Scene from Kanehsatake: 270 Years of Resistance. *Directed by Alanis Obomsawin. Produced by Wolf Koenig and Alanis Obomsawin.*
Photo by Shaney Komulainin © 2002 Film Board of Canada. All rights reserved.

Linguistic Imperialism in the United States:

The Historical Eradication of American Indian Languages and the English-Only Movement

By Margery Ridgeway and Cornel Pewewardy

Introduction

Over the last several years, we have presented many workshops together at educational conferences and spoken to many American Indian parents about how teacher education programs can prepare teachers to be more effective with their children. A recurring theme that emerged in those discussions was the hope that new teachers would care about their children and would take the time to find out about their tribal families, reservations, and cultural backgrounds. A major issue was how tribal languages were integrated and taught in schools.

While some groups have benefited, others, primarily racial and ethnic minorities, have been excluded or have not done well in U.S. schools. American Indian children in particular have suffered in the educational system. Teachers need to understand their histories and backgrounds in order to understand students' attitudes toward school as well as their academic situation.

In order to maximize learning with American Indian students today, teachers should know and understand the history of how Indigenous languages were treated in U.S. school systems. We believe that teachers need to be prepared to relate to all racial and ethnic groups in order to maximize the achievement of every student. The need to understand and attend to American Indian students is particularly urgent for reasons important to society as a whole and not just to individual students.

Brief History of English Imperialism in the Eastern United States

The North American continent was linguistically diverse long before Europeans arrived on its shores. Before the arrival of Europeans in what is now the United States, there were more than 500 American Indian languages spoken, some of which are still used today, especially in the Southwest. In order to be effective in the conduct of trade and other business ventures, Europeans were required to use interpreters and/or to learn the Indigenous languages with which they came into contact. According to Calloway (1997), many American Indians were well traveled and bilingual or multilingual. However, many preferred to conduct business in their primary languages through the use of interpret-

ers. Successful tribal language interpreters had to do much more than provide word-for-word translations. Speakers of Indigenous languages tended to be experienced orators who used much imagery and metaphor in communicating. Interpreters had to know and understand both the Indigenous and the European methods of persuasion and had to have keen insight into these distinct cultural worldviews. In order to have trained interpreters, early English and French explorers frequently kidnapped Indians from the coasts of New England and Canada, took them to Europe, and later returned to North America with the kidnapped Natives to use them as interpreters (Calloway, 1997).

As Europeans and American Indians participated in the daily affairs of each other's societies, new English words were created, and dozens of Indigenous and European languages were mingled. As far back as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, dark-skinned people were regarded as repulsive and decidedly inferior, as witnessed in England's poetic and artistic expressions (Cohen, 1980). Since Europeans firmly believed that humans originally were white (Guthrie, 1998), attempts to explain the presence of Indigenous people on the North American continent often came from interpretations of selected European religious writings. These interpretations were used to support the inferiority of blacks and American Indians (Guthrie, 1998; Wardle & Cruz-Janzen, 2003).

Moreover, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries many Europeans believed that the American Indians were all "savages" without "real" languages. Indian languages struck Europeans as strange and guttural and not as real systems of communication. Throughout the decades, Europeans did borrow, mispronounce, adopt, and modify Indigenous words to describe things uniquely American. Among those words are caribou, moose, tomahawk, toboggan, succotash, hickory, mahogany, maize, and wigwam. American Indians, in turn, adopted European words such as God, Christ, Christmas, plow, clock, horse, cat, cow, and rum. American Indian languages rarely contained profanity. Some of the borrowed English words filled that "gap." These examples barely scratch the surface of the multicultural tapestry that underlies the English language (Kansy, 1997).

As Europeans and American Indians participated in the daily affairs of each other's societies, new English words were created, and dozens of Indigenous and European languages were mingled.

Many European traders acquired "sleeping dictionaries" through their sexual encounters with American Indian women. However, even before the linguicide of the nineteenth century, many Indigenous languages changed or died out. As the Europeans evolved into the oppressor, it became increasingly necessary for American Indians to learn English, the dominant language of the conquerors. Many American Indians learned English because knowing the oppressor's language often gave them power and status (Calloway, 1997).

Brief History of Spanish Imperialism, Western United States

In the early 1600s the colonizers from Spain took control of the Pueblo peoples of New Mexico and Arizona through violent means. Franciscan priests with Spanish military support attacked Pueblo religious practices and enslaved Pueblo men to build Catholic missions. The traditional practice of political independence for each pueblo made the Spanish conquest easier. However, after years of unceasing cruelty and oppression, the Pueblos united under the leadership of Pope, San Juan Pueblo's medicine man. They succeeded in driving the Spanish out of the Rio Grande Indian Pueblos in 1680. Their success was short-lived. The Spanish reconquered the Pueblos in 1696. Native peoples were forced to practice Catholicism in public, especially on the feast day of their particular pueblo named in Spanish for a Catholic patron saint (such as San Juan Pueblo named in Spanish for St. John). Traditional religious practices survived because their practitioners took them underground (Champagne, 1994).

Beginning in 1769, the Spanish oppressors in California created an enormous mission system extending from San Diego to San Francisco. In the California missions, some of the Indigenous traditional religious practices survived alongside the required Catholic practices. In all of their missions, the Spanish justified their behaviors—enslaving Indigenous labor crews to build missions, requiring conversion to Catholicism, forcing the Indigenous peoples to speak the Spanish language—by their belief that they were saving the Indians' souls through conversion to Christianity. It was commonly believed that all Indian cultures, religions, and languages were heathen (Champagne, 1994).

Spanish colonialism in New Mexico was fairly typical of Spanish colonialism throughout the western portion of the United States as well as Latin America. Spanish colonial settlers arrived in New Mexico in 1598. They brought with them their religion, their customs, and their language, Spanish. According to Anaya (1987), "It was the daily as well as the poetic use of that faith and language that provided continuity and cohesion to the newly settled Mexicano/ Hispano pueblos of Nuevo Mexico" (vii).

When the Spaniards arrived in New Mexico, there were established Pueblos that had existed for centuries. Their religion and Indigenous languages were an integral part of the area when the Mexican and Spanish colonists arrived. Anaya (1987) writes, "In the fields, in the daily life of the Pueblos, in the kivas, the Pueblo ceremonial ways and languages were crucial to the spiritual relationship they established with the earth and the cosmos" (vii-viii).

The Spanish practice of forced religious conversion and economic exploitation among the Pueblo peoples who struggled to keep their own cultures, religions, and languages led to a blending of cultures. Pueblo people often practiced Catholicism publicly and maintained Indigenous religious practices in secret. Likewise, the Pueblo people learned to speak Spanish for the purpose of survival among their Spanish oppressors. Many continued speaking their native languages at home and in private (Champagne, 1994).

Settlers from the United States arrived in New Mexico in

the mid-nineteenth century, bringing with them a new set of customs and the English language. The linguistic imperialism of the English-speaking Americans, who took over the region following war with Mexico in the 1840s, soon dominated public life in New Mexico. Thus, the Indigenous peoples of the areas who had been required by Spanish oppressors to give up their native languages and learn Spanish were now being forced by English-speaking oppressors to give up Spanish and learn English. For those people, linguistic imperialism in the United States had served to oppress them not once, but twice.

However, for many of the Indigenous residents and early Mexicano/Hispano settlers, the languages and cultures became shared entities with an effort made to preserve distinctly unique lifestyles. Speaking for his fellow writers from the region, Anaya (1987) believes that,

> We must pass on to the present generation a serious concern about learning to speak the native languages of the state. Traditions rest within the language. At the same time we are compelled to learn English, not only to survive but to reach wider audiences with our writings. Language is a tool we learn to utilize. We learn to use it to reflect on life, and that reflection becomes our history. (viii)

While developing their own personal voice and style, writers from the region like Rudolfo Anaya have reflected and articulated the blending of cultures—Indigenous, Spanish, and English. An increasing number of writers have found their primary voice in their first language (Spanish or an Indigenous language) and write with portions of their works in their primary language or with bilingual publications, side-by-side stories with the English on one page and the primary language on the facing page. Anaya (1987) says, "Crucial to the development of our destiny and the definition of that destiny, are the voices of the writers and poets, for it is their reflection on the existential questions of our life and destiny that helps define and light the way" (viii).

Language and the BIA Boarding Schools

Historically, the United States has attempted to suppress Indigenous languages and traditions as a form of cultural genocide. The Indian Peace Commission of 1868 advised the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) to "blot out barbarous dialects" and enforce the learning and use of English in order to "civilize the Indians." James Crawford says, "Coercive assimilation was seen as a less expensive and more humane alternative to military action. Boarding schools were set up for that purpose in 1879" (Cantoni, 1997, 54). Lt. Richard Pratt was the architect of the BIA boarding school system. He believed that by deculturizing Indian children and enforcing an English-only policy he could produce a generation of young Natives who would return to their reservations and convert their tribes to the "civilized" norms of Anglo society (Cantoni, 1997; Spring, 2001).

These English-only boarding schools became the most effective means of eradicating Indigenous languages and replacing them with English.

The BIA boarding schools, which flourished from 1875 to 1928, were designed by the U.S. government to restructure the Indians' minds and personalities. Their stated purpose was to make white people out of Indian children. "From the policymakers' point of view, the civilization process required a twofold assault on Indian children's identification with tribal life, that is to say their savage ways. On the other hand, the children needed to be instructed in the ideas, values, and behaviors of white civilization" (Adams, 1995, 100).

Children as young as four years of age were forcibly removed from their families and taken many miles away from all that was familiar. As soon as they arrived at the schools, their hair was cut off and they were scrubbed with lye soap and scrub brushes and doused in kerosene to delouse them (usually unnecessary and generally done in a vicious and abusive manner). They were forced to wear unfamiliar and uncomfortable clothing, to eat unfamiliar and non-nutritious food, which was frequently in short supply, to sleep in beds and sit in chairs, which were unfamiliar and uncomfortable (Adams, 1995). All of the government boarding schools had strict policies forbidding students to speak their native languages. Those who broke the rules were subjected to harsh punishments such as having one's mouth washed out with lye soap, being locked in the school jail, and being beaten or hit with rulers (Child, 1995). A woman who attended a boarding school in Oklahoma recalls, "Students who spoke Kiowa were made to brush their teeth with harsh lye soap. The kids would end up with the whole inside of their mouth raw" (Adams, 1995, 123).

The policymakers' first priority for the BIA schools was to provide American Indian children with a rudimentary academic education. The ability to speak, read, and write in English was central to the academic enculturation of the Indian. American Indians were correct in their assumption that the white man's "talking paper" was one of his strongest weapons. However, the language program was an English-only program. Adams (1995) quotes the superintendent of Indian Schools, who in 1887 made the observation "[an Indian's] inability to speak another language other than his own renders his companionship with civilized man impossible" (21). Adams further quotes Commissioner of Indian Affairs John D. C. Atkins, who in 1887 said, "This language, which is good enough for a white man and a black man, ought to be good enough for the red man" (21). These English-only boarding schools thus became the most effective means of eradicating Indigenous languages and replacing them with English.

The English-Only Movement Today

Throughout the history of U.S. educational policies, linguistic diversity has been interpreted as a barrier to learning.

According to Nieto (2000), losing one's native language has always been viewed as a required price to pay for citizenship in this country. Classroom strategies for non-English speakers have revolved around the eradication of the native language. Entire communities have been denied the right to use their native languages for social communication as well as for instruction in schools. Enslaved Africans and oppressed Native Americans are the oldest examples of linguistically oppressed Americans.

The English-Only movement in the United States emerged in the early twentieth century as an insidious form of racism disguised as patriotism. Nobody argues the fact that it is necessary to learn English in order to survive financially and socially in the general culture of the United States. Students whose first language is not English have two goals in school: learning English and mastering content. It should never be considered necessary to lose one's first language, however, in order to speak another language. Consider the contradiction in educational planning that deems it desirable for English speakers to learn a second language in order to succeed in college and in the global economy while at the same time proclaiming it desirable for speakers of languages other than English to unlearn their native languages in order to be more proficient in English. All too often these students, labeled with the negative term "limited English proficient," are in self-contained ESL rooms with no social contacts beyond their ESL peers or, worse yet, are put in special education classes because they cannot pass tests given in a language they don't speak and about a culture that is not familiar to them. Referring to these students as English Language Learners, honoring their original languages, and teaching in a culturally responsive manner could make an enormous difference in the success these students have in our schools.

Despite their rich linguistic heritage and skills, Yaqui students are marginalized as deficient learners in a school system that bases its learning on a context of mutual intelligibility and shared cultural meanings as defined by the dominant culture.

The need for ESL and bilingual classes is often considered to be a part of the "immigrant problem." Too often school districts in the Southwest ignore the existence of Indigenous children who come from a reservation or family that speaks only its tribal language. Spanish-speaking Chicano children are treated as immigrants even though they were born in this country. Such children are generally treated as outsiders in the public schools. Zehr (2003) cites some recent examples. A high school teacher in Arizona banned the use of Spanish in her classroom because the English-only rule made classroom management easier. An ESL teacher in Colorado stated that "permitting students to use their own languages in class led to suspicion and division" (18). A cosmetology teacher in Arizona prohibited five of her Chicana students from speaking Spanish among themselves because she could not understand Spanish.

Gloria Anzaldúa (1987) speaks of the borderlands within our country that often lead to conflict and subjugation—in this case the subjugation of language:

> Borderlands are physically present wherever two or more cultures edge each other, where people of different races occupy the same territory where under, lower, middle, and upper classes touch, where the space between two individuals shrinks with intimacy. (58)

The Pascua Yaqui Tribe is a prime example of the difficulties that are encountered by those living in the borderlands of U.S. society. They are a tribe made up of Spanish/ English/Indigenous tribes who live in two countries and speak three languages. The first European contact the Yaqui Tribe had was with Jesuit missionaries from Spain. In the beginning, the Yaquis remained fairly isolated from the Spanish. However, with the passage of time, contact increased and, with contact between the two cultures, linguistic changes occurred. Spanish words became part of the Yaqui language as well as some Spanish grammatical structures. By 1887, the Yaquis began migrating to the United States. Most of the Yaquis were literate and spoke several languages, even though they had little formal education. In the United States they were refugees with no legal status, inadequate food and shelter, no land, and they faced the suppression of their culture and religion.

Today the Yaquis are the poorest population of Arizona, which can be attributed to their low level of formal education. Approximately two-thirds of the tribe have completed eighth grade; only about one-fifth are high school graduates. Sixty percent unemployment is not unusual in their community.

Linguistically, most Yaquis are trilingual. Spanish is the dominant language of the home, generally spoken about 70 percent of the time. The Indigenous Yaqui tongue is spoken in the home approximately 20 percent of the time, with the remaining 10 percent English. Most Yaquis over the age of 50 speak their Indigenous tongue. Most also speak a regional Spanish dialect.

Like most American Indians and Chicanos, Yaquis have been negatively impacted by the "hidden curriculum" in the schools, with its deficit model of all but white middle- and upper-class cultures. There is an enormous lack of continuity between home and school. Despite their rich linguistic heritage and skills, Yaqui students are marginalized as deficient learners in a school system that bases its learning on a context of mutual intelligibility and shared cultural meanings as defined by the dominant culture. For many years there was no bilingual education and no provision for bilingual or culturally relevant assessment. Sixty-seven percent of Special Education classes are made up of Yaqui and Mexican-American children who are speakers of first languages other than English (otherwise labeled as "limited English profi-

cient" students).

In 1993, Project Kaateme was established. Project Kaateme is an educational program incorporating parents as tutors to emphasize the strength of the Yaqui family and to minimize the disjuncture between school and home. Educational activities are provided in tribal facilities on the reservation based on traditional Yaqui culture, language, and spirituality. The goal of the program is to increase the learning outcomes of Yaqui children and to increase employment opportunities and raise the literacy rate for Yaqui adults (Reyhner, 1997).

A person's first language defines who that person is, from what culture that person comes, and the mental and spiritual framework that person uses to perceive the world in which he/she lives. When a person loses his/her first or primary language he/she loses a part of him/herself. When a person is degraded because of his/her first language, it is a degradation of the whole person.

Project Kaateme is one outcome of the 1984 Pascua Yaqui Tribe Language Policy, which says,

> The Yaqui language is a gift from Itom Achai, the Creator, to our people and, therefore, shall be treated with respect. Our ancient language is the foundation of our cultural and spiritual heritage without which we could not exist in the manner our Creator intended….We further declare that all aspects of the educational process shall reflect the beauty of our Yaqui language, culture, and values. (Reyhner, 1997, 15)

Anzaldúa (1987) believes that language is internalized and beliefs about one's language are also internalized as part of an image of oneself. She says, "Chicanas who grew up speaking Chicano Spanish have internalized the belief that we speak poor Spanish" (58); their English is also rejected by Anglos as poor English. These Chicanos live in the cultural borderland between their Mexican ancestral homeland and their adopted United States home. Their language, according to Anzaldúa, is seen as "illegitimate, a bastard language." Anzaldúa writes,

> Deslenguadas. Somos los del español deficiente. We are your linguistic nightmare, your linguistic aberration, your linguistic mestizaje, the subject of your burla. Because we speak with tongues of fire we are culturally crucified. Racially, culturally, and linguistically, somos huérfanos—we speak an orphan tongue….We internalize how our language has been used against us by the dominant culture, we use our language differences against each other….Repeated attacks on our native tongue diminish our sense of self. The attacks continue throughout our lives….So, if you want to really hurt me, talk badly about my language. Ethnic identity is twin skin to linguistic identity—I am my language….I will no longer be made to feel ashamed of existing. I will have my voice: Indian, Spanish, White. (58–59)

Language is a tightly interwoven facet of all aspects of a person's being. A person's first language defines who that person is, from what culture that person comes, and the mental and spiritual framework that person uses to perceive the world in which he/she lives. When a person loses his/her first or primary language he/she loses a part of him/herself. When a person is degraded because of his/her first language, it is a degradation of the whole person.

Bilingual education is not a new concept in the United States. According to Nieto (2000), by 1900 approximately four percent of America's public and parochial school students (at least 600,000 children) were taught in bilingual programs. These programs included bilingual German/English, Polish, Italian, Norwegian, Span-ish, French, Czech, and Dutch.

Bilingual education and ESL are issues often hotly debated in today's American educational circles. While no one denies the need for people in the United States to speak English in order to succeed as members of the general society, there are varied opinions on the role of the schools in promoting English for those students with a first language other than English. Bilingual education can be done in a variety of ways, but basically, it works best in a setting where there are only two languages represented. Most common in this country are the English/Spanish bilingual programs found in areas heavily populated by Hispanic peoples. ESL programs are formulated and tailored to fit specific school situations, especially where several different languages are represented.

Immersion ESL instruction generally involves the tailoring of lessons to simple understandable English in the regular classroom and/or ESL classes (self-contained or pull-out) that provide English instruction in English at the level of the student's understanding. *Transitional bilingual* programs are intensive English instruction in the students' primary language. *Maintenance or developmental bilingual* programs are aimed at preserving and building on the students' primary language skills as they acquire English as a second language. *American Indian bilingual education* programs may follow one of the general program types previously mentioned or may be a program designed to teach American Indian children the language of their people, thus preserving their linguistic and cultural heritage. For example, the Kickapoo Nations School and the Royal Valley Pottawatomie programs in Kansas fit into the latter category. The Kickapoo Nations School requires all students through sixth grade to study the Kickapoo language, after which it becomes an elective. The Royal Valley Schools simply offer weekly or biweekly elective Pottawatomie language classes to elementary students.

Like English instruction in the notorious BIA boarding schools, the English-only "sink-or-swim" method encouraged in some places today is a system designed by the domi-

nant white power structure to maintain its dominance and power and "keep non-English speakers in their places." Its outcomes with non-English-speaking classes include failing test scores, high dropout rates, poor chances of employment, and a soaring rate of gang violence and juvenile crime.

Typically, non-English speakers are perceived in this country to be immigrants. Many believe that it is impossible to be American-born and non-English-speaking. The large body of bilingual and ESL literature generally excludes the languages of American Indians and fails to touch on the difficulties faced by U.S.-born children from non-English-speaking families who are cast into our public education system and expected to conform. Perhaps this exclusion is an erroneous and unconscious belief that the BIA schools successfully "cured the Indian problem" by eradicating Indigenous languages. Additionally, Mexican Americans are generally not perceived as American Indians, even though they too are descendents of, or members of, Indigenous tribes and even though a large piece of the United States is part of the country only because of theft.

An additional problem with the majority of bilingual and ESL programs is that they do not seek to strengthen, preserve, and honor the child's Indigenous language while teaching him/her English. A holistic view of education takes into account the importance of the interconnectedness of all of life. It is not necessary or desirable to eradicate one language in order to learn another. It should not be a requirement to blot out one's Indigenous culture in order to be a successful part of U.S. mainstream culture.

Conclusion

It is estimated that at least 320 million people in the United States speak English as their first language. In addition, English is a common language used for trade, research, and international business. Kansy (1997) believes that a conservative estimate of all English speakers would be at least 1.5 billion people worldwide. Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, and Nigeria, like the United States, are former territories of the British Empire. Only the United States has a policy of English-only. People from the other countries are at least bilingual, and many are multilingual. Japan, Russia, Brazil, and China make great efforts to provide English as a Second Language in their educational facilities to prepare students for participation in the global economy. The United States differs from all of these other countries in its federal language policy. The public education system provides neither mandatory foreign language classes nor bilingual education for all students. In the United States, bilingual education has been provided for the elite, usually in expensive private schools, as a desirable course of study. On the other hand, bilingual education has become a "problem" when underrepresented groups fought for their rights. Freedom of speech is one of the basic pillars of American freedom. It is, therefore, strange that the American public does not recognize language choice as a part of the privilege of freedom of speech (Kansy, 1997).

The need for bilingual education and ESL classes in U.S. schools is steadily increasing. Linguistic minorities and non-English-speaking communities have come to the forefront since the passage of the Title VII Bilingual Education Act (1968) and the U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Lau v. Nichols* (1974). Banks and Banks (2001) identify varying groups of students who are linguistic minorities: foreign-born students who speak only the language of their home country—some of whom are voluntary immigrants and some of whom are immigrants who have been uprooted involuntarily from their home countries (such as the Hmong immigrants); U.S.-born language minority students, such as Native Americans students and Chicanos; and groups such as the French, German, Swedish, and Spanish students whose families have maintained their original languages even after several generations of U.S. residency. These students cross a broad spectrum of language skills and knowledge, ranging from the non-English speaker to the fully bilingual student to the English-speaking student with rudimentary skills in the original language.

A starting point for teachers of American Indian students is to view bilingualism, bidialectualism, and biculturalism as strengths. Instead of viewing education as having to choose between assimilation and pluralism, students would be better served by a system that regarded U.S. society as a linguistically and culturally dynamic and complex organism. Banks and Banks (2001) argue that "it cannot be acceptable to blame the student's genetic, environmental, cultural, or linguistic background for his or her lack of academic success in the English-dominated classroom.…A good place to start in designing quality programs for language-minority students is by examining effective teaching and learning classroom climates for students in general, taking into account the important school reform movements currently evolving" (281).

Using the child's first language does not impede the acquisition of English; rather, it offers many advantages (August & Hakuta, 1997). According to Banks and Banks (2001), most linguistic research shows that the suppressing of home languages is detrimental to both the social and the academic well-being of students. Research done over the course of the last 50 years does not show positive correlations between attempts to eradicate non-English languages with academic achievement gains of language-minority students (Banks & Banks, 2001). Research suggests that children who are bilingual have advantages over monolinguals of the same socioeconomic background in their linguistic, cognitive, and social development (Taylor & Whittaker, 2003). Teachers of American Indian students must recognize that there are phonological, morphological, and syntactical differences among all tribal dialects. Respecting these complex languages and making efforts to teach them, with the active collaboration on the tribal community, will go a long way to ensure the academic success of American Indian students.

References

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

Anaya, R. A. (1987). *An anthology of Nuevo Mexicano writers.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Anzaldúa, G. (1987). *Borderlands: La frontera.* San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books.
August, D., & Hakuta, K. (1997). *Improving schooling for language minority children: A research agenda.* Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press.

Banks, J. A., & Banks, C. A. M. (Eds.). (2001). *Multicultural education: Issues and perspectives.* New York: Wiley.

Calloway, C. G. (1997). *New worlds for all: Indians, Europeans, and the remaking of early America.* Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

Cantoni, G. (Ed.). (1997). *Stabilizing Indigenous languages.* Flagstaff: Northern Arizona University.

Champagne, D. (Ed.). (1994). *Reference library of Native North America.* Detroit, Mich.: Gale.

Child, R. V. (1995). *Boarding school seasons.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Cohen, W. B. (1980). *The French encounter with Africans.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Guthrie, R. V. (1998). *Even the rat was white: A historical view of psychology.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Kansy, H. (1997). English-only: Wouldn't it be lonely? *Cultural Circles* 1: 49–75.
Nieto, S. (2000). *Affirming diversity: The sociopolitical context of multicultural education.* New York: Addison-Wesley Longman.

Reyhner, J. (1997). *Teaching Indigenous languages.* Flagstaff: Northern Arizona University.

Spring, J. (2001). *Deculturalization and the struggle for equality: A brief history of the education of dominated cultures in the United States* (3rd ed.). New York: McGraw Hill.

Taylor, L. S., & Whittaker, C. R. (2003). Issues of culture and language. In L. Taylor & C. Whittaker (Eds)., *Bridging multiple worlds: Case studies of diverse educational communities* (pp.124–155). New York: Allyn and Bacon.

Wardle, F., & Cruz-Janzen, M. I. (2003). *Meeting the needs of multiethnic and multiracial children in schools.* Boston: Pearson.

Zehr, M. A. (2003). Classroom ban on Spanish protested. *Education week.* XXIII(9): 1 & 18.

Margery Ridgeway *is a doctoral student in the Department of Teaching and Leadership at the University of Kansas. She is also a teacher of English and Spanish at Bert Nash, the campus school for the Atchison Juvenile Correctional Facility, Atchison, Kansas.*

Cornel Pewewardy *is an associate professor of education at the University of Kansas and a member of the Education Advisory Committee* of MultiCultural Review. *He is a former principal of the American Indian Magnet School in St. Paul, Minnesota.*