psychological framework.[259] Solely in looking at the language of these two philosophies, Indigenous wellness philosophy is defined on its basis as a wellness model, while Western psychology is based on determining and treating illness.[260] The question of whether or not Indigenous people are experiencing illness, disorder, or pathology as a result of U.S  Boarding School policies has not been determined by the Western psychological field. However, to suggest that Western psychology is capable of pathologizing trauma without understanding and acknowledging the root of suffering, as settler colonial violence, is problematic. While the DSM-IV initially proposed a diagnostic category called *residential school syndrome*, this diagnosis has not been included in the DSM and no agreement among mental health practitioners on this category has been made.[261] Linklater writes that those in opposition to this category "criticize the writers of the DSM of naive scholarship (which entails primitivism), wayward psychiatric mythologizing and constructing new disorders based on folklore."[262] The creation of this new diagnostic category, could potentially solidify the "pathological view of Indigenous people's experiences."[263] Even the language of trauma for Linklater is one that implies responsibility on part of the individual rather than the violences at the hands of the "state's abuse of power."[264]

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[259] Linklater, 21.
[260] Wellness philosophies are holistic approaches that consider the spiritual, emotional, mental, and physical equally. Instead, Western medicine separates these aspects of a person and looks at them individually without recognizing how intrinsically connected they all are to each other. Linklater, 21.
[261] Charles Brasfield, "Residential School Syndrome," *British Columbia Medical Journal* 43, no. 2 (March 2001): 78–81.
[262] Linklater, 21.
[263] Linklater, 21.
[264] Linklater, 22.

Therefore, like Linklater, I use the term trauma within this chapter not as a reference to disorder or pathology but as a "reaction to a kind of wound."[265] While Linklater acknowledges that many Indigenous individuals have benefited from "conventional" Western psychology and therapeutic settings, she also argues that "bringing 'psychology' and 'mental health' into an Indigenous framework is often confusing and misleading."[266] Furthermore, colleagues like Eduardo Duran have argued that Indigenous people need "healing institutions to retain culturally competent staff and that the adherence to strictly Western models of treatment maintains the colonization process."[267] Western psychology and mental health institutions serve as forms of colonization themselves.[268] Therefore, to resist colonial institutions of psychological treatment, decolonial trauma work roots itself within Indigenous wellness models of "restoring balance to the self through relationship with others and the environment."[269] Additionally, land repatriation is a necessary component of the decolonization of trauma work within Indigenous communities who have dealt with the primary and secondary effects of  Boarding School policies, given that these policies were designed specifically by agents within the settler colonial state with the intent to disrupt Indigenous ways of knowing and dispossess Indigenous people from their ancestral homelands.

To further frame decolonial trauma work, Linklater offers a lens of resiliency. A lens of resiliency recognizes Indigenous people as resilient in their ability to "withstand trauma and turmoil and to be able to proceed with living and engaging in a productive life."[270] As people

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[265] Linklater, 22.
[266] Linklater, 21.
[267] Linklater, 21.
[268] Linklater, 22.
[269] Linklater, 21.
[270] Linklater, 25.

who have experienced over 500 years of displacement and violence by settlers, Indigenous peoples are extremely resilient and should be recognized as such. This lens offers alternative ways to talk about Indigenous peoples experiences and focuses on strength-based responses that counter narratives of pathology and victimization. This resilience is one that stems from the wealth of "cultural resources that generate strong contributions to community capacity building in relation to healing practices and health research."[271] By using a lens of resiliency and language that emphasizes trauma as a result of settler colonialism, subsequent shame and other paralyzing feelings of blame are more likely to be refuted. In a decolonial approach to trauma work, Indigenous worldviews are not only valued, but central and imperative.[272] This worldview, emphasizing collective wellbeing and human-animal-land connection and reciprocity, is in contrast with the Western view of the world, where people are outside of nature and where the individual is valued over the collective.

Indigenous ways of healing have always existed and long provided wellness and survival strategies for Indigenous people despite the violences of ongoing settler colonialism. While initial contemporary healing movements (specifically in what is now called Canada) during the early 1970s focused primarily on alcoholism, in the following decade movements of community-based healing initiatives were built to implement cultural revival and resist the colonial suppression of Indigenous lifeways, language, and ceremony.[273]

It is pertinent for Indigenous healing to be community based and collective, not only because it reflects Indigenous worldviews, but also because the Boarding Schools produced

[271] Linklater, 25.
[272] Indigenous worldviews for Indigenous people are acquired by maintaining relationships with "land, language, people, ancestors, animals, stories, knowledge, medicine, culture, and spiritual environment." Linklater, 27.
[273] Linklater, 38-39.

learned behaviors for children to devalue their safety, personal boundaries, and be accustomed to living with abuse.[274] Therefore, children began to focus on their individual survival needs and mistrust others.[275] Settler colonialism works to separate the community and isolate the individual, breaking Indigenous familial and communal ties to dispossess Indigenous people from their ancestral homelands. Settler colonialism is also rooted in genocide which has led to the experiencing of multiple traumatic deaths for Indigenous peoples.[276] Braveheart et al. writes,

> The major mechanisms for ameliorating these results include developing functional support systems and returning the individual to a sacred path as defined by their particular tribal culture. The hope is to demonstrate that this relationship exists and then develop interventions to alter functional support systems and increase the individual's participation in traditional culture."[277]

The emphasis on support networks and immersion into traditional culture is key to understanding Indigenous healing practices. The revival of community-based healing works to counter the colonial tactic of Indigenous isolation and forgetting of oneself and people as Indigenous. Looking at how Indigenous people heal from unresolved grief and isolation is connected to how people heal from  Boarding School trauma as these experiences are inextricably linked and tend to lead to further risk factors, such as substance abuse, if not addressed.

Indigenous trauma workers, or health care practitioners, work to revive these community based healing efforts. These workers include "counselors, social workers, therapists, crisis workers, psychologists, psychiatrists, medical doctors, nurses, healers, helpers, and Elders."[278] Linklater emphasizes that Indigenous health care practitioners participate in both formal and

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[274] Linklater, 43.
[275] Linklater, 38.
[276] Brave Heart et al., 284.
[277] Braveheart et al., 284.
[278] Linklater, 46.

informal learning processes and come from a variety of educational experiences.[279] The idea of cultural competency in healthcare is a healthcare practitioner's ability to be culturally understanding and aware of their patients' diverse values, beliefs, and feelings. That being said, if an Indigenous person sees a non-Indigenous healthcare practitioner, the non-Indigenous practitioner may not be able to support their patient because they do not have an informed understanding of Indigenous worldviews or the history of colonization and Boarding Schools in the U.S. However, there are also complexities to cultural competencies even within the circle of Indigenous practitioners, as "a practitioner may be competent in Anishinaabe culture, but not Mohawk culture," or a newly Indigenous post secondary graduate may not know how to draw on both clinical and cultural models.[280] As further evidence of intergenerational trauma, many Indigenous practitioners are also unable to look to their own cultural experiences and epistemologies because settler colonialism has fractured the transmission of Indigenous knowledge between generations.[281] Community-based healing in the decolonization of trauma work resists Western and colonial ideologies of individualism and the tactic of the settler colonial structure to isolate and dispossess Indigenous peoples from their communities/nations. This framework instead re-imagines fractured memories and Indigenous lifeways in community, made up of people, animals, land, and ancestors, that work in reciprocity with one another to heal from ongoing settler colonial violence.

*Indigenous Ways of Healing*

[279] Linklater, 47.
[280] Linklater, 49-50.
[281] Linklater, 50.

While Indigenous people, across what we now call the Americas, have experienced a shared history of settler colonialism, genocide, and oppression, not all tribes have suffered in the same ways and should be written about with respect to the differing degrees of trauma exposure and cultural distinctiveness within and between Indigenous nations.[282] The healing practices I write about here are an incomplete overview of the many Indigenous healing practices that exist. However, while practices differ from tribe to tribe, "within Indigenous populations there are some common cultural features… focus on a collectivist culture; indirect communication styles; focus on harmony and balance; shared traditional beliefs in the existence of animal spirits as guides, ancestor spirits, and feeding the spirits; and attachment to all of creation."[283] By developing healing and intervention practices that can be adaptable for many tribal cultures, Indigenous and non-Indigenous practitioners can provide meaningful and culturally competent healing methods for a variety of Indigenous people.[284] While adaptable practices can be taught more easily in secondary educational settings and used most widely in practice, I recognize these Indigenous nations as distinct by naming them explicitly when applicable or known to me, to discourage the assumed "melting pot" of Indigenous nations in the U.S.[285]

The healing practices described here may also seem vague or untranslatable. This language has been employed intentionally as it is not culturally appropriate to write down ceremonial knowledge in detail, especially when you yourself are not a part of these cultures. Protecting Indigenous knowledge from further exploitation and colonial violence is important to address when writing or learning about Indigenous healing practices as these practices have a

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[282] Braveheart et al., 286-287.
[283] Braveheart et al., 287.
[284] Braveheart et al., 287.
[285] Linklater, 159.

long history of being made illegal and forcibly removed from Indigenous communities and families through assimilative Boarding School policies, land disposession, and genocide.[286] The point of this section is not for you or I to know how to reproduce these healing practices but to solely acknowledge their power in resisting settler colonialism, re-imagining fractured memories, and providing healing for Boarding School violences.

To further frame Indigenous healing practices, Linklater offers three broad themes of Indigenous perspectives on wellness and healing. These themes include: balance and harmony, being in creation, and care and compassion. Linklater describes balance and harmony through conversations she has had with other Indigenous practitioners. These practitioners note that “the four areas of self - the physical, the emotional, the mental, the spiritual” have to be in balance and harmony with one another.[287] Many Indigenous healing programs are based in this practice of balance and harmony where “developing a commitment to self-improvement and to healthy relationships with self, others, Mother Earth, the Cosmos, and the Creator Spirit,” helps attain a life-in-balance.[288] For Linklater and other practitioners, being in creation is maintaining a strong relationship with Creation to understand one’s place and purpose within the universe.[289] By seeing yourself as part of this larger network, “the network of Creation,” a greater sense of community and purpose can reduce isolation and facilitate healing.[290] Care and compassion is the part of Indigenous wellness philosophies that focuses on how the person feels about themself and

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[286] Linklater, 158.
[287] Linklater, 75.
[288] Linklater, 75.
The interconnectedness of all life also sometimes expressed as “all my relations” illustrates the connection Indigenous peoples have with all of Creation. Ioana Radu, “Land For Healing: Developing a First Nations Land-Based Service Delivery Model” (Thunderbird Partnership Foundation, 2018), 4.
[289] Linklater, 75.
[290] Linklater, 76.

their community. For the Indigenous practitioners that Linklater interviews, this aspect of wellness is about looking at what oneself needs before addressing the needs of the community. Linklater emphasizes that Indigenous mental health and wellness practitioners should "prepare themselves to help others by establishing and maintaining an awareness of their own emotional, mental, spiritual, and physical well-being."[291] These three aspects of Indigenous wellness philosophies and decolonization of trauma work emphasize how Indigenous people have always taken care of themselves and their communities/nations in resisting settler colonialism and healing from Boarding School violences.

Indigenous health care practitioners use a variety of clinical and life experiences as well as Indigenous lifeways, worldviews, and traditions to help their Indigenous patients heal from various wounds. Darlene Pearl Auger (Cree), referred to as the "swing lady" works with a traditionally based swing for healing work. This type of work helps to comfort people and return them to a time of infancy. For Boarding School survivors and descendants, this type of work may help individuals process their childhood fears and experiences of separation and abandonment.[292] Tina Vincent (Algonquin), previous counselor and now program coordinator, expresses the importance of community discussion and learning about Boarding School violences. Tina says,

> I remember the day when I went out to my community and we were talking about the effects of residential school and lateral violence, and the people were just so… *they want to know.* They're just so hungry for knowledge and bringing back traditions, like giveaways and feats. After I left, I came back home and every morning when I woke up, their faces were there. I could still feel their faces. And I think that's empowering for them. It's empowering for me.[293]

[291] Linklater, 77.
[292] Linklater, 51-54.
[293] Linklater, 55.

By talking openly and in community about Boarding School experiences and violences, many Indigenous people are finding healing through community compassion and care. Speaking in community about the abuse, neglect, and subsequent intergenerational trauma from Boarding Schools helps to counter narratives of shame or isolation that one feels after such a wounding, and instead community members feel empowered. Vincent's emphasis on a "bringing back [of] traditions" as a part of healing efforts in Indigenous communities, illustrates how re-imagining and revitalizing Indigenous traditional lifeways is central to Indigenous healing and decolonizing trauma work.[294] Furthermore, revitalization and re-imagining of Indigenous traditions resists the processes of settler colonialism that try to erase Indigenous lifeways from the memories of Indigenous peoples. While this chapter does not address all the ways that Indigenous practitioners are helping their patients and communities heal from Boarding School violences and intergenerational trauma, these two practitioners demonstrate how important it is to be in community with the people you are helping in approaching wellness through a decolonial framework of trauma work.[295] Part of these communities, not yet fully illustrated, is the aspect of land, kinship with land, and land-based healing. In ending with land-based healing efforts, we come full circle in understanding how healing efforts resist the primary goal of settler colonialism to dispossess Indigenous people of their land for the purpose of resettlement and resource extraction.

*Conceptual Understandings of Land-Based Healing*

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[294] Linklater, 55.

[295] Other practices mentioned include: sweat lodges, fasting, dream work, seeing an Elder in the community, recognizing the existing cultural and traditional knowledge one has inherited, powwows, ceremonies, hunting, learning about one's history and genealogy, and shake tents. To read more about Indigenous healing practices consult Renee Linklater's *Decolonizing Trauma Work: Indigenous Stories and Strategies.*

M. Jacqui Alexander writes that "land holds memory."[296] Alexander's writing on the ability of land as memory and story bearer reflects Afro-Indigenous ways of knowing that see land as healer in its ability to carry painful memories of others. In writing to Black women across the diaspora on concerns of exile, she writes,

> Land holds memory. This is why the land and live oak trees rooted in the Georgia Sea Islands of the southern United States whisper in your ear when you allow yourselves to listen… The live oaks will tell us these stories when we listen. And the mountains of Hawai'i will echo the ancient Kanak Maoli belief that they are stewards of the land, eyes of the land, children of the land. Deep within their undulating folds, which drape themselves with the ease of velvet around the opulent embrace of mist and cloud, we will feel the ancient power of land to heal. Ocean will reveal the secrets that lie at the bottom if its silted deep. She requires no name before her. Not Pacific, not Atlantic, not Arctic, not Southern, not Indian. She is simply her watery translucent self, reaching without need of compass for her sisters whomever and wherever they are. She will call you by your ancient name, and you will answer because you will not have forgotten. Water always remembers.[297]

This power of healing echoes through various land based practices and worldviews of many Indigenous peoples. Alexander's writing, while beautiful, is not metaphorical or describing a romanticized view of nature. Instead, like many Afro-Indigenous worldviews, land *is* spirit, ancestor, and kin. Land carries memory, trauma, and secrets. Land calls you by your name and you will not forget that fact, because at some point, your body and soul remembers her and the relationship you have to her.[298] Ioana Radu, interdisciplinary scholar and educator, writes that Indigenous peoples view land as a "living, breathing, conscious being that heals and teaches, and is therefore the source of a positive cultural identity and balanced wellbeing."[299] Land's role in

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[296] Alexander, 284.
[297] Alexander, 285.
[298] I feminize land in connection to Alexander's use of "she" for land and ocean. However, it is also important to problematize the conflation many of us have with nature as female within patriarchy. I recommend Tasha Spillet's work, *Gender, Land, and Place: Considering Gender within Land-Based and Place-Based Learning.*
[299] Radu, "Land For Healing," 5.

meaning-making and identity building is central for Indigenous worldviews. A relationship with land is cultivated through direct physical experiences with land, telling stories of land, and ancestral connection to land. [300] While Indigenous peoples have been repeatedly dispossessed from their ancestral land kin, they have not forgotten their ancestral land-based practices.

Settler colonialism disrupts land-based Indigenous ways of knowing by fracturing Indigenous memories of land and land-based relations. In decolonizing trauma work, these land-based practices have been revitalized to provide healing for Indigenous peoples. Radu writes, “Indigenous worldview underlines the need to see land as the source of human intelligence and thus a source of knowledge and healing. Strengthening and revitalizing the link to the land is key to maintaining a holistic approach to health and wellness.”[301] Vanessa Ambtman-Smith (Nehiyaw and Métis), Indigenous Health Lab PhD Candidate at Western University, and Chantelle Richmond (Anishinaabe), Associate Professor and Canada Research Chair at Western University, argue that “environmental repossession” is necessary for the overall health and well-being of Indigenous peoples.[302] Ongoing processes of settler colonialism and environmental dispossession impede “social, economic, and cultural processes Indigenous People are engaging in to reconnect with their traditional lands and territories.”[303] Land based practices help to keep people healthy and heal through fostered interactions with land, food, medicine, cultural identities and a sense of belonging.[304] Land is the site of “knowledge

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[300] Radu, 10.
[301] Radu, 9.
[302] Ambtman-Smith & Richmond describe environmental repossession as “part of a movement that seeks to align and enhance Indigenous self-determining research processes by providing practical, visible, and applied outcomes, occurring within a clearly defined context that benefits Indigenous people.” Ambtman-Smith, Vanessa. & Richmond. Chantelle, “Reimagining Indigenous Spaces of Healing: Institutional Environmental Repossession,” *Turtle Island Journal of Indigenous Health* 1, no. 1 (2020): 30.
[303] Ambtman-Smith & Richmond, “Reimagining Indigenous Spaces of Healing,” 27.
[304] Ambtman-Smith & Richmond, 28.

production and transmission" for these practices and more, where Indigenous relationality is formed and understood through generations.[305]

The revitalization of land-based relations is also occurring within educational settings.[306] For Boarding School survivors and their descendants, using land-based practices in education heals the site of initial wounding and offers alternatives to settler colonial schooling that values coercion and authority.[307] Wildcat et al., asks the questions, "What does it mean to think of land as a source of knowledge and understanding? How do our relationships with land inform and order the way humans conduct relationships with each other and other-than human beings?"[308] Leanne Betasamosake Simpson (Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg) uses Nishnaabeg stories to advocate for a reclamation of land as pedagogy. For Simpson, land based pedagogy is Indigenous education because intellectual traditions "comes through the land" or "being enveloped by land." [309] Simpson writes,

> My experience of education, from kindergarten to graduate school, was one of coping with someone else's agenda, curriculum, and pedagogy, someone who was neither interested in my well being as a kwezens [little woman/girl], nor interested in my connection to my homeland, my language or history, nor my Nishnaabeg intelligence. No one ever asked me what I was interested in nor did they ask for my consent to participate in their system. My experience of education was one of continually being measured against a set of principles that required surrender to an assimilative colonial agenda in order to fulfill those principles.[310]

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[305] Radu, 11.
[306] Tasha Spillett (Inninewak & Trinidadian) in her work *Gender, land, and Place: Considering Gender Within land-based and Place-Based Learning,* warns Indigenous people about internalized colonialism where traditional teachings perpetuate colonial tendencies unknowingly. Specifically perpetuating the Western gender binary. She writes that neglecting to be aware of internalized colonialism "only serves to reaffirm the colonial agenda and to further marginalize Indigenous women, two-spirit people, and Land, beyond the protective zones of Indigenous kinship systems and relational accountability." Spillett, "Gender, Land, and Place," 16.
[307] Simpson, 7.
[308] Matthew Wildcat et al., "Learning From the Land: Indigenous Land Based Pedagogy and Decolonization," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 3, no. 3 (December 1, 2014), ii https://jps.library.utoronto.ca/index.php/des/article/view/22248.
[309] Simpson, 9.
[310] Simpson, 6.

Simpsons' experience in Western education with an "assimilative colonial agenda," emphasizes why the reclamation of land-based practices and land as pedagogy is healing for both Indigenous peoples who have directly experienced Indian Boarding Schools from the 19th and 20th centuries but also for those who have been forced to live in the ongoing structure of settler colonialism. For Simpson, this Nishnaabeg intelligence is part of healing because it takes part "in the context of family, community and relations."[311] In conversation with Simpson, Wildcat et. al. argue that the revitalization of land-based education sustains Indigenous life and knowledge by resisting settler colonialism's "drive" to eliminate Indigenous life for claim to land.[312] Land-based pedagogy is a practice of healing because it is "freedom, sovereignty, and self determination over bodies, minds, and land."[313] Land is both teacher and healer in its ability to provide balance to the four aspects of Indigenous wellness: spiritual, emotional, mental, and physical.[314] Land must be at the center of decolonial healing efforts. Simpson writes that learning *from* the land and *with* land (*aki*),

> …is both context and process. The process of coming to know is learner-led and profoundly spiritual in nature. Coming to know is the pursuit of whole body intelligence practiced in the context of freedom, and when realized collectively it generates generations of loving, creative, innovative, self-determining, inter-dependent and self-regulating community minded individuals. It creates communities of individuals with the capacity to uphold and move forward our political traditions and systems of governance.[315]

This collective healing comes from Michi Saagiig Nishnaabe epistemology that works to "rebel against the permanence of settler colonial reality."[316] While Nishnaabeg relationality has been

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[311] Simpson, 7.
[312] Wildcat et al., "Learning From the Land," iii.
[313] Simpson, 17.
[314] Radu, 12.
[315] Simpson defines *aki* as all aspects of creation: "land forms, elements, plants, animals, spirits, sounds, thoughts, feelings, energies, and all of the emergent systems, ecologies and networks that connect these elements". Simpson, 7, 15.
[316] Simpson, 8.

threatened by land dispossession, environmental destruction, residential and state run education schools, and colonial gender violences, land based practices and pedagogy continues to survive and flourish.[317]

Land based pedagogy is centered in the value of "consensual engagement" within Nishnaabeg intelligence.[318] This value is pertinent for Boarding School survivors and their descendants because children have often learned and normalized non-consent within educational systems where they are deemed powerless.[319] All processes of settler colonialism are non-consensual, causing ongoing violence and constant wounding. Land-based pedagogy and land-based practices value consent because Indigenous ways of knowing, specifically Nishnaabeg traditional intelligence through oral storytelling, guide Indigenous people how to live through their interactions and observations with the environment.[320] Stories like Simpson's oral tradition of maple sugar speak to the Indigenous values of consent and reciprocity. Simpson writes,

> There is an implicit assumption in this story that Kwezens [the girl] offered tobacco to the maple tree before she cut the bark to collect the sap. She does this as a mechanism to set up a relationship with the maple tree that is based on mutual respect, reciprocity, and caring. By placing the tobacco down, she is speaking directly to the spirit of the maple tree. I understand it as her spirit speaking directly to the spirit of the maple tree, entering into a balanced relationship of mutuality. The maple tree does not have to produce sap for Kwezens, the tree has agency over this act. Kwezens also has agency – she has chosen to act in a way that aligns herself with the actions and beliefs her people know promote more life and interconnection within Kina Gchi Nishnaabeg-ogamig [territory name meaning the place where we all live and work together].[321]

[317] Simpson, 8.
[318] Simpson, 16.
[319] Simpson, 16.
[320] Simpson, 14.
[321] Simpson, 12.

In this Nishnaabeg story of maple syrup, the Nishnaabeg worldview valuing reciprocal and consensual relationships with *aki* is evident. Both the practice of telling the Nishnaabeg story of maple syrup and the teaching of Indigenous values through it, of relationships based on mutuality, are in contrast to settler colonialism. Thus, by restorying Indigenous worldviews and practicing Indigenous traditional knowledge, perpetually threatened by ongoing settler colonialism, these practices begin to heal wounds caused by it. While engaging in land-based pedagogy and practices is not easy within ongoing settler colonialism, Indigenous communities are, and have always been, hunting, fishing, living off the land, picking medicines, making maple syrup, and conducting ceremonies despite settler colonial authority, surveillance, and violence.[322]

*Dispossession from Home/Land*

While these practices continue to flourish and help Indigenous people heal from and resist settler colonialism, how does forced disconnection from ancestral lands and urbanization affect land-based healing practices, pedagogy, and environmental repossession? What wounds still fester when one can no longer dance on the land of one's ancestors? Or drink sugar water from maple kin? Ambtman-Smith & Richmond study how urban institutions in particular have supported Indigenous environmental repossession through connection and access to land. By supporting Indigenous knowledge, land, and social relationships, urban institutions are able to support health and healing for urban Indigenous peoples.[323] Through the analysis of three case studies (The Ceremony Grounds at the Centre for Addiction and Mental Health, the Western University Indigenous Food and Medicine Garden, and the study on Prison Institutions in

[322] Simpson, 19.
[323] Ambtman-Smith & Richmond, 30.

Canada), Ambtman-Smith & Richmond found that when Indigenous cultural spaces are integrated into the planning or restructuring of institutions, there are significant "gains" in Indigenous health and wellness.[324] In the context of Ontario, Canada, like many places in what we now call the United States, 75% of the Indigenous people live off-reserve, with the majority living in urban centers, making urban land access ever more important.[325] In connection to urban Indigenous movements and environmental repossession, Simpson writes,

> We have found ways to connect to the land and our stories and to live our intelligences no matter how urban or how destroyed our homelands have become. While it is critical that we grow and nurture a generation of people that can think within the land and have tremendous knowledge and connection to aki, this doesn't have to take away from the contributions of urban Indigenous communities to our collective resurgence. Cities have becomes sites of tremendous activism and resistance, and artistic, cultural and linguistic revival and regeneration, and this too comes from the land. Whether urban or rural, city or reserve, the shift that Indigenous systems of intelligence compel us to make is one from capitalistic consumer to cultural producer.[326]

Simpson, like Ambtman-Smith & Richmond, recognizes how despite dispossession and disconnection from land and land-based practices, Indigenous peoples of all geographical spaces (urban, rural, suburban) are a part of the "collective resurgence" of Indigenous lifeways. This revitalization of lifeways is healing and resistant to settler colonial practices like that of capitalist consumerism. To understand the decolonization of trauma work, it is necessary to recognize how land dispossession and the forced removal of Indigenous peoples affect potential healing modalities wherever people currently reside. Whether that be in urban, suburban, or rural settings, on or off reservations, and connected or disconnected from ancestral homelands.

[324] Ambtman-Smith & Richmond, 34.
[325] Ambtman-Smith & Richmond, 34.
[326] Simpson, 23.

Other theoretical understandings and responses to Indigenous land dispossession have been written within postcolonial, decolonial, Latinx, Black, Queer, and feminist literature. Yomaira Figueroa-Vásquez's concept of "destierro" thinks through and "unearths" the "overlapping forms of dispossession, including attempts to cut people away from their land, bodies, memories, and spiritual practices."[327] This work captures "the complex and multiple forms of dispossession and impossibilities of home for Afro- and Indigenous- descended people in the modern world."[328] To think about Indigenous peoples as being in exile and uprooted from their homelands provides another lens through which to understand the processes of settler colonialism that have forcibly removed and dispossessed Indigenous peoples from their land. While different tribes, nations, and people may describe their experiences of exile, dispossession, or forced removal differently, by writing about exile in particular, potential imaginings for other ways "to live within the impossibility of home and homelands" can be brought to life.[329] Figueroa-Vásquez writes that by,

> … imagining destierro as a palimpsest of centuries of overlapping histories, lived experiences, ties to land and land-based practices, and multiple movements (forced and voluntary migrations) by dispossessed peoples onto dispossessed lands allows us to be faithful witnesses to the layers and forms of being forcibly ripped from the land while also seeing the resurgence of those land-based practices and resistance to dispossession.

Figueroa-Vásquez sees destierro as a decolonizing tool that documents suffering and marks resistance.[330] Settler colonialism requires the forgetting and erasure of Indigenous relations to ancestral lands.[331] Therefore, while there may be an impossibility of returning home in the

[327] Figueroa-Vásquez, 90.
[328] Figueroa-Vásquez, 90.
[329] Figueroa-Vásquez, 91.
[330] Figueroa-Vásquez, 94.
[331] Figueroa-Vásquez, 95.

context of destierro, the remembering and commemoration of ancestral homelands are acts of resistance. Figueroa-Vásquez argues that it is rebellion to remember.[332] In the case of Boarding School survivors and their descendants, to remember land-based practices and relations to land is to rebel against the assimilative and violent practices of the Indian Boarding Schools used to disconnect children from their families and homelands. To "tell stories about land and land-based practices and to make claims to home/lands in the face of dispossession" is also healing for those living in destierro.[333] Through the lens of memory work as provided by Louellyn White and Marianne Hirsch, the act of remembering as reclaiming what has been forcibly removed and lost through structural violence, heals the fractured and traumatized site of memory. Land-based practices and pedagogy help to undermine processes of settler colonialism and heal future wounds by resisting settler colonialisms' need to sever Indigenous connections to land and Indigenous ways of knowing.[334]

Through the lens of Indigenous feminism, Tasha Spillett (Inninewak & Trinidadian) considers gender within land-based practices and pedagogies to interrupt Western gender binaries. She writes that heteropatriarchy and heteronormativity work to further sever the relationships between humans, specifically women and two-spirit people, from land.[335] By undermining settler notions of land and femme bodies as things to be dominated and remaking relationships to interrupt colonial ideas of how certain bodies should be in relation to land, Indigenous feminism provides endless imaginings of relations outside of the rigid gender binary in settler colonialism.[336] The interruption of the gender binary and gender-based violence as goals

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[332] Figueroa-Vásquez, 95.
[333] Figueroa-Vásquez, 95.
[334] Figueroa-Vásquez, 95.
[335] Spillett, 24.
[336] Spillett, 27.

for decolonizing trauma work is important for Boarding School survivors and their descendants who have been taught Western assimilationist contexts which value heteronormativity and heteropatriarchy. By liberating human and non-humans from the "exploitation, domination, and other forms of degradation" of settler colonial heteropatriarchal and heteronormative violences, Indigenous people can heal through the revitalization of land-based pedagogy without reifying the non-affirming Western gender binary.[337]

*Indigenous Land-Based Healing in Practice*

Many Indigenous nations have implemented land-based healing practices for their tribal and community members. In this section of the chapter, I refer to two programs and describe how they each implement land-based practices to help tribal and community members heal from various settler colonial wounds. While many of these programs are located in what we now call Canada (and not the United States), these programs can serve as examples for further work. I have chosen to write about programs not specifically for Boarding School survivors and their descendants. However, these programs offer help with intergenerational trauma, gender-based violence, and addiction, which are overwhelmingly experienced by many Indigenous communities, specifically those who are Boarding School survivors and descendants.

Radu provides a brief overview of the components of Indigenous land-based healing programs, including treatment, prevention, cultural practices, and being group and family oriented, having a multidisciplinary team, and being community driven.[338] Land-based programs often include elements of traditional healing that emphasize Indigenous values and worldviews.

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[337] Spillett, 28.
[338] Radu, 13-14.

[339] The Chisasibi land-based healing program developed in 2012 by Eddie Pash provides many of the components Radu points to. This program in Eeyou Istchee (Cree ancestral territory) promotes "personal, family, and community wellness from a perspective rooted in iiyiyiu pimaatisiiwin (Cree way of life)."[340] Knowledge keepers Eddie Pash and Elder Noah Snowboy use the teaching of Indo-hoh (Cree bush skills), Cree language, and Cree values to help participants who struggle with addiction. This program focuses on "harm reduction, personal responsibility and harmony of relationships."[341] Participants in this program are from ages 18 to 30 years of age and have been self-referred or referred by the Chisasibi Justice Committee.[342] Through the Chisasibi model and the healing pedagogies of Pash and Snowboy, participants are able to "return to the land" and strengthen or renew their "physical and spiritual bond with the land."[343] The idea that "nature takes care of us" is present within this land-based healing model, where the bush provides the needed space for healing, detoxification, and self-reflection.[344] The Chisasibi land-based healing program is also part of decolonization and self-determination efforts. While these healing efforts are specific to Cree lifeways, the program's approach is one that responds to the "suffering caused by colonization and land loss, which aims to strengthen and renew social relations as well as reconstitute and reaffirm contemporary Cree identity."[345] This program is part of the broader projects of decolonization that work to heal colonial wounds.

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[339] Radu, 16.

[340] Ioana Radu, Lawrence (Larry) M. House, and Eddie Pashagumskum, "Land, Life, and Knowledge In Chisasibi: Intergenerational Healing in the Bush," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 3, no. 3 (November 29, 2014), 88, https://jps.library.utoronto.ca/index.php/des/article/view/21219.

[341] Harm reduction is defined by the authors as the movement away from "self harm to a state of being that promotes holistic wellness." This model does not have to include substance abstinence. Radu & Pashagumskum, "Land, Life, and Knowledge In Chisasibi," 88.

[342] Radu & Pashagumskum, 88.

[343] Radu & Pashagumskum, 92-93.

[344] The bush refers to Indigenous life on land where bush activities include hunting, fishing, trapping, etc. Radu & Pashagumskum.

[345] Radu & Pashagumskum, 97.

Land-based healing programs like the Chisasibi program help  Boarding School survivors and descendants heal from intergenerational trauma and parallel issues through intergenerational traditional knowledge transfer, communal empowerment, and cultivating a personal connection with land. Through these methods of healing,  Boarding School survivors and descendants are able to revitalize what has been taken from them by assimilation policies, forced displacement, land theft, settler violence, and the fracturing of Indigenous memory.

The Carrier Sekani Family Services, Addiction Recovery Cultural Healing program serves 11 Bands of First Nation peoples in the North West region of Canada.[346] This residential addiction recovery program has been helping Indigenous peoples for over 25 years.[347] The Carrier people are the original inhabitants of this region who have been immensely impacted by settler colonialism. With the implementation of the Indian Residential Schools through the Indian Act in 1879, First Nation children were legally mandated and forced to attend these institutions. Many of the Carrier First Nation' children attended the Lejac Indian Residential School from 1922 to 1976. As a result of setter colonial policies, like Canada's Indian Act, many Residential/ Boarding School survivors and their descendants face "ongoing social and health problems."[348] This program, like many Indigenous healing programs, notes that both clinical intervention and cultural practices are used to provide healing services to their patients. Through the use of cultural interventions, Carrier First Nation peoples are healing from and resisting ongoing settler colonialism. These cultural activities reflect traditional Carrier culture where participants will fish, hunt, gather berries and natural medicines, gather wood for the fire, tan hides, smoke and

[346] These Bands include: Burns Lake Band, Cheslatta Carrier Nation, Lake Babine Nation, Nadleh Whut'en, Nee Tahi Buhn Band, Saik'uz First Nation, Skin Tyee band, Stellat'en First Nation, Takla Lake First nation, Wet'suwe'ten First Nation, and Yekooche First Nation. Dobson & Brazzoni, "Land Based Healing," 11.

[347] Dobson & Brazzoni, 9.

[348] Dobson & Brazzoni, 11.

can meat, and make drums, rattles, and dream catchers. Participants will also be able to connect spiritually to their Creator in sweat lodge ceremonies.[349] For Boarding School survivors and their descendants, healing comes from the remembering of these traditional lifeways and reimaging the fractured memories of Indigenous peoples. It is radical to *be* Indigenous in ongoing settler colonialism and practice traditional Indigenous lifeways.[350]

These two specific programs, the Chisasibi land-based healing program and the Carrier Sekani Family Services, Addiction Recovery Cultural Healing program, emphasize how land-based healing is central to healing settler colonial wounds and intergenerational trauma from Residential/ Boarding School assimilation tactics and violences. These programs also identify that land is the site for the revitalization of traditional Indigenous cultures and lifeways, working to remember Cree and Carrier traditional knowledge through relation with land. By remembering land as kin and re-imaging Indigenous-land reciprocity, Indigenous peoples resist settler colonial notions and values of land as a capital commodity, individualism, heteronormativity, and heteropatriarchy. Land-based healing programs, institutions, and interventions, through the decolonization of trauma work, are starkly contrasted with Western and colonial psychological and therapeutic philosophies which characterize Indigenous suffering as pathology rather than being brought on by settler colonialism. Yet, these programs also acknowledge that both clinical and cultural understandings of health and wellness, within both Western and Indigenous philosophies, can be used in companionship to provide all possible services and resources for Indigenous peoples.

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[349] Dobson & Brazzoni, 12.

[350] For other examples of Indigenous land-based healing programs see the appendix of Radu and the Thunderbird Partnership Foundation's *Land for Healing: Developing a First Nations Land-based Service Delivery Model*

# Conclusion:

*On Necessary Funding and Introduced Legislation*

Through a condensed history of Indian Boarding Schools during the 19th and 20th centuries in the United States, Western and Indigenous frameworks of intergenerational trauma, memory scholarship, Carlisle descendant memories, and decolonial land based healing practices, I have illustrated how Indian Boarding Schools were implemented as tools of ongoing settler colonialism to dispossess Indigenous peoples of their ancestral homelands. As a form of structural violence the Boarding Schools were tools of Indigenous genocide, using the site of land and memory to further harm Indigenous peoples and lifeways. In proposing the question of how Indigenous people heal from state sponsored violence and genocide, specifically the Indian Boarding schools fo the 19th and 20th centuries, I illustrate, through the teachings of various Indigenous scholars, writers, and healers that the revitalization and reimagining of intergenerational transmissions of land based knowledge, practices, memories, make healing from Boarding School violences and ongoing settler colonialism as structure possible.

In examining multiple Indigenous land-based healing frameworks, I conclude this project with timely questions on funding and federal legislation. Indigenous-led land-based healing programs require financial support that are often cost dependent on region, community, geographical location, and connection to urban centers.[351] On the issues of funding, Indigenous communities/nations experience great economic disparities, limited resources, and access to land. The tension between these programs providing alternative frameworks to colonial and

[351] Radu, 34.

capitalist economies while simultaneously participating in capitalist economies to guarantee funding is an issue in need of further scholarship, discourse, and creative alternatives.[352] This tension is also one of maintaining Indigenous sovereignty and self-determination while concurrently needing to depend on U.S state and federal programs that fund a multitude of programs and institutions "entirely at odds with the deep reciprocity that forms the cultural core of many Indigenous peoples' relationships with land."[353] Radu argues that a specific dedicated funding program for land-based healing services and programs should be part of the federal institution Health Canada.[354] However, other Indigenous land-based healing program coordinators do not want to receive funds from the settler state.

In conversation with Simpson on the importance of land-based pedagogy, Wildcat et al. write that by fostering Indigenous forms of education, the creation of what Glen Coulthard calls "Indigenous political economic alternatives" can be imagined. [355] This form of education guides Indigenous peoples decisions in what "economic activities to engage in, how [to] organize work and labor within [Indigenous economic activities, and how [to] distribute the products and resources gathered through [Indigenous] economic activities."[356] This fostering of land-based education also requires institutional capacity building. Wildcat et al. write that this capacity building includes discussions of how various Indigenous governments and organizations can cooperate with one another in creating land-based spaces for learning. By gathering various Indigenous resources and funds for the same project, the institutional capacity of the project is then able to help provide more access to land-based healing programs for a greater number of

[352] Wildcat et al., "Learning From the Land," xi.
[353] Wildcat et al., xi.
[354] Radu, 34.
[355] Wildcat et al., xii.
[356] Wildcat et al., xii.

Indigenous peoples.[357] Wildcat et al. warns that this consolidation of resources should not equate to a "centralizing" or "standardizing" of land-based education and healing models. These models should "be rooted in place and the histories of Indigenous peoples from those places."[358] By recognizing the limitations of the Indigenous political landscape to further perpetuate colonial borders and rigid boundaries, Indigenous authority is able to "weave" their resources together to foster land-based healing for a multitude of Indigenous peoples.[359]

U.S federal and state legislation, S.2907 and H.R.5444, the Truth and Healing Commission on Indian Boarding School Policies Act drafted in 2020 by Senator Elizabeth Warren and Deb Haaland, are presently introduced to both the House and the Senate. If this Bill is passed and becomes law, a full inquiry into the assimilative policies of the U.S Indian Boarding Schools will examine the location of children still buried near or at Boarding School facilities, compile evidence on the ongoing effects of intergenerational trauma in Indigenous communities pertaining to the U.S, and locate and analyze records on Indian Boarding Schools, especially ones pertaining to attendance, infirmary, deaths, and land. This commission will also provide public forums for survivors, families, Native organizations, tribal leaders, and communities to provide testimony on the impact of U.S Indian Boarding Schools. Testimonies will also be gathered from institutions complicit in Boarding School assimilation policies such as testimonies from churches, the federal government, and state and local governments.[360]

Much of the work to write and introduce this bill has been realized through the tireless efforts of Indigenous activists and organizers from what we now call Canada and the U.S. The

[357] Wildcat et al., xii.
[358] Wildcat et al., xii.
[359] Wildcat et al., xii.
[360] "About Us," The National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition.

National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition (NABS) has led much of the efforts to get S.2907 and H.R.5444 introduced. NABS, personally, has been incredibly significant in my research journey. In stumbling upon the NABS website during my sophomore year of college, this project would not have been possible without the comprehensive and open access database provided by the NABS. Through educational resources, NABS provides both Indigenous survivors and their descendants a vast number of resources for healing. In November of 2021, I received the opportunity to witness and to listen to Boarding School survivor stories during the Healing in a Time of Truth and Justice: Boarding School Healing Virtual Summit. This summit was incredibly emotional and powerful. While I did not use any information from this event directly in my work in order to to respect the shared stories of survivors and not sensationalize the violence they experienced, this event impacted me as a scholar interested in Indigenous studies and a young adult navigating the settler state in which my future is secured at the expense of Indigenous peoples.

While the announcement of the U.S Interior Secretary Deb Haaland of the Department of the Interior's Federal Indian Boarding School Truth Initiative in June of 2021 is an important first step in Indigenous Boarding School healing efforts, NABS calls for a more comprehensive approach through a congressional commission.[361] In concluding with federal Boarding School legislation, I acknowledge Indigenous led efforts in attaining federal and state recognition and proposing an extensive investigation on the Indian Boarding Schools. While I suggest that we should all call our state senators and ask them to support this bill, I do not have fully formed suggestions for settler-Indigenous allyship other than what I have previously stated in my

[361] "About Us," The National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition.

introduction. To live *within* the haunting of settler colonialism, deep personal and collective work on the part of the settler is necessary. Further self reflection, learning, undoing, and re-learning, without actions that are performative, surface level, or increase one's own social capital are necessary.

*In Memory*

To memorialize the children who passed away due to Indian Boarding School violence is to recognize that we as settlers must live within their haunting and the haunting of settler colonialism. To remain perpetually uncomfortable by the presence of "ghosts," the ghosts of ongoing settler colonialism as structure.[362] In the memory of Boarding School children who walked on, I whisper their names as I plant toothed seeds of calendula and water newly sprouted marigolds reaching tall for the sun. In the memory of Boarding School children who walked on, I laugh deep bellied sounds of childhood joy as I run through tall grasses tickling my legs. In the memory of Boarding School children who walked on, I hold those I love with interlaced fingers, longer, and deeper. In memory of Boarding School children who walked on, I tell my garden I love her. In memory of Boarding School children who walked on, I have shared this project with you. In memory of Boarding School children who walked on, I write this piece in deep hope of better futures for survivors, their descendents, their friends, their neighbors, and their lands.

[362] Ree & Tuck.

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