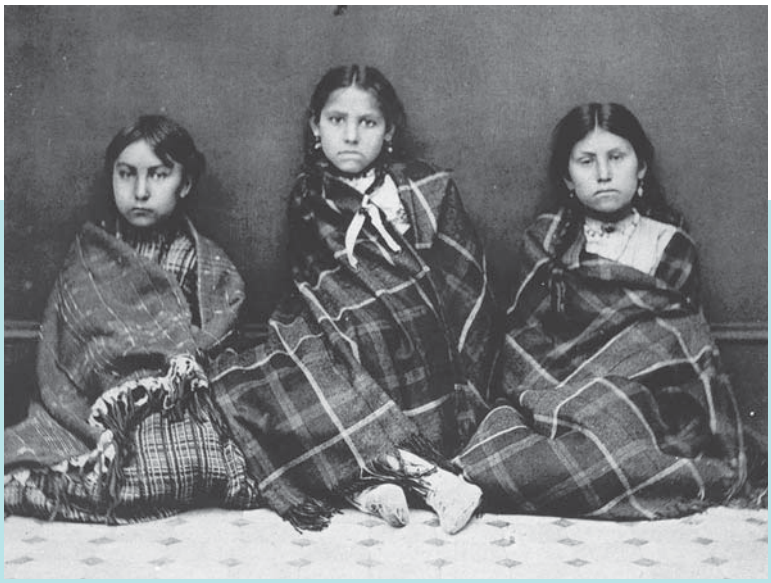
reviving such traditional practices as the use of sweat lodges. The Chelseas also tapped into contemporary ideas like the California-based "Lifespring" human-potential seminars, which by the early 1980s had enrolled and trained the majority of the band's adult members.

Despite powerful opposition, the band elected Andy Chelsea as chief again and again. Growing numbers of sober adults began to establish a new set of social norms. By the mid 1980s, sobriety had become the rule, as it remains today. The 1986 film *The Honour of All: The Story of Alkali Lake* documents this astonishingly rapid transformation of a devastated people into a model for other native communities throughout North America.

The social catastrophe that ravaged the Shuswap band embodies an extreme form of "collective trauma," says Sousan Abadian, A.M. '87, M.P.A. '88, Ph.D. '99, who has spent time at Alkali Lake and in dozens of other indigenous communities in New Mexico, Arizona, Montana, Minnesota, Alberta, British Columbia, and Manitoba since she began studying this phenomenon in 1994. In her doctoral dissertation, Abadian used that term for the pervasive consequences communities suffer when powerful external forces violate their physical and/or sociocultural integrity.

Such forces can be as random as a one-day tsunami or as systematic as the Holocaust; collective traumas can kill millions in war or genocide or enslave generations. The phenomenon can be



Photographs from the Harvard Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, © President and Fellows of Harvard College

Indian Boarding Schools, Then and Now

In 1906, the U.S. government sent cavalry onto Hopi land in Arizona, "determined to send these people to boarding school," says Gregory Schaaf, director of the Center for Indigenous Arts & Cultures in Santa Fe, New Mexico, and author of the multivolume *American Indian Art Series.* "Why? Underneath the Hopi land was a billion dollars' worth of coal and oil, and a large aquifer. The U.S. government wanted to lease the rights to these resources to private companies and the Hopis wouldn't sign the papers. So the job was to convince people to be loyal to the dominant culture—to produce some people who *would* sign. Send them to boarding schools."

Indian boarding schools were blunt tools: they rank among the most heavy-handed institutions of socialization, indoctrination, and even brainwashing ever seen in North America. From the late 1800s through the twentieth century, scores of such schools throughout the western United States and Canada enrolled Indian students, generally against their will.

Scholars have described the residential boarding schools as "labor camps," or experiments in modified slavery, run in the grueling, regimented manner of military schools. "My grandparents were taken from their homes and put in boarding schools," says Daniel Moya, of the Pojoaque Pueblo outside Santa Fe. "Whenever they spoke their native language, they were beaten and made to eat soap." Emotional and physical abuse was routine, and the curriculum explicitly indoctrinated students with the idea of the superiority of the dominant culture and the inferiority of native traditions.

Over the decades, the educational philosophy of the boarding schools did slowly evolve. Zia Pueblo, an Indian tribe about 20 miles southwest of Santa Fe, had no public schools of its own in the 1940s; all the Indian students went to boarding school, if they were in school at all. When tribal member Sofia Medina enrolled at St. Catherine's Indian School in Santa Fe at age 12 in 1944, she knew only two English words, "yes," and "no," but the Roman Catholic nuns who ran the school did not

a fairly short-lived event with lasting consequences, such as the Rwandan genocide of 1994, or it can extend over centuries—as with American Indians, whose numbers dropped from an estimated 10 million before Columbus landed to 250,000 by the turn of the twentieth century; disease brought by Europeans, and sometimes intentionally spread by colonizers, claimed the vast majority of those native lives.

Though Abadian's concepts are applicable to a broad array of scenarios, from antebellum slavery in the U.S. South to the disappearing aborigines of Australia, she has focused her empirical research on American Indians. "I don't like to compare traumas," she said, speaking to tribal leaders and members of the Mashantucket Pequot Nation in Connecticut last June, "because whether you are drowning in five feet of water or 10 feet, you are still drowning. But the kinds of traumas that native North American peoples have experienced are among the worst; the fact that they have survived at all speaks to their resilience."

In a later interview, Abadian, a multidisciplinary independent scholar who is writing a book on collective trauma and its healing in American Indian communities and other postcolonial societies, notes, "The most extreme types of collective trauma are sociocultural: it's not just an aggregation of individual traumas, but disruption of the fundamental institutions of society, and of its 'immune system' that can restore people and repair a culture. Whenever I go to a dinner party in Cambridge and talk about my work, the response almost always is, 'Well, my people were trau-

CLOCKWISE FROM OPPOSITE TOP: ©PEABODY MUSEUM, HARVARD UNIVERSITY, PHOTOGRAPH 2004.24.30440A, 2004.29.5636, 2004.29.5637

Native American girls (far left) and teenage boys (left) on arrival (top) at a boarding school in Hampton, Virginia, and 14 months later (below). From the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology collections.

punish the girls for speaking their native tongue. Tuition was $50 per year, and even that was a severe strain on Medina's parents. She came home only once a year, in August.

St. Catherine's was essentially a parochial school. "I was more or less brainwashed with the Catholic religion," Medina says. "The nuns taught us that all our dances and traditions were 'false gods.' After I dropped out of school in the eleventh grade, I had no interest in the pueblo. My sister got mad at me because I would not participate in the dances."

After Sofia married, her father-in-law explained native spiritual traditions to her—"Why the cornmeal, why the feathers," she says. Now she goes to traditional ceremonies and shares her knowledge with younger Indians if they ask. "It is hard to understand, because Indians do not write about God on paper, like the white men do," she says. "It is all up to each person, how they are going to take it."

Sofia's son Fred Medina attended two Indian boarding schools before graduating from Jemez Valley High School. He also completed technical studies at Southwest Indian Polytechnic Institute, and has a career as a lab technician. In the boarding schools he experienced, there was "no shaming of us for being Indians," he says. "Wounded Knee [the 1973 protest by American Indian Movement activists at Wounded Knee, South Dakota] turned around a lot of things for all Indians. We recognized ourselves as not being second-class, but up there with everybody else." But the native language has been slipping away. Though Zia Indians were fluent in their native tongue in the 1970s, Fred says Indian children today are bilingual only until about sixth grade, after which English wins out. Today's youth live out the converse of his mother's experience: "Now, kids know how to say only 'yes' or 'no' in the native language."

Sofia's granddaughter (and Fred's niece) Kim Toribio enrolled at the highly regarded Santa Fe Indian School from seventh grade until eleventh grade (1983 through 1989), then completed her senior year at a public high school in Albuquerque. Kim came home to Zia every weekend from her boarding school. The staff was entirely Native American. "They cared about you," she says. "They'd bend over backwards to get you scholarships," and many in her graduating class of 23 went on to college. Kim herself earned an associate's degree in business administration and now has an administrative job working with office automation software. "Santa Fe Indian was a good school," she says. "I have no complaints."